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AMERICANA

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VOLUME XXXV

January, 1941—December, 1941



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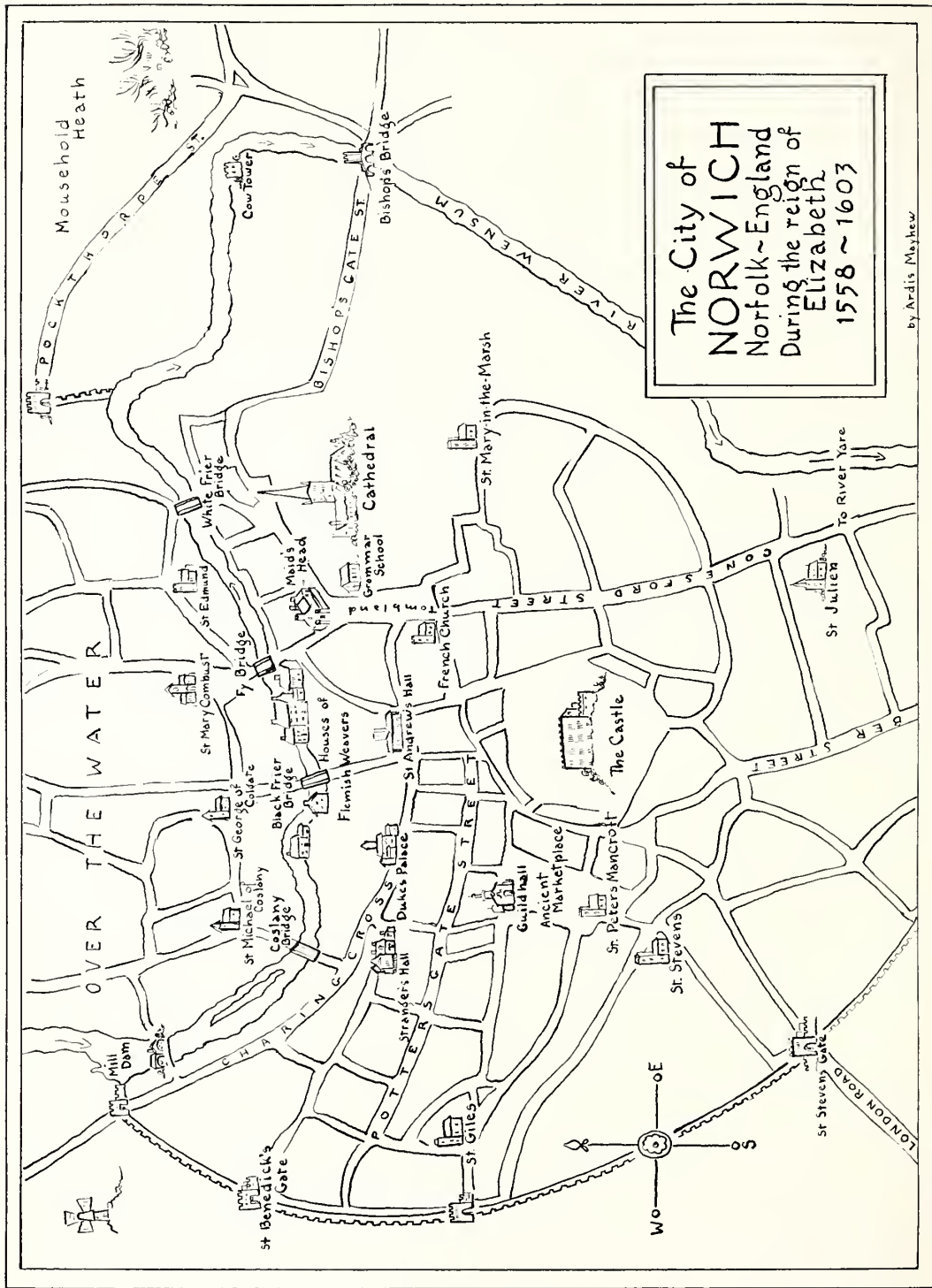
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The City of
NORWICH
Norfolk ~ England
During the reign of
Elizabeth
1558 ~ 1603

by Ardis Mayhew

AMERICANA

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, Literature, and Industrial History. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

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AMERICANA

JANUARY, 1941



His Mother's Kindred

BY ADA HARRIET BALDWIN, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

IN FOUR PARTS—PART I

FROM AN OLD LETTER

"Franklin having, while in England, busied himself considerably in enquiring out the origin of his father's family, a sister of his, as was natural, suggested to him to search out his mother's kindred, the Folgers."

Foreword—One day my grandmother gave me an old ambrotype and told me that it was a picture of her parents and their offspring. When I first looked at it I could see nothing at all. "Thee must get the right light on it," grandmother said. So I tried holding it at different angles and began to catch fleeting glimpses of dim figures. There was a gleam, and a patient face emerged; a child appeared in prim old-fashioned clothes, leaning against his mother's knee; then suddenly the whole picture shone out, clear and beautiful. A family of long ago regarded me gravely, and as I looked back at them, it seemed almost as though they smiled at me.

When first I started to get acquainted with the earliest New England Folgers, the picture was dim and confused. So I tried looking at it from different angles, hoping to get the right light on them. I searched through hundreds of books and records, and begged for the loan of stowed away letters and private chronicles, in order to garner every item concerning them. I visited the places where they were born and the places where they died, sorting out contradictory tales about them and studying the history and the scenery of their times.

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

A few dates here and there lighted the way; a faded letter or two breathed life into the figures; a rare old map marked a long lost homesite; a Nantucket fog, suddenly lifting, revealed long hidden secrets. Early town annals, crumbling gravestones and cherished family traditions and keepsakes, all helped to make the picture plain. Slowly my Folger ancestors emerged from the shadows, until at last I could see them clearly, moving boldly through the scenes of long ago.

Edgartown, Mass.

A. H. B.

PART I

JOHN AND MERIBLE



WE sympathize in the great moments of history, in the great discoveries, the great resistances, the great prosperities of men; because there law was enacted, the sea was searched, the land was found, or the blow was struck, for us, as we ourselves in that place would have done or applauded."—EMERSON.

I

In the days of Elizabeth, Queen of England—so the story goes—there came to the city of Norwich in the county of Norfolk, a family of Flemish weavers by the name of Foulgier. Forced to flee from their native land to escape the bloody sword of Spain, they had joined the rising tide of refugees sweeping across the English Channel and flowing into the industrial towns of East Anglia—those towns which for three centuries and more had been beckoning to the skilled craftsmen of the Low Countries across the narrow sea.

Long before the reign of Elizabeth, long before shifting sands had narrowed the arm of the sea that reached far up into the Yare Valley, the city of Norwich was the chief port for the trade between England and the Netherlands. The bulk of this trade was wool. Rolling English downs were white-capped with fat sheep, their wool the finest in the world. Ancient towns of Flanders were famous for their clever craftsmen, for the weavers and dyers whose secret art created the richly-colored finely-finished fabrics that were everywhere envied and admired. So for centuries of shearings, most of the wool from English sheep went to Flemish looms.

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Weaving of sorts had been done in England from earliest times, and attempts had been made, now and again, to improve the industry. In 1336, Edward III, heeding the counsel of Philippa, his Flemish consort, determined to revive the languishing cloth-making trade of his realm, by importing Flemish weavers instead of exporting English wool. Glowing invitations, backed by royal promises, were sent to the workers of Flanders:

O how happy they should be if they would but come over into England, bringing their mystery with them! Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, instead of a few herrings and mouldy cheese; they should enjoy the labour of their hands, instead of slaving to enrich the churls, their masters; they should come in as strangers and soon become bridegrooms! (Fuller.)

Eager for a chance to improve their lot, many Flemish artisans journeyed to England and settled in the towns and villages of Norfolk and Suffolk. In the course of a few years industry boomed, and Norwich, soaring to prosperity on the wings of its clacking looms, became the second ranking city of the kingdom.

This prosperity lasted for several generations. Then Norwich fell upon evil days. There was a succession of fires and epidemics, due to the clustered crowded houses and the cluttered filthy streets. There was a falling off in the quality of cloth, due to the impatience of the merchants for riches. One year, following a winter of intense cold, there was a serious shortage of wool. And, finally, there was a migration of the more well-to-do craftsmen into the cleaner, pleasanter country beyond the city walls. By the middle of the sixteenth century, grass was growing in the market-place of Norwich.

In the meantime, Flanders had fallen into the hands of Spain and was ravaged by war and religious persecution. The peace-loving independent Protestant artisans had no choice but to flee before the misguided zeal of Spain's Romanist monarch, Philip II, and the ruthlessness of his viceroy, the Duke of Alva. Queen Elizabeth held out welcoming hands, and many thousands of the harassed people of the Netherlands left their native homes and settled in England. In 1564, Norwich sent a special invitation to the refugees, hoping that foreign craftsmanship and enterprise might once again stimulate trade. The invitation was accepted with enthusiasm, and by 1574 there were over

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

four thousand strangers in the city. It was during this decade, according to family tradition, that the Foulgiere settled in Norwich.

Encircled by ancient walls, with forty massive towers and twelve arched gate-houses, Norwich lay snugly in the valley of the Wensum, on the deep bend that the river makes just before it joins the river Yare. As the Foulgiere sailed up the winding waterways from Yarmouth, the low marshy country must have seemed to them much like the homeland they had abandoned. It was perhaps early summer, when the fens were covered with a mist of sea-lavender and the quiet estuaries margined with the bright flowers of tide-water plants. From sedges and salallows came the well-known songs of marsh haunting warblers, and the cuckoo that called to the children from the coppice sang in the same language as the cuckoo at home. The familiar white stork stood motionless in the rushes, watching the boat sail by. Piping redlegs fed on the mud flats, spoonbills and herons waded in the shallows, and curlews wheeled and whistled overhead. Borne on the wind that blew across the uplands, a faint scent of farms and cattle came to meet them. As the exiles neared Norwich, secure in the promise of royal protection, they could look without misgivings at the great stone castle, towering on its storied mound above the town, and at the tall slender spire of the Norman cathedral, rising three hundred feet above the meadows. It is supposed that somewhere in the narrow twisting alleys of Norwich, close to the winding river and not far from the ancient market-place, the Foulgiere found a little company of their compatriots, and that there they made their new home and plied their old trade.

Flemish weavers were not the only artisans who sought refuge in Norwich during this period. There were many others—French Huguenots, skilled in the manufacture of silk, and Dutch and Flemish dyers and starchers, potters and printers, hatters and pin-makers. Refugees from the Low Countries introduced into Norwich the art of making gallipots, and started the manufacture of felt hats. One of the strangers, a master printer from Brabant named Anthony de Solen, set up in Norwich its first printing press, and was rewarded by being made a freeman. The Flemish fugitives carried with them into England their cages of singing gold, and taught the people of Norwich the secrets of canary breeding. And they took with them

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cuttings from the war-trampled gardens of Flanders—gilly-flowers, new carnations, provence roses and other rare blooms that have ever since graced the gardens of Norfolk. Norwich gardeners learned from the Dutch and the Flemings new horticultural methods, and Norwich housewives learned the knack of making more delectable salads. From the marshlands of the Low Countries came the first decoys to lure the wildfowl of the Norfolk Broads into the nets of the fowlers. From Flanders came the first woman to teach starching in London. The use of coaches was introduced into England from Holland and Queen Elizabeth once had a Hollander for a coachman. It is said that his wife was the first to starch Her Majesty's ruffs.

Something else the refugees brought with them into England which the Queen did not bargain for—a spirit of independence which later proved to be a sore trial to Elizabeth and her successors. Most of the strangers were staunch Calvinists, and they added new zest and strength to the swelling ranks of English Puritans.

In many respects, Norwich must have seemed crude and provincial to the exiles from the Netherlands, coming as they did from a country where cities were fairer and cleaner, where there was more domestic comfort and far less poverty and squalor, where education was universal, and where art and music were second only to the art and music of Italy. They were thankful, however, to be allowed to work and to worship in peace, and the effect of their industry fulfilled all the hopes of the Norwich authorities.

By their meanes [says an old state paper in the Public Record Office] our cittie is well inhabited and decayed houses reëdified and repaired that were in rewyn . . . they do not onely set on worke their owne people but do also set on worke our owne people, whereby the youthe is kept from idlenes . . . they live holy of them selves without charge, and do begge of no man, and do sustain all their owne poore people. And to conclude, they for the moste parte feare God, and do diligently and lobourously attende upon their severall occupations, and they obey all magistrates and all goode lawes and ordynaunces, and they live peaceable amonge them selves and towarde all men, and we thinke our cittie happie to enjoye them.

Thus the authorities smiled a welcome. But the workers of Norwich received the strangers with scowls of suspicion and jealousy. They soon made it clear that they intended to keep the upper hand by

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demanding that the newcomers live and work according to certain rules which they drew up. This the independent Netherlanders indignantly refused to do, and much bitter feeling developed between the two peoples. At one time, The Sealing Hall, where the cloth was marked and sealed, was closed for several weeks, and excitement ran high. The Privy Council finally settled the difficulties, and the workers went back to their looms and their dye-pots. In spite of frequent quarrels and occasional riots which persisted for some years, Norwich rose to new heights of prosperity and soon became famous for the splendor of its new draperies.

At first the strangers mixed but little with the rest of the townsfolk. They took no part in the life or the government of the city and they kept to their own customs and their own way of worship. Archbishop Parker speaks of them as "very Godly on the Sabbath Day and very busy in their work on the week day." They had found, for the time being at least, that which they sought—religious freedom. "It is very dear to hear the Word of God peacefully," one of them wrote to his kinsmen at home, urging them to follow him to England. In the course of time the animosity between native and alien disappeared; the influence of the Netherlands took root and flourished in English soil, and the people became part of the British nation. The transition was fundamentally simple, since most of the strangers came from the same early Frisian stock as did the English, and spoke a language closely allied to that of their foster country. The first generation of Dutch and Flemish children born in England was probably indistinguishable from the native English. Certainly the grandchildren of the exiles from the Low Countries grew up as native Englishmen and Englishwomen.

A generation later the tables were turned. The ease with which English children turned into Dutch children was partly responsible for the decision of the Pilgrim Fathers to leave Holland.

II

John Foulgier was born just before the turn of the century, about the year 1593. According to the genealogical researches of Benjamin Franklin, he was the son of Flemish refugees in Norwich. At the time of his birth, his parents were probably scarcely aware of

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America, the savage unexplored land across the sea. To them the Atlantic Ocean was still a Sea of Darkness, and Norumbega but a shadowy name. But their son was destined to make that new land his home, and to found an American family noted for its great men and women. Ancestor of all the New England Folgers, as the name finally came to be written, John was the maternal great-grandfather of Benjamin Franklin.

There are no records that tell of John Foulgier's father and mother, nor of his childhood and youth, but the prolific writers of his times have painted a vivid picture of the background of his life in Norwich. When he was born, Elizabeth the Queen was an old woman, and the Elizabethan age—that merry time in England when navigation, education, trade and culture went striding along in seven-league boots—was drawing to a close. The glittering Spanish Armada had been swept from the seas, Mary Queen of Scots had lost her disturbing head, and England was at peace. It was a time of lusty living, a time of pageantry and play-going, of dancing and singing—and of begging; a time of rough sports and harsh punishments, of feasting and drinking—and of starving. It was a time when the intricacies of courtly costume reached the point of absurdity, and the garb of the Puritan became ever more severe; a time when a hungry lad might be hanged for stealing a bag of currants, and a bold adventurer richly rewarded for piracy on the high seas. It was a time of great deeds and great thoughts. Will Shakespeare, Francis Bacon and Ben Jonson walked about the streets of London; Spenser's "Faerie Queen" was just off the press; William Harvey, deep in his studies in Cambridge, was preparing to startle the learned doctors of the world. Sir Philip Sidney had died fighting for the Netherlands against Spain; Sir Walter Raleigh, his fortunes lost in the disastrous attempts to colonize Virginia, still strove to please his Queen; the first English baby had been born on American soil; Sir Francis Drake had sailed around the world; and in their gallant little shallops, rugged English sea-dogs roamed the uncharted seas.

When John Foulgier was a boy, the wherries that sailed up to Norwich from Yarmouth bore strange cargoes and stranger tales. Boys were the same then as they are today, where ships and sailors are concerned, and John spent many a questing hour on the river

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front, little dreaming that he would one day set sail for the New World himself. His people were not adventurers; they were quiet, hard working, deeply religious craftsmen, content to live and let live. During the quarter of a century since they had fled to Norwich, the city had changed materially for the better. The streets were somewhat cleaner and the river a little clearer. Elizabeth's famous Poor Laws had been passed, for the control and relief of the needy; labor had been regulated by the passage of the Statute of Apprentices, and middle-class living quarters were greatly improved. Architecture rose to shining heights, and every branch of industry flourished. Merchants, shopkeepers and skilled artisans prospered as never before. The standard of living rose accordingly, accompanied, as such changes always are, by the laments of those who saw in the increase of comfort sure signs of deterioration.

When our houses were builded of willow [wrote William Harrison] then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a greate manie altogither of straw, which is a sore alteration. Now have we manie chimnies; and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheums, catarhs, and poses. Then had we none but reredosses; and our heads did never ake.

Nevertheless, such luxuries as chimneys, carpets, window glass and night dresses had come to stay, and rich tapestries hung on the walls of workingmen's houses. For the Elizabethan age was a golden age for the bourgeoisie of England. Having discovered that thrift, honesty and industry brought wealth, and that wealth brought deference, England's middle-class citizens, strengthened by the diligent, democratic burghers from the Netherlands, grew increasingly independent, both in thought and in action. The fancy that honesty was the best policy and diligence the mother of good luck, was well thought of in those bygone days. Workmen took pride in their work; the blue coat of the apprentice was a garb of honor. "Work hard, learn, and the whole world is before you," counseled the master, and youth had no reason to doubt his word. Many a sturdy seed of bourgeois ideals, planted during this time in the minds of the middle-class children of England, was carried across the sea, and came to flower three generations later in the pages of "Poor Richard's Almanack."

After gaining wealth and leisure, the successful Elizabethan trades-

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man turned his thoughts to the question of culture. Education came to be regarded as the Open Sesame to the amenities of life, and middle-class fathers saw to it that their sons received as much learning as possible. "Now may every cobbler set his son to school," complained a disgusted aristocrat, "and every beggar's brat learn from the book." Merchants won knighthoods, laymen held high positions in the universities, and lowly origin in no wise stood in the way of literary achievement. Shakespeare's father was a Stratford glover, Christopher Marlowe was the son of a Canterbury shoemaker, and Ben Jonson's mother married a London bricklayer. Thomas Deloney, famous for his ballads when John Foulger was a baby, was a Norwich silk weaver; Edmund Spenser, poet of high life, was born of humble parents; and the Virgin Queen herself had a great-grandfather who was a merchant.

In John Foulger's day, Norwich was a stronghold of Puritanism. In many of the churches, Puritan tendencies were very pronounced, in spite of the fact that the ministers and worshippers were continually harried by interference and persecution. One of the most noted Puritan preachers was John Robinson, who went to Norwich in 1600, fresh from seven years' study at Cambridge. For four years the people listened eagerly to his words. But the bishop of the diocese saw fit to put a stop to his sermons, and Master Robinson was suspended as a Nonconformist. It was then that he joined the little group of Separatists at Scrooby Manor. East Anglia had always stood for civil and religious liberty, and the refugees who settled there added fuel to the fire of the Independents. The Flemish weavers had brought with them their Bibles as well as their looms; they read them diligently and insisted upon their right to interpret them according to their lights. Queen Elizabeth, endeavoring to gather all her subjects into the sanctity of the Established Church, heartily disliked their views; but she was shrewd enough to recognize the material advantages of their presence and the folly of attempting to force them to join the Anglican Church. Concessions that were denied to the native Puritan parishes were reluctantly granted to the foreign congregations. They were allowed to worship, unmolested, in their own churches, or in the churches especially assigned to them. In Norwich, the venerable Church of the Friars, near Blackfriar's Bridge,

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was assigned to the Dutch congregation and became known as the Dutch Church. Robert Brown, founder of the first Congregational Church, preached there in 1581. The Walloons met first in the Bishop's Chapel and later in the Church of St. Mary the Less at Tombland. Elizabeth's policy of tolerance toward the foreign churches of her realm was observed until the time of Archbishop Laud.

III

Norwich is an ancient city. Its history goes back to the days when the sea swept up to its very doorways; to the days of the Angles and the dreaded sea-dragons of the Danes. The story is lost among the ruins of old Roman roads in Norfolk, but legend picks up the threads and carries us back for another two thousand years, back to the days of the ancient Gaels. Today's view of Norwich from Mousehold Heath, where gorse and heather still run wild, shows a city that has long since outgrown its walls, but with many buildings still standing that were there when walls were important. Smoking factories now rise from the river banks close to the narrow cobbled lanes where Flemish weavers once lived, but in the midst of the great modern city, the old Elizabethan town still lives. Walking along the crooked winding streets, past churches that were five centuries old when John Foulger was born, across the ancient market-place where John's mother may have traded, past the fine old flint Guildhall where for five hundred years the business affairs of the city were transacted, past rows of half-timbered Tudor houses, over stone bridges that John must often have crossed, and on out to the Broads where on winter days we may still watch reed-cutters gathering thatch—all along the way we may look upon many things that were familiar sights to the Foulgers. We may even see the very looms they used, now safely sheltered in Stranger's Hall. Best of all perhaps, we may still eat boiled beef and dumplings at the Sign of the Maid's Head, that well-favored hostel which for more than four hundred years has served the citizens of Norwich and the strangers within her gates.

It is said that Queen Elizabeth once slept at the Maid's Head; but however that may be, the Queen and her Court visited the city in 1578, and Norwich has never forgotten it. No doubt John's parents told him many fine tales of the royal progress, and of the interest Her

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Majesty took in the looms of the weavers. In the grand pageant that was given in her honor, were "eight small women children spinning worsted yarn" while a pretty boy recited appropriate verses.

Pageants were popular in Elizabeth's day, and to the children of Norwich they were a never ending delight. It may be that when John Foulgier was a grandfather, living in a primitive settlement in the New World wilderness, he amused his grandchildren by telling them stories of the splendid spectacles he had seen in the Old World city of his boyhood. He may have told them of the great spring festival of St. George's Guild, held every year in April. It was always a gala day for Norwich. Houses were freshly painted and decorated with garlands, banners and tapestries; streets were strewn with newly-gathered rushes; bells were set to ringing and cannon to booming, and the whole town, dressed in its best bib and tucker, turned out to make merry. Young and old, gentle-folk and beggars, yeomen, tradesmen, craftsmen and apprentices, thronged the line of march—cheering St. George and his fair rescued lady, hooting at the grotesque, perennially defeated dragon, laughing at the antics of the Dick Fools, and viewing the gorgeously attired members of the Mayor's Procession with pride mingled with Puritanical disapproval. John Foulgier must often have been in those holiday crowds; the first time perhaps, as a child clinging to his mother's skirts or perched high on his father's shoulder; later as a young lad cutting capers with his comrades; and, again, as a proud young father, lifting up his own small son to see the grand sights. Old Snap the dragon, somewhat the worse for wear, may still be seen by the curious, resting peacefully in the Castle Museum.

In the museum of the Guildhall, there is another relic of old English comedy—the buskins of William Kemp, morris-dancer, who won renown—and an annuity—by dancing all the way from London to Norwich. John Foulgier was a little boy at the time, and may have been among the throngs of curious onlookers who gathered at St. Stephen's Gate, to watch the comedian come leaping into town. So great was the press of the spectators, that it was necessary for whifflers to make way for the performer, and it was with difficulty that he finally reached the market-place. Here he was given refreshment, in the form of music, by the city waits.

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Merry England was a tuneful England.

Tinkers sang catches; milkmaids sang ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the bass viol hung in the drawing-rooms for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern, and virginals, for the amusement of waiting customers were the necessary furniture of the barber's shops. They had music at dinner; music at supper; music at weddings; music at funerals; music at night; music at dawn; music at work, and music at play. (Chappell.)

To learn to sing, to dance, and to play the lute—these were an important part of every young gentleman's education. And it was not unusual for people of the working classes, their tasks done at close of day, to gather together for an hour or two of music-making. For the Puritans who frowned upon the popular new madrigals, there was the word of the Apostle James, which they could heed with a clear conscience: "Is any merry? Let him sing psalms." The Flemish weavers of Norwich were famous for their psalm singing; hour after hour they stood at their looms, chanting the Songs of David. Education was not made attractive for the little grammar school boys of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—hours were long, holidays few, and masters harsh—and the lessons in music and in the various sports of the day were welcome respites from the endless periods of wrestling with such works as Lily's Latin Grammar.

In spite of the enthusiasm for the new learning, it was the exception rather than the rule for the average craftsman to send his sons to school, and there was no thought at all of sending his daughters. John Foulgier probably learned to read—among those of simple faiths it was considered important to be able to read the Bible—but it is doubtful whether he ever learned to write. As far as is known, he was taught the trade of his forefathers, learning to weave either at home, or apprenticed to a master weaver of the parish. By that time many of the foreign names in Norwich came to be spelled in the English way, and Foulgier became Foulger.

IV

When John Foulger was in his early twenties, he married a young English woman by the name of Merible Gibbs. This great-grand-

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mother of Benjamin Franklin shines with only the faintest light in the pages of the past. Nothing is known of her parents, but judging from their daughter's complete lack of elementary education, they came from one of the humbler walks of life. There is some reason to think that her father was a farmer from a hamlet near Norwich. Since Merible could not write her own name (as we later discover), those who had occasion to write it, spelled it each according to his fancy. Sometimes it was Merible, sometimes Merribell, and sometimes Mirabel, Mirriba or Meribah. In later years her son Peter always spelled it Myrable. The Biblical form, Meribah, meaning "striving with God," suggests that she was the daughter of Puritans. This seems likely, as it would be natural for John to marry a Puritan maid. So far as is known, John and Merible had but two children, a son named Peter and a younger daughter. Peter Folger is a well-known figure in the Colonial history of New England, partly because of his famous grandson, but principally because of the important part he played in the making of Nantucket. He was born in Norwich in 1617—fourteen years after the passing of Queen Elizabeth.

Following Elizabeth, England was ruled by James I, and political affairs went marching on toward those events that were to cost the next King his head. The bitter struggle for religious liberty, together with the conflict between the power of the King and the power of the people, was rapidly approaching a climax. Europe was worn by the waging of wars, and England was filled with unrest. On the far distant horizon, the New World loomed more and more clearly as a land of opportunity and of refuge. The mists of ignorance concerning western geography were gradually lifting, and although it was still generally believed that the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) was no great distance west of Hudson's River, people were beginning to get a clearer conception of America. The English started their first permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607; the French, under Champlain, occupied Quebec in 1608; Henry Hudson, in the service of the Dutch, sailed up the river that bears his name in 1609. For a hundred years before these signal dates, Old World fishermen—Portuguese and Dutch, English, Breton and Basque—had sailed every year to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. Every spring they had disappeared in the black fog, and in autumn they had returned, their lit-

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the ships filled with cod, dried and salted on the desolate shores of the wilderness. Sometimes they brought valuable furs and lumber and curious Indian trinkets. They did not boast of their voyages; good fishermen that they were, they kept to themselves the location of their fishing grounds. But they could have told the early explorers many things concerning depths and tides and safe anchorages, and of the ways of the red men living on the rims of the bays. The explorers made their own discoveries and wrote long engaging accounts of their cruises. And gradually the people of England began hearing about them. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold named Cape Cod and the Elizabethan Islands; in 1605, James Rosier sang the praises of the incomparable rivers of Maine; in 1614, Captain John Smith, exploring the rugged coast of North Virginia, renamed the country New England, and made a map from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor, with the soundings, sands, rocks and landmarks. In 1620, the *Mayflower* sailed, with the little group of Separatists who were to become famous as the Pilgrim Fathers—the vanguard of the great Puritan exodus from England to America. They landed at a place called “Accomac” or “Patuxet” by the Indians, and marked “Plimouth” on Captain Smith’s map.

When news came to Norwich of the departure of the *Mayflower*, there was a widespread feeling of sympathy and approval. Religious persecution was increasing and Puritan determination was stiffening. James I was unpopular and was a great disappointment to the Nonconformists. “I will make them conform,” he once cried in a fury, “or I will harry them out of the land.” The foreign congregations alone were left in peace, and the descendants of the Flemish refugees were allowed to pursue the even tenor of their religious ways.

Peter Foulger probably spent the first eighteen years of his life in his father’s home in Norwich. No written records of his early youth have come to light, but we gather from his later life that he was taught the ancient art of weaving, and that he was quick-witted and well educated for a boy of his day and position. We find his signature on many Colonial documents of local importance, and there are letters of his still in existence which show an educated and carefully cultivated mind. He was for many years schoolmaster in Martha’s Vineyard, and even added, in the fullness of his years, his own Looking

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Glass to the many literary mirrors of the times. It is evident that he attended school at least long enough to master the three R's.

Little sister did not fare so well. It was not customary at that time for girls to be sent to school, although many families had their daughters taught at home. There was a great deal of controversy on the subject of education for females, but it was generally agreed that the sole object of woman's learning was to improve her service to her household. A knowledge of reading, unless kept strictly within bounds, was considered rather dangerous for a woman. Edward Hake deplored, in no uncertain terms, the growing tendency to allow a maid to choose her own reading:

Eyther shee is altogither kept from exercises of good learning, and a knowledge of good letters, or else shee is so nouseled in amorous bookes, vaine stories and fonde trifeling fancies, that shee smelleth of naughtinesse even all hir lyfe after.

Handbooks of improvement, such as "A Mirrhor mete for all Mothers, Matrons and Maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie," by Thomas Salter, countless "Guides to Godliness" and pamphlets on housewifery, was the fare considered fitting for the mind of the Renaissance woman. Even musical education was looked upon with disfavor by some. "In stead of Song and Musick," remarked Thomas Powell, "let them learn Cookery and Laundrie. And in stead of reading Sir Philip Sydney's 'Arcadia,' let them read the grounds of good huswifery."

But in spite of the concern of their lords and masters, women slowly but steadily cast off the shackles of illiteracy. Many daughters of middle-class families, as well as the young ladies of the aristocracy, were capably tutored at home; and many middle-class matrons were competent to teach their children the rudiments of learning. In the Foulger household, however, education was still for sons only. Mother Merible could not read or write, and apparently what was good enough for mother, was good enough for daughter—and for granddaughter as well, as we shall presently see. There is but little known about the Foulger daughter; a dim shadowy form, she flits for a fleeting moment or two across our vision of the past, and is quickly gone again. Indeed, if it were not for an old letter, discovered not so long ago among the genealogical papers of Benjamin Franklin,

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we might not even know of her existence. Her name may have been Ruth; at least one historian calls her so, and Ruth was a favored name in the Foulger family. We may as well think of her by that name.

It is quite possible that John and Merible had other children, of whom we have no records, and who did not survive the rigors of childhood. Disease was prevalent, herbs, prayers and superstitions depended upon to effect cures, and infant mortality terribly high. All England was troubled by recurrent outbreaks of the plague, and naturally the large industrial towns suffered the most. Coronation years and the years of royal progresses were often marred by sweeping epidemics. In Norwich, the glamour of Queen Elizabeth's visit was speedily overshadowed by the arrival of the dreaded pestilence, thought to have been carried by some of the royal retainers. When James I was crowned, an entry in the Norwich records reads: "No rejoicing here on the accession of this monarch on account of the plague, of which in this year, 3076 persons died." The year Charles I became King, "the plague was again with us," state the records, "though it did not carry off so many persons." During this epidemic, the Dutch congregation appointed Peter Heybaud to look after their infected poor. He was ordered "to retire himself from company, and never to walk abroad but with a red wand a yard and a half long, and his wife and family the same, and not to go abroad after candle-lighting but on absolute necessity."

The citizens of Norwich did not care to venture out much at night at anytime. Streets were badly littered, roughly paved and but dimly lit. After eleven, there was no lighting at all. Beggars were liable to turn roguish with the setting of the sun, and apprentices to change into mischief-making rowdies. The time between midnight and the rising of the morning star was fairy time, and it was best to be snug in bed when the little people were about. They were friendly enough as a rule, but were given to playing pranks on the unwary. As for the ghosts, vampires, witches and evil spirits that wandered around after dark, they were looked upon by most people as very real menaces. When Peter Foulger was a child, the belief in witchcraft was shared by high-born and low-born alike. King James, who had grown up in Scotland, where the practice of the Black Art was especially alarming, was not only convinced of the reality of witches, but

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approved of torture as a means to force them to confess—and this in spite of the fact that torture had always been against the law in England. During his reign the old statute directed against all sorcery was dusted off and reënforced, and horrible things happened in the frenzied search for witches. East Anglia was not as agitated by witch-finders as were other parts of England, due partly to the influence of the level-headed tolerant Netherlanders; nevertheless, there were plenty of strange happenings in Norwich. The children of Peter's day had to step carefully in order to avoid all the bugaboos that lay in wait for them.

Childhood was far from being the pleasant period of life that we aim to make it today. It was taken for granted that children work hard and for long hours, whether at home, in school, or apprenticed to a master whose word was law. The daily tasks to be accomplished left but scant time for play. But the boys and girls played whenever they were free, and some of the games they enjoyed are still in favor. If the children of today could see a moving picture of the little Foulgers and their neighbors at play, they might be amused at the demure, grown-up clothes and surprised at the careful speech, but they would recognize many of the games as no different from their own. Hide-and-seek, hood-man-blind (blind man's buff) and prisoner's base have come down to us through the centuries. Perhaps they will always be played whenever children gather together. For customs and costumes many change, but children everywhere hold fast to the treasured plays and familiar tales of olden times. It may be that they no longer believe in fairies, that they know the stirrings they hear under the eaves at dawn are not pixies going to bed, but plain brown sparrows awakening; that they know the elfin feet they listen to scampering in the walls at night belong to the mice who live there, and the silhouettes they watch dancing on the window shades are but the shadows of blowing leaves—still they love the story of Cinderella and her fairy godmother, of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, of Beauty and the Beast, Jack-the-Giant-Killer, and all the rest of the wonder tales that once delighted Peter Foulger and his sister. Very few children's books were printed before the middle of the seventeenth century, but fairy and folk tales were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.

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When Ruth Foulger was a little girl, dolls were well thought of, and nothing pleased the boys more than the good old game of foot-ball. There were no rules to safeguard the players, and during the reign of King James, a law was made "to debarre from Court all rough and violent exercise as the foot-ball, meeter for laming than for making able the users thereof." But that did not prevent Peter from racing to the scrimmage when the cry sounded down the street, "All fellows at foot-ball!"

V

James I died unmourned in 1625, and his son Charles reigned in his stead. Charles inherited his father's belief in the absolute power of the King. When he found he could not get along comfortably with Parliament, he coolly decided to get along without it. For eleven years no Parliament was called, and Charles went blithely and heedlessly on his royal way, the influence of his Bourbon wife and the thoroughness of his Archbishop helping to hasten his doom. Evading the terms of the Petition of Rights, which he had unwillingly signed, he proceeded to raise the money he needed in his own way, without the consent of Parliament. This irregular method of taxation caused great discontent, and in all parts of the kingdom, angry protests were heard. Norwich joined the other maritime cities in protesting indignantly against the levying of the so-called "ship-money." The tyranny of the new tax became the talk of the town. On every street corner were groups of excited people, talking together with anxious faces. Councilmen and aldermen, merchants and landowners, Cavaliers and Puritans, and even craftsmen like the Foulgers who had no voice in the government, joined in the heated discussions. The way ahead looked dark and uncertain. Parents grew grave as the ominous clouds of civil war began piling up on the political horizon. What was in store for them and for their children?

Whatever may have been the fears, the joys and the sorrows of John and Merible during their years together in Norwich; whatever may have been the thoughts, the pleasures and the cares of Peter and Ruth, there was one shining theme woven into the everyday pattern of their work and their play, that never for a moment grew dull or tarnished—the theme of a simple, devout faith. Their belief in

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the guiding hand of God and their urgency to worship Him according to their lights were the strongest threads in the tapestry of their lives. The struggle for religious and political freedom that was evident in every town and hamlet in England, was especially so in such a city as Norwich, which sheltered within its walls one of the oldest reformed churches in the country, and which boasted one of the most famous cathedrals and one of the most luxurious palaces of the realm. Peter is said to have been a thoughtful boy; he must often have pondered upon the contrast between the plainly dressed Puritans and their austere way of life, and the gay courtiers who danced attendance upon the Duke of Norfolk.

During the early years of Charles' reign the position of the sorely beset Nonconformists reached a point of desperation, and the Puritans began turning their thoughts more and more frequently toward the New World. Reports from the struggling colonies there were not very encouraging. Stories of the starving time in Jamestown, the inconceivable hardships of the Plymouth Colony, and the unsuccessful attempts to plant new colonies along the New England coast, drifted back to the Mother Country, darkening the glowing accounts of the early explorers. But the lure of the new land persisted.

Under the inspired leadership of John White, of Dorchester, the Puritans determined to establish a strong and secure retreat in New England—"to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Anti-christ." Their thought was of a strictly Puritan community, with the gates firmly closed against wanderers of other creeds. In the spring of 1628, a grant of land was secured from the Council for New England—a grant extending "from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles River, and with a strip running westward to the South Sea" (Pacific Ocean). On the twentieth of June, Captain John Endicott, with a group of about sixty carefully selected men and women, set sail on the ship *Abigail*, to plant the new Puritan Colony. Early in September, they landed at Naumkeag, where they found a small settlement of fishermen, the remnant of the unsuccessful fishing village of the Dorchester Adventurers. After some difficulties, the old settlers were persuaded to accept the authority of Endicott, and the Indian name of the settlement was changed to Salem.

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The following year, without in the least realizing the importance of what he was doing, Charles granted a royal charter for the governing of the new territory—and the Massachusetts Bay Company came into being. The King and his court were too involved at home to give serious consideration to the struggling colonies across the sea. It was a relief to them to have some of the troublesome Puritans out of the way, embarked upon a perilous enterprise that would probably end in failure and disaster. The charter provided for a governor, deputy-governor, and council of eighteen assistants, to be elected annually by the company. They were given power to make any laws they deemed expedient for the welfare of the settlers, provided they were not at variance with the laws of England. No mention was made of religious liberty; no mention was made of the place of meeting of the company. Matthew Craddock, a wealthy merchant of London, was chosen governor.

A few weeks later, six ships set sail for New England—the *Talbot*, “a good and strong ship of 300 tunnes,” the *Lyon's Whelp*, “a neat and nimble ship of 120 tunnes,” and *George Bonaventure*, the *Four Sisters*, the *Lyon* and the *Mayflower*. They carried about 300 new settlers, 140 head of cattle, and arms, ammunition, tools and provisions, with a plentiful supply of godly ministers to give spiritual refreshment. The officials of the company remained in England, the leading spirit of the expedition being Francis Higginson, a Puritan minister who had been driven from his parish in Leicester. Never were crusaders in a more exalted state of mind than were the pioneering Puritans aboard the six small ships. Free at last to think and to speak their innermost thoughts, the pastors preached and the people listened, exhilarated and uplifted by their release from ecclesiastical restraint.

“We had a pious and Christian-like passage,” wrote Francis Higginson in his journal of the voyage. “We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept by adding to the former, preaching twice and cataching. And in our great need we kept 2 solemne fasts and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and prayer take notice that it is as preavailable by sea as by land, wheresoever it is faithfully performed.”

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Mr. Higginson was evidently something of a naturalist, and enjoyed the long ocean trip. "Our passage was both pleasurable and profitable," continues his journal, "for we received instruction and delight in behoulding the wonders of the Lord in the deepe waters, and sometimes seeing the sea round us appearing with a terrible countenance, and as it were full of high hills and deepe valleys; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow. And ever and anon we saw divers kynds of fishes sporting in the great waters, great grampuses and hugh wales going by companies and puffing up water-streames. Those that love their owne chimney corner, and dare not go farre beyond their owne townes end, shall neever have the honour to see these wonder workes of Almighty God."

This is one of the most cheerful accounts of the crossing that has come down to us. According to most of the early diarists, the wearisome voyage was filled with danger, discomfort and disease, and was regarded in the light of an affliction to be borne and overcome on the march to the Promised Land.

With the safe arrival in Salem of the *Talbot* and her sister ships, the colony governed by John Endicott became the largest in New England, considerably outnumbering the nine-year-old Plymouth Colony.

VI

The next move on the part of the Massachusetts Bay Company was an important stride along the road to political independence. It was resolved to transfer the charter and the whole governing body from London to Massachusetts. That a plan so bold, so shrewd, and of such far-reaching consequences did not meet with the instant opposition of the Crown, is rather remarkable. King Charles must have been thinking of something else. Overcoming certain technical difficulties, the company was able to carry out its plan without delay. The old officers resigned in favor of new ones who were willing and ready to emigrate to America. John Winthrop was chosen governor—and surely a favorable Providence guided the choosing! Nowhere in all England could they have found a Moses better fitted for the task. The mantle of the deputy-governorship finally fell upon the bleak narrow shoulders of Thomas Dudley.

John Winthrop was a well-to-do country gentleman of forty-two,

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descended from a fine old family, long seated at Groton in Suffolk. He studied law at Cambridge, and took an active part in the support of the Puritan cause. A man of remarkable strength and beauty of character, scholarly, intensely religious, yet tolerant and friendly, he won the confidence both of Puritan leaders and of eager, anxious followers. Twelve times Governor of Massachusetts, he devoted his strength and his fortune to the colonies. His journal is a history of the Massachusetts Bay Company. His letters to Margaret Winthrop are among the great love letters of the world.

In the spring of 1630, the Winthrop fleet sailed for Salem. On board the flagship *Arbella* was the precious charter. There were eleven vessels all told, carrying nearly a thousand passengers. Most of these people were well educated and well-to-do. Nearly all of them were aware of the tremendous mission they had undertaken and were ardently united in their determination to make of the venture a permanent success. They considered themselves the chosen people of God, and for them there was no turning back. Less sturdy souls might well have been dismayed at the unexpected hardships and tragedies encountered. Dire want, sickness and death saddened their first summer in the Promised Land, and left them but ill prepared to meet the rigors of winter.

Landing at Salem in June, Winthrop found the settlers there in a sorry state. Many had died, many were sick and weak, and provisions were desperately low. "Salem pleased us not," wrote Dudley laconically to the Countess of Lincoln in England. During the summer most of the newcomers moved on to Mishawum (Charlestown), where Thomas Walford and a few old planters from Salem had their homes. But Charlestown pleased them no better than Salem, chiefly because of the inadequate water supply. Weakened by scurvy and the hardships of the voyage, the ailing colonists suffered greatly during the hot dry days of July and August. Many of them died.

Just across the river, at a place the Indians called Shawmut, was a cultivated English plantation, the home of William Blackstone. Mr. Blackstone was a retired clergyman, who had left England because of his dislike of the Lord Bishops. Since then he had lived in solitary contentment on his narrow peninsula, with its little hills and meadows, almost completely surrounded by salt marshes. His house

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stood on the western slope of the highest hill, with windows looking out upon the peaceful reaches of the Charles River. Wild fowl in season—ducks and geese, cranes and turkeys, snipes and plovers—fed in the creek thatch within sight of his hearth; and the sea at the foot of the hill offered its commodities the year 'round. Apple and pear cuttings from England flourished in his orchards, and purple and white lilacs bloomed beside his door. Inside his comfortable cottage were rows of shelves filled with books—Boston's first library—brought over from his old home despite the difficulties of transportation. After four or five years of solitude, it may be that Mr. Blackstone felt inclined to bear once more with his fellowmen, and that he began to think favorably of the conviviality of neighbors. At any rate, he went to call on Governor Winthrop, and invited him to move the unhappy Charlestown settlers to Shawmut, where there was plenty of sweet spring water. Winthrop approved of the plan, and early in September many of the colonists crossed the river and made the trimountain peninsula their permanent place of abode. It is said that a little girl who crossed over in the first boatload jumped ashore before any of the rest. It would have been more seemly, no doubt, had she waited for her elders to disembark, but Anne Pollard was ever one to follow her nimble impulses and to snap her pretty fingers at convention. Years later, she was the keeper of the Horse Shoe Tavern of Boston, and in spite of the prayers and the threats of the good Bostonians, she continued to go her own blithe way until the day she died, at the age of 105 years.

Not all of the people from the Winthrop fleet followed their leader to Shawmut. Some preferred to remain in Salem and some in Charlestown. Some joined the little community established in Matapan (Dorchester) and others explored the rivers and waterways of the regions and chose sites that pleased them. Before the end of the year new settlements were started at Watertown, Mystic (Medford), Roxbury and Saugus (Lynn). Governor Winthrop was troubled by this unexpected dispersion of his people, but there seemed to be no help for it; and it so happened that it worked out very well.

In spite of discouragement and anxiety, the organization of church and state received the prompt attention of the leaders of the new Colony. On the thirtieth of July, a day solemnized by fast-

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ing and prayer, a church covenant was entered into. John Wilson was chosen pastor. The first meeting place was in Charlestown, abroad under a tree, where both Master Wilson and Master Phillips preached rousing sermons. The first meeting of the Court of Assistants was held in Charlestown in August, with Governor Winthrop presiding. Among the many questions considered at this momentous meeting was the conduct of the irrepressible Thomas Morton, of Merry-Mount, who took great delight in thumbing his nose at his precise neighbors in Plymouth. The next meeting was held on the seventh day of September, at which time it was voted that Trimountain be called Boston, after old St. Botolph's town in Lincolnshire.

It was not long before Mr. Blackstone had all he could endure of his Puritan neighbors. Leaving them in full possession of the field, he retired to the wilds of the Narragansett country. His orchards he sold to the town for the sum of thirty pounds. This land was set aside forevermore for the common use of the citizens of Boston.

The sailing of the Winthrop fleet was the signal for the great Puritan exodus. During the next ten years the "sea-lanes were filled with ships moving toward the west." Some 20,000 English subjects emigrated to New England, and King Charles' attitude of good riddance to bad rubbish changed to one of alarm. Too many valuable taxpayers were leaving the country and the cocky young Bay Colony was becoming entirely too strong and independent to suit either His Royal Highness or the Lord Bishop. Archbishop Laud, concerned for the souls of the straying Puritans, declared that the King would not suffer such numbers of people to run to ruin. Laud saw to it that the restrictions on emigration were made more stringent and that they were more strictly enforced. The result was, that after 1634, there was a perfect maze of red tape to untangle and any number of oaths to be sworn, before one could obtain a license to pass beyond the seas. Such difficulties, however, seemed but to strengthen the determination of the Puritans to leave England, and the stream of emigration flowed steadily on. The laws designed to prevent silenced ministers from going to the colonies were curiously ineffective—there were Puritan ministers on every outgoing ship. Sometimes they underwent a period of concealment, and then travelled under assumed names and occupations; sometimes they fled to the Continent, embark-

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ing for the New World from foreign ports; sometimes they simply persisted in their efforts until they overcame the obstacles in their paths. As to the Certificates of Conformity which every passenger was obliged to have, there could always be found complaisant rectors and justices who were not adverse to issuing a wholesale certification of a ship's passenger list, and no questions asked. And so, by one device or another, the resolute Puritans, encased in the impregnable armor of Divine Guidance, managed to evade the new laws and go their chosen way. They went from every county in England, but the greatest number went from East Anglia. It has been said that about two-thirds of the American people who trace their ancestry to New England could follow it back to the East Anglian shires of the Mother Country. And, according to John Fiske, many Americans who boast of their unmixed English stock, are descended from Dutch or Flemish ancestors who first saw England in the Duke of Alva's time.

VII

Religious persecution and political injustice were not the only causes of the great migration. The lure of free land was the magnet that attracted many. In East Anglia, while the religious motive was always prominent, oppressive economic conditions were responsible for the departure of many more. Agrarian readjustment and troubled trade conditions, were causing widespread distress. During these disturbing times in Norwich, the amount necessary for poor relief had to be doubled, because of the increase in unemployment. Many were obliged to sell all they possessed, "even to theyr bedd straw, and could not get worke to earne any munny." The workers of Norwich felt the pinch of hard times and turned to America in the hope of bettering their condition. The Foulgers had many friends and neighbors who left England during this period. Practically all of the passengers on the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, for instance, sailing from Yarmouth in 1633, were from Norfolk—most of them from Norwich and Hingham. But it was not until two years later, when Archbishop Laud disrupted the worship of the foreign congregations in England, that the Foulger family emigrated to New England.

William Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and straightway began a conscientious campaign for ridding the churches

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of England of the taint of nonconformity. He sincerely believed it his mission to restore the beauty of holiness to all the parishes that had strayed from the established form of worship. He believed, as did the Pharisees of old, that there was a mysterious spiritual power in the use of certain prescribed ritual. As a result of his work, thousands of Puritans were driven from the country. Even private family worship was investigated and regulated. Laud attempted to dictate to the English congregations in Holland, where many silenced ministers had found a warm welcome, but they were adequately protected by Dutch law and his authority could not reach them. The churches of New England, however, were considered as truly belonging to his fold, and he had no intention of allowing them to continue on their erring way. There were a number of influential men in London who had grudges of one sort or another against the Massachusetts Bay Company, and who were busy plotting to have the charter revoked and land titles annulled. In their plans to curb the political independence of the sturdy young Colony, they had the active support of Laud; also of Charles, who now found it convenient to regard the royal patent as a mere scrap of paper. When the news reached the colonies that they were to be deprived of their charter, and that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who sought to recover his old claims, would be sent out to govern them, Massachusetts prepared for armed resistance. The harbor was fortified, military training begun, and a beacon set up on the highest hill in Boston, to flash the news of approaching ships. But before the proceedings against the Bay Colony could be carried out, the King and his bishop found themselves completely overwhelmed by the turn of affairs at home. According to Governor Winthrop, "The Lord frustrated their design."

In the meantime, Laud had turned his unwelcome attention to the foreign churches in England. Until this time they had been allowed to enjoy all the privileges and immunities granted them by Elizabeth. James I, much as he disliked their beliefs, had followed Elizabeth's example of politic tolerance toward them, and Charles I had promised to carry out the same policy. But the promises of Charles were lightly broken. Laud saw no reason why the foreign churches should be allowed concessions denied to the native ones, and when he decided to withdraw these privileges, Charles turned a deaf ear to all

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protests. The injunctions issued by Laud, and ratified by the King in 1635, directed that all children, grandchildren or other descendants of foreigners, who were born in England, conform to the Anglican Church; that they attend the established parish churches and perform all duties and payments required. Only to such foreigners who had been born abroad would the privilege of worshipping in their own churches be granted. This meant the virtual dissolution of the foreign congregations. Protests and petitions were of no avail—the order was enforced—and thousands of English subjects of foreign extraction joined the great migration to other lands. So many of the descendants of the refugees from the Netherlands chose to leave England rather than change their way of worship, that several industrial centers in East Anglia were virtually abandoned. The city of Norwich alone lost three thousand artisans—among them John and Peter Foulger. The Foulgers sailed for New England in July, 1635, on the ship *Abigail*.

Fifty years later Josiah Franklin, a dyer of Banbury, left England because of his religious convictions. He settled in Boston and married Abiah Folger, youngest daughter of Peter Folger, of Nantucket.

(To be Continued)

The Vigilante Movement and Its Press in Montana

BY R. L. HOUSMAN, PH. D.,

HEAD OF SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY,
MISSOULA, MONTANA



THE rumor of gold found in the Bitterroot country of the Rocky Mountain Northwest in the '60s reached to all points of the compass in the United States, and to all manner of men. From the East came the warworn, the restless, the dissatisfied. The rumor reached California and sent old and experienced prospectors northward. From Nevada a stream of men, feeling the old thrill of the search for a new El Dorado, packed their animals and pointed their heads west and north. With them came the gamblers, the road agents, the murderers.

It was inevitable that both the good and the bad should come, should rub shoulders in the hurly-burly of the camps either side of the Bitterroot mountains, later Idaho and Montana territories respectively. And it was equally inevitable that a clash should come, a decisive issue be made, between the power urge of men organized for crime and the force of men organized for the perpetuation of civilized society.

The criminal had come to these camps from Nevada, California, Colorado, and elsewhere, together with the honest man. Both seeking fortune—each in his way. The organization of the criminals into a band, the organization of the miners against them to effect their final extermination—these are now history. Contemporary and later writing has given us the story of those vigilante days in detail.¹ One may here briefly recall the salient facts of that interlude:

1. T. J. Dimsdale: *Vigilantes of Montana*, Montana Post Press, 1866, Virginia City, Montana Territory. N. P. Langford: *Vigilante Days and Ways*, J. G. Cupples Company, Boston, 1890. Hoffman Birney: *Vigilante*, The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1929.

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Frightened and incensed against the menace which the organized banditti of the Rocky Mountain Northwest presented to the miners in Montana gold camps, a group of men in and around Virginia City, Montana Territory, organized themselves into a vigilance committee. Modeled on the California organization, its purpose was to unite in a "party for the laudable purpos(e) of arresting thieves and murderers."² It was established late in 1863; and within a year, with a series of swift, sharply executed moves (two dozen or more hangings) it had broken the back of organized banditry in the newly created Territory.

The movement, as it first appeared, redounds to the credit of the Montana pioneer. It was forceful and fruitful. Coming out of the urge for self-preservation, like the first Ku-Klux movement in the post-war South, it rose in summary retribution against a force which threatened not only its immediate present but its future also. It was without a public opinion crystallized by any one of civilization's aids to mass articulation, such as the press, which was to come later; it was personal organization under personal leadership against a general menace. It may rightly be called one of the remarkable periods in frontier history.

But no general frontier history has thus far made it clear that this movement had a less worthy sequel. The first period was represented by the single year ending in the fall of 1864. The second stretched from 1864 to 1873.

The first is historically and authoritatively *the* Vigilante phase, in which the hangings were definitely the fruits of organized vigilante justice. It might even be called the "legal" execution phase of the movement, because the hangings were carried out by the only law and order the frontier camps possessed—miners' courts and organized miner groups.

The second phase lasted over a ten-year period, during which, however inadequate the pioneer may have felt them to be, official courts and judiciary were a recognized portion of the machinery of the Territory.

There was, as I have said, no press during the "official" vigilante year, to reflect or to crystallize public support of the hangings. With

2. Photograph of original, in Montana State Historical Library files.

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the coming of the newspaper to the Montana frontier, however, we have a definite measure of public opinion in regard to the vigilance movement:

T. J. Dimsdale, the first editor of the first newspaper in the Territory of Montana, established in the fall of 1864, gathered material from contemporaries and published the story of the previous year's vigilante hangings serially, in twenty-nine issues of the *Virginia City Montana Post*, August 26, 1865, to March 24, 1866. The serial story was immediately republished in book form and had wide circulation during the ten year period of unofficial and sporadic vigilante activity.

It is difficult to estimate the probable effect of what Mark Twain called "a blood thirstily interesting little Montana book."³ Certainly it romanticized if it did not actually perpetuate the extra-legal activity which the coming of the courts presumably made no longer necessary.

It is of great interest that during the entire ten years of "illegal" vigilante activity, the newspapers published detailed accounts of the extra-legal executions; that *in all but one of these accounts we find the frontier attitude, as reflected and high-lighted by the newspapers, implying an acceptance of vigilante justice as an essential part of the frontier.*

The "official" vigilante executions had been planned and carried out by a group of men which included Wilbur F. Sanders (as official prosecutor), John X. Biedler, Neil Howie, John Featherstun and others whose names were to be later connected in other ways with the Territory's history.⁴

The power of organized banditry was regarded as broken in Montana's frontier society by the time that Dimsdale's *Vigilantes of Montana* was published. But the exploits of the vigilantes were published and republished, the men themselves remained in positions of influence and leadership in the Territory, the vigilante spirit continued.

Of the Vigilante activity prior to the publication of Dimsdale's account, as a recent authority has said:⁵ "This organization extermi-

3. Mark Twain: *Roughing It*, American Publishing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, 1872, p. 84.

4. R. G. Raymer: *History of Montana*, Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1930, pp. 221-22.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

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nated lawlessness by two dozen hangings. After this work was done . . . peace officers were able, with the aid of the staff of the Territorial Marshal, to maintain public order. . . . ”

But were they?

Dimsdale wrote his stories in the historic past. Officially, at least, informal justice was over. In charging the first grand jury of the Montana frontier, Chief Justice Hosmer had made that clear:⁶

We give them [the vigilantes] all the credit they deserve . . . they have fulfilled their work . . . courts of law and equity . . . from this day forth—established in this territory, are clothed with ample power to punish all offenses against the peace and good order of society.

But the impromptu scaffolds and the midnight executions against which the Chief Justice inveighed were not entirely of the past. Executions outside the law were by no means over. And two years later Hosmer was obliged to add as commentary to his earlier hopes:

The revolver, however, is still there, and much too often resorted to as the umpire to settle sudden quarrels; *and the terror of the vigilantes has been sometimes invoked, and I fear on one or two occasions employed when milder measures could have accomplished the object.*⁷

The attitude of the press was made plain enough. In discussing Hosmer's charge to the grand jury, the *Montana Post* editorialized:⁸

Anyone reading his charge . . . must be struck with admiration at the masterly manner with which the delicate subjects therein discussed are handled. We think that none of the Vigilantes can feel hurt or even otherwise than gratified by the excellent remarks of the Chief Justice concerning the invaluable institutions. . . . The peril of life and institutions which those heroic men encountered, when first they stemmed the tide of lawless force . . . has entitled them to the lasting gratitude of the men of Montana. None were ever armed with such powers and used them so fairly. . . . For many months the streets of the sister cities have been as safe to the unarmed pedestrian as the best guarded thoroughfares of New York or Boston. . . . The conviction that the stern arms of retribution would reach the criminal . . . had become universal and flight itself was small secur-

6. *Montana Post*, December 10, 1864.

7. *Montana*, an address delivered by Chief Justice H. L. Hosmer before the Travelers Club, New York City; New York Printing Company, January, 1866.

8. *Montana Post*, December 10, 1864.

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ity. . . . So far as the offenses of murder and robbery are concerned we very much doubt whether the law itself will afford a more absolute protection; but there are other infractions of right that cannot be settled by the tree and cord, and for these the visitations of authorized justice are the only true remedy.

Yet our quondam judges are not dead but resting from labors. Let not villainy dare to resist the law.

Between 1865, when Dimsdale published his story, and 1873, the newspapers of the Territory were to record the hanging of at least twenty-five men without benefit or official sanction of the law, unless one finds significance in the fact that Neil Howie and X. Biedler, two noted Vigilantes, were in the United States service as marshals during the period covering many of these executions.⁹

Two weeks after publishing Hosmer's charge to the grand jury at Virginia City, the *Post* described an extra-legal execution which took place at Nevada, a few miles from Virginia City.¹⁰ The word picture of the hanging of "John Dolan, *alias* Coyle, *alias* the Hat"¹¹ is reproduced here for the reader's study. Note the point of view of the writer: he is reflecting the group—even to presenting logical justification for the action. Notice also the tenor of the crowd—its movements before and after the execution:

Shortly after sundown, a strong body of armed citizens marched from Highland, Pine Grove, Junction and Virginia, and joining the force already on the ground, formed on each side of the entrance to the ball room next to the Jackson House where the prisoner was con-

9. Their names appear as marshals in the official directory of the territory published in the *Montana Post* (December 16, 1865) and the official lists in the contributions to the Montana Historical Society, appendix Vol. I. Also an enlightening note in the *Montana Post*: The Virginia City (Nevada), *Enterprise* on recopying an item regarding the arrest of a Montana criminal by "X" supposes the "X" mean the vigilantes. The *Post* wants to explain that "X" all over Montana means "J. X. Biedler, Deputy U. S. Marshal and Collector of Customs for the Post of Helena, about 67 inches in height and very individual with the parts of a gentleman. From the official position he occupies his name has frequently been associated with the Vigilantes of Montana, but he would doubtless disclaim all knowledge of such an organization." *Montana Post*, February 29, 1868.

10. *Montana Post*, September 24, 1864.

11. *Montana Post*, September 24, 1864: John Dolan, *alias* Coyle, *alias* "the hat," arrested by John McGraw, a citizen of Montana Territory, for robbing a man of \$700 in gold. Followed him from V. C. to Salt Lake south to Springfield—arrested him there. Denied theft but some of the nuggets were recognized as stolen property, confessed, and would return on promise he would be protected from vigilantes. (This from Union Vedette of Salt Lake), copied in this issue of *Montana Post*, where appears the note—"Mr. McGraw arrived here last night with the prisoner." *Montana Post*, September 16, 1864.

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fined. In a few moments, the culprit, pinioned and guarded, made his appearance, when the procession moved on at once in military array to the place of execution.

The prisoner, who to the last, exhibited the utmost indifference, was in the centre. Arrived on the ground, a circle was instantly formed and the prisoner placed standing on a board supported in such a manner that a touch of the hand only was required to convert it into a drop. The citizens' guard, with revolvers ready for instant use, faced outwards and confronted the crowd, which numbered between four and five thousand individuals.

The prisoner, being asked if he had anything to say, addressed the multitude in a cool and perfectly firm voice, acknowledging that he had committed the crime with which he was charged, but saying he was drunk when he did it. He added that he was well known in California and other places, and had never been accused of doing any similar action before. He then bade them all good-bye, and requested that some of his friends would bury his body. The rope was then placed around his neck, the plank fell, and in a moment, the prisoner was swaying in the night wind. He died without a struggle.

A stern order to fall back, enforced by the click of five hundred revolvers, startled the dense crowd, and an instantaneous stampede of the wildest description took place. After a time, the people began quietly to reassemble and were *forcibly reminded in a most impressive manner, by a gentleman called upon for that purpose, of the sad necessity for such examples, and of the righteousness of such retribution, in a district where life and property were so often unavoidably exposed.* The excuse of the man that he was drunk, was untenable; for, when arrested, he offered to refund the missing \$400, but only on condition that his life should be spared; which a due regard for the public safety rendered impossible. A proposition was then made to raise a sum sufficient to replace the money lost by the poor miner, which was responded to liberally on the ground. After ascertaining that life was extinct, the body was delivered over to Dolan's friends, the procession reformed and marched off the ground—the crowd dispersed without confusion. *The whole proceedings were conducted with a solemnity and decency not usually seen in older communities. Among those present at the execution were many of the worthiest and most influential citizens of the neighborhood.*

It was naturally to be expected that, law having officially come to the territory, this sort of activity should quiet down. It did—after the town of Bannack consummated an act of "importance to the welfare of their community" two weeks later:

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Our usually quiet and steady neighbors of Bannack *have a way of doing acts of importance to the welfare of their community, which is, to say the least, commendable.* And evidence of this fact was given last Monday morning, by discovering that, during the night previous, some person or persons, or rather *an organization, who have always done things of that character justly and equitably, had executed a man named Rawley, for whom they had been waiting and watching for the past six months.* He left Bannack last winter as soon as the *citizens took unto themselves the right to exterminate a class of men who were a scourge and a curse upon us,* and returned some three or four weeks ago, without doubt, to commence again the same routine of crime. His intentions in this were brought to a rather untimely end by the vigilance of the people and they gave him his desserts in the most quick and energetic manner that anything of this kind has been heretofore performed.¹²

And three weeks before Dimsdale published the first installment of his vigilante story in the historic past, Dry Gulch had itself a Sunday hanging:

On the morning of Sunday the 30th ult. the rumor flew through town with incredible rapidity that a man was hanging by the neck on the same tree in Dry Gulch on which John Keene suffered for the murder of Slater. We repaired to the spot, and there, swinging by the neck (he) was suspended.¹³

The first installment of the Vigilante story below Thomas J. Dimsdale's copyright stated clearly enough its purpose to modify the views of the people of the United States who are "*most prejudiced against the summary retribution of mountain law.*"¹⁴

In the same issue of the *Post* "the police court present a blank docket. Considering the crowded state of the streets of freighters, emigrants and parties in transitu, this is very gratifying."

Law, at least physical manifestations of it, had evidently been developing; the issue of the week before¹⁵ had reported a new courtroom "with fine seats, tables, desk and chairs and a portion of it partitioned off for the judge."

The first and second weeks' installments carried "color," introductory material and the list of road agents who had been executed.

12. *Montana Post*, November 5, 1864.

13. *Montana Post*, August 5, 1865.

14. *Montana Post*, August 26, 1865.

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In the same issue which described the new courtroom, Colonel Sanders reported that "a scoundrel was lurking in the bushes" on his way home. The colonel chased but could not catch him. *The editor—Dimsdale?—adds that "this outrage will demand a hempen solution."*¹⁵ One recalls that Sanders was the young prosecutor against road agents.

At any rate, following the next issue¹⁶ in which Plummer and Crawford come to light in the serial, there is posted about the town and printed in the *Post* a general warning by the Vigilante Committee¹⁷ "stating . . . *whereas the power of civil authorities, though executed to its full extent, is frequently insufficient to prevent 'the already mentioned' against the person and property of the citizens of Montana . . . (therefore) the Vigilante committee have determined to take these matters into their own hands and inflict summary punishment upon any and all malefactors. . . .*"

There is added the statement: "In all cases the committee will respect and sustain the action of the civil authorities." *This manifesto is dated September 19, 1865.*

Also in that issue¹⁸ is a Helena item: "the beams of the rising sun fell upon the stiffened corpse of Tommy Cooke . . . with the fatal sign of the Vigilantes, (3-7-77) and bearing the simple legend 'Pickpocket.'"

The next issue¹⁹ records the resignation of Neil Howie as sheriff. (He was to be appointed United States Marshal at a later time.)

The same issue²⁰ reports "two men found hanging from a hay frame . . . the notice of the Vigilantes with a pencil inscription across it 'Road agents Beware!'" At the end of the same column, showing perhaps the salutary effect of the executions, the account adds that a prisoner in the city jail, "learning of the immediate proximity of the bodies . . ." made a sudden escape. "Seizing a pickaxe he wrenched open the door and mingling with the crowd, departed for some locality unknown."

That Vigilante secret activity in certain quarters engendered hatred and fear is apparent. The following is interesting commentary:

15. *Montana Post*, September 9, 1865.

16. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1865.

17. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1865.

18. *Montana Post*, September 23, 1865.

19. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1865.

20. *Idem.*

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Another tragedy occurred in Diamond on the evening of the 4th inst., about 12 o'clock. A young man by the name of Lane Smith, being intoxicated, went howling up the street in search of the chief of the Vigilantes, bursting in the door of the Star Bakery, and with a drawn dirk in his hand rushed into the back room, and flourishing it drove it into a table and broke it into several pieces, then returned to the front room and called for liquor, and on being refused, made an assault upon the bar tender. The proprietor, Mr. Joseph Whitman, then interfered, and was instantly knocked down by Smith, falling behind the bar. On arising, Mr. Whitman drew a pistol from under the counter and immediately fired, hitting Smith in the neck, inflicting a mortal wound, from the effects of which he died on the 5th inst., about 3 o'clock. Whitman was arrested and taken before Justices Weston and Garrigan, and after a thorough investigation was honorably discharged.²¹

The *Post* records as a Helena item²² that Featherstun, Assistant United States Marshal, gathered together a posse from that town to pursue "two masked robbers" who ordered him to surrender. Asking them not to shoot, and springing from his horse, which he put between himself and the two men, he had fired, wounding one, and had then made his way back to Helena to collect the posse.

In the same issue²² Diamond City items record that "Jack Howard was found dangling from the limb of a tree in town." The placard bore the inscription "Robber." Also in the same issue,²² as a local treat, we are informed that of the "two men (who) were found hanging from a hay frame . . . John Morgan . . . was one. The inscription on the placard was 'Road agents Beware!' The other was John Jackson *alias* Jones." The editor adds that parties in the crowd, and police, "intimate that horse stealing was the crime."

To Dimsdale, perhaps for his extremely patriotic articles on the Vigilantes (of which Chapter XII opens the installment in this issue, in which the Morgan-Jackson hanging is recorded) came "a splendid revolver and belt" from generous friends. It was "silver plated and gilt on barrel and ivory handles on which is beautifully carved in alto relievo the American eagle grasping in its talons the national shield, and the mythological thunderbolts."

21. *Rocky Mountain Gazette*, June 15, 1867.

22. *Montana Post*, September 30, 1865.

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He trusts he will carry it as a "memento of their esteem," but if necessary he will use it "for the defence of the life or the property of any American citizen, or in warfare under the American flag."

Biedler and Howie are among the donors of this gift.

In the next issue (a Helena item)²³ we read of two bodies unidentified, and one identified as Con. Kirby of Boise, hanging "from the same old tree." This tree is "near the Prickly Pear tollgate about (50) miles from Confederate."

And six weeks after that, "two bodies were seen suspended from a tree in Dry Gulch . . . as the stage was leaving."²⁴

A following issue, however, says that it must have been only one who was hanged the previous week in Dry Gulch. It was "one George Sanders with the following placard on his back 'this man was hung for robbing A. Slane of \$1,180 and for other small stealings!'"²⁵

In the same issue, under the caption "Bloody Affray—Man Murdered,"²⁶ the story of the stabbing of Andrew Gartley by James B. Daniels over a poker dispute comes from Helena. Daniels is in the hands of "Acting U. S. Marshal Neil Howie."

The following week announces Daniels' indictment by the grand jury.²⁷

Two weeks later he is convicted for manslaughter, and his attorneys move for a new trial.²⁸ By the same issue we know that Biedler is in Helena. A certain Jimmy Garron had walked up to a man sitting on a table and after a few words had knocked him off the table with his pistol. Garron drew and fired. Biedler "took a different course than usual . . . let the fellow go."²⁹

Now follows "Erratum: Counsel for defendant in the manslaughter case of 'The People *versus* James B. Daniels' did not move for a new trial . . . Friday, Dec. 29, Godwin and Gray started a team for Virginia City with two prisoners, James B. Daniels and a man charged with selling liquor to the Indians."³⁰

23. *Montana Post*, October 7, 1865.

24. *Montana Post*, November 25, 1865.

25. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1865.

26. *Idem*.

27. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1865.

28. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1865.

29. *Montana Post*, December 30, 1865.

30. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.

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Before we hear again of Daniels, two more hangings are reported: "On the 5th. inst. a man named Chas. Jewett was found hanging in full sight of Gallatin City. . . ." Left by the sheriff in the hands of two men, Jewett climbed the gallows tree with the *aid of 14 Vigilantes* from Diamond City.³¹ Jewett was guilty of accidentally killing a bystander during a quarrel.

The previous day another man, unknown, had been found "stretching hemp" over at East Gallatin. Concerning his culpability, the *Post* remarks "its nae for nothing. . . ." ³¹

Unique is the next incident in the Daniels case. A Territorial Governor reprieved a man convicted of manslaughter! Governor Meagher, in his reprieve of Daniels, said that citizens of Edgerton County and several jurymen had informed him that the circumstances under which the crime was committed were so "provoking on the part of the deceased" that he felt a reprieve was justified.³²

To investigate the reprieve of Daniels, Judge Munson came "poste-haste" from Helena.³³

The next issue reports the illegal execution of Daniels, as follows:³⁴ While Judge Munson argued his case with Governor Meagher, Daniels left for Helena. Meagher refused to annul the reprieve. Judge Munson, in defiance of the Governor, ordered the arrest of Daniels and left for Helena with the acting marshal.

Sheriff Howie ordered his deputy, Featherstun, to arrest Daniels. Daniels, arriving in Helena, went to Featherstun for protection, according to Featherstun's statement in this issue. On Daniel's request Featherstun went uptown to find out what the feeling was there. While Featherstun was gone, Daniels was taken out by a group of citizens and hanged.

Deer Lodge now had its "man for breakfast,"³⁵ a certain Leander A. Johnson, who had been convicted of cattle stealing. He was "sent to Virginia for safekeeping," but the sheriff refused him jail on the charge, and he was brought back to Deer Lodge. Manacled, he was taken out and hanged. "The wind blew fitful gusts and blew the body

31. *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1866.

32. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1866.

33. *Montana Post*, March 3, 1866.

34. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1866.

35. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1866.

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to and fro while the chain which dangled from the manacle around his limb clanked. . . . ” reported the correspondent, after watching the body hanging in the morning sun.

The next hanging may not be called a Vigilante execution, since it was held on a miners’ court order in German Gulch, where the killing took place. Nevertheless, it was unique. The man for whose killing J. L. Goones was hanged, survived! “After hanging an hour or two,” says the correspondent, “*what had been* J. L. Goones was buried—and his part in the tragedy closed.”³⁶

There is an editorial note following the correspondence: “Since the above was in type we learn that the man Dowd will recover.” But the man who had “murdered” him had been hanged.

Hangman’s tree³⁷ in Dry Gulch was to serve again. This time it was John (Frenchy) Crouchet, who once took \$700 from Captain John Rogers “while the latter was under the influence of liquor”—and returned some \$300 of it. Frenchy later got mixed up with petty crimes about town and so the tree called him.³⁸

A year passed, and Virginia City became reminiscent erroneously. Charles Wilson, reputed to have been connected with Slade of the original batch executed by the Vigilantes, broke “the peaceful equanimity of Virginia” by swaying in its fall air. The *Post’s* editor rudely leaves out the memory of “Frenchy’s” execution the year before in Helena. He says this is the first Vigilante execution since Daniels.³⁹

Next item, a month later, on Vigilante activities, begins: “On Tuesday, Oct. 22d, ‘X’ Biedler arrested in Helena J. M. Douglas, a noted cattle thief. On the following Thursday he escaped from confinement. . . . ” So ended the prologue to a new tragedy.⁴⁰

Patching the story together: J. M. Douglas, arrested by the executioner, was not guarded on the night of his arrest. Someone else entered the room and, in his own words, “when the sentinel came into his room, in Helena, and went to sleep, he thought it was to permit the Vigilantes to come in and hang him.”⁴⁰

36. *Montana Post*, May 12, 1866.

37. Anybody who says there is more than one Vigilance Committee in Montana isn’t telling the truth. There is only one, says the *Post*, in this Territory, and the gentleman who went to the Blackfoot and said that he saw 16 men hanging from one tree should not be believed. *Montana Post*, October 14, 1865.

38. *Montana Post*, June 9, 1865.

39. *Montana Post*, September 28, 1867.

40. *Montana Post*, November 23, 1867.

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He let the guard sleep but did not wait for the Vigilantes. He lowered himself from the window of the room by blankets. "He fled to the mountains and remained there eight days afraid to leave while the snow would reveal his tracks." On the ninth day he broke the link which joined his handcuffs and went as far south as Big Hole Station, where he offered two horses for sale—"sold one fine horse . . . for \$100 and offered another very cheap." He "found no purchaser. Concluding afterwards to purchase, they went for him to his camp about one mile above the river. He came down" but excited suspicion. He was recognized as Douglas, and when they followed him to his camp, they found him gone. They trailed him and captured him.

He was guarded that night in Big Hole, where he cried almost continually and on Tuesday taken to Highland . . . (where) . . . LeBeau (Lebaus), from whom he had stolen the 122 head of cattle a year ago, resided. He was taken . . . and kept in Red Mountain City. His guard told Douglas that if he stayed with him no harm should befall him, but he became nervous while they were eating supper, finished first, walked to the door and darted out into the darkness. He sought his fate. The next morning he was discovered just back of the town, hung by his neck and quite dead.

A portion of the last paragraph must conclude this story:

His chief anxiety was that while detained, X should arrive from Helena. He was heading for Green River and was congratulating himself on being beyond danger when he arrived at the Big Hole, but it had been willed otherwise and he sleeps his last sleep, buried in a nameless grave.⁴¹

The new year recorded the hanging of a man by the name of Wilson, and his partner, for horse stealing, "on a gallows in Jefferson Valley."⁴²

The next execution was, according to the detailed story, one by a miners' court, but it contained all the elements of Vigilante justice, so perhaps in justice to the Vigilantes it might be credited to them here.⁴³

George Ballou, drunk, and through his own and an inebriated companion's confession, "Chief of the Road," stabbed a saloonkeeper at Reynolds City in the act of disarming Ballou's crony named Cameron.

41. *Montana Post*, November 23, 1867.

42. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1868.

43. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1868.

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The murder was a drunken, vicious one. The miners' court gathered and within six hours from the crime Ballou was executed.

Cameron, a companion, was reported as having escaped, until he was found dead, supposedly at the hand of Indians, outside of Diamond City. They found the body—the description is the story—"at the place where he was killed, and the guns of the party he was with, and all the property left untouched."⁴⁴

The Beartown extra-legal executioners, also, were not to be inhibited in their functions by a deputy, posse, and the law.⁴⁵

Mr. Julian Guezala had been robbed. He said he had recognized Jack Varley when the thief's handkerchief mask had slipped. So Jack was arrested. The citizens got a court ready. Deputy Sheriff John Pine put in an appearance, but was refused custody of the prisoner. The sheriff secured a posse, but was told he'd have to fight the armed and barricaded citizenry. Proceedings of the "trial" continued. Deputy Sheriff John Keene from Cotton Wood arrived, but suffered the same rebuke. The "court" passed sentence and Varley was hanged. McGhee, one of the citizens, was arrested for complicity against the law.

Fort Benton came next with an over-strained affair.⁴⁶ The item tells the story well:

Wm. Hynson . . . a native of Missouri about twenty-eight years, who came here some two years ago and who has not borne a very good character during his sojourn in the Territory . . . Last summer . . . stole the rifle of Hon. Wm. H. Clagget from the Blackfoot coach and is supposed to be the one that murdered the Chinaman last winter. He has recently been employed as a watchman on the levee at Benton. A few nights before he was hung he is said to have knocked down and robbed a freighter. The fact that he obtained but two dollars by this proceeding did not lessen the magnitude of his crime in the eyes of the people at Benton and his case was therefore, without his knowledge, examined by the committee.

His execution being determined upon, the committee informed Hynson that they were about to hang someone and wished him to help them. In compliance with their requests, he actually bought the rope and assisted in the erection of the primitive scaffold which afterward served for his hanging. His body was allowed to hang for nearly two

44. *Montana Post*, August 14, 1868.

45. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1868.

46. *Montana Post*, August 28, 1868.

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days before he was cut down. The correspondent of the *Gazette* states that the following very affecting letter was found upon the person of the victim:

"My dear Son: Your father dreamed that you was in trouble, and that he had written to your lawyer in reference to you and received the answer that your case was a hopeless one. God forbid that it should be anything else but a dream. I your poor, broken-hearted mother am kept in suspense on your account. For God's sake come home!"

The name Hynson is corrected to Hinson by the *Herald* correspondent.⁴⁷

A Chinese, a unique bird to grace the gallows, is next. He was found "in that spot in Dry Gulch rendered historic by the Old Pine Tree." He was placarded "Ah Chow, the murderer of John B. Retzer. Beware! *The Vigilantes still live!*"⁴⁸

Was it the last hanging the old pine tree was to see when the souls of J. L. Compton and Joseph Wilson were "launched into eternity?"⁴⁹ At least, incomplete records point to this occasion as the last of its kind.

A concourse of "at least three thousand people" saw the hanging.

Ironic, these last words of Compton's? "Be careful and not lead the life I led for the last few days."

Chronologically, the last Vigilante execution in Montana Territory was in Bozeman.⁵⁰ Tripplett, an old hunter and trapper, was the victim. A "least prejudiced report"⁵¹ gives the details as follows:

"Z. Tripplett, an old hunter and trapper . . . in jail under indictment for the murder of a saloonkeeper named Gempler, knifed after an altercation over drinks,⁵² and John A. Sinclair, 'Steamboat Bill' . . . principally of negro extraction . . . living on the proceeds of Chinese prostitution," were executed by a "committee of citizens"—as they were now called.

The last of the Vigilante hangings delivered its valedictory in Bozeman as grandiosely as it had voiced its salutatory in Virginia

47. *Helena Weekly Herald*, September 3, 1868.

48. *Herald*, January 25, 1870.

49. *Helena Weekly Herald*, April 30, 1870.

50. *Bozeman Courier*, February 5, 1873.

51. *Montanian*, February 13, 1873.

52. Bozeman Correspondence of February 9, *Montanian*, February 13, 1873.

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City. It was addressed to the editor of the *Bozeman Courier*, and signed "Committee Three Hundred":

FEB. 1ST, 1873

DEAR SIR:

Permit us to inform the people of Bozeman and Gallatin county, through the columns of your paper, that all action of desperadoes, such as garroting soldiers, shooting or stabbing of white men or chinese, is now and forever played out in this community. So mote it be. . . .

Thus ends the list of extra-legal hangings which occurred during and after the publication of the Vigilante articles as of an era past, at a time when courts of law, sheriffs and their deputies, all the machinery of justice were available to the citizens of the Territory; when the Chief Justice of the Territory had made it emphatically known that the usefulness of the Vigilante organization was past.

It is left to the reader to determine, if he cares to, whether the issuance of that "bloodthirstily interesting little Montana book" and the occasional editorial bias on the side of the Vigilante method, were a crystallization of public opinion beyond its normal course; or the coincidence of the publication and the hang-over hangings, a purely fortuitous combination.

One note must be made on this phase of frontier journalism's reflection of journalistic activity: there was one voice raised in opposition to the extra-legal executions—particularly opposing J. X. Biedler's activity. It was that of J. E. Kerley, editor of the *Deer Lodge Independent*, who, in later years, was to say that his newspaper was the only one that was "opposed to the Vigilantes. I opposed them when they went to hanging without a public trial."⁵³

It was about the hanging of Ah Chow on Hangman's tree that Kerley made his protest. The *Rocky Mountain Gazette* in Helena had published the following: "X. Biedler yesterday applied for and obtained the rewards for the capture of the Chinaman, Ah Chow, he having arrested and turned him over to the individuals interested in his capture."⁵⁴

Kerley's editorial is an entire question which must be quoted in part, at least.

53. Statement obtained by Bancroft when he was collecting material for his history on Montana; the note is in the Bancroft library.

54. *Rocky Mountain Gazette*, January 27, 1870.

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Kerley is at a loss to understand—"Ah Chow was taken and hung by a lawless mob on the charge of killing John B. Ritzer."⁵⁵

We have also been informed that Mr. Biedler was, at the time of the killing of Ah Chow, and now is, Deputy U. S. marshal, and we are unwilling to believe him guilty of the double offense of aiding in the crime of murder.

We could not believe that any mere private citizen would engage in so lawless a proceeding and then have the temerity to acknowledge his guilt by applying for and receiving the reward.

The courts of our territory are organized and properly officered; we have heard no complaint against the judiciary or executive officers . . . thus far they have discharged their duty and given evidence of a disposition to do so in the future . . . they should be upheld . . . especially by the officers of the county, or we should drive them from our midst and take the law into our own hands.

It is the duty of the court to investigate the killing of Ah Chow and try *all* parties connected with it.

We know of but one tribunal that is legally authorized to pass upon that question, nor do we know of but one legal way of ascertaining the guilt or innocence of a party.

We hope this may be the last time we may be called upon to record such high-handed and lawless proceedings.

One does not find similar comment anywhere else in the Montana frontier pioneer press of that period.

55. *Deer Lodge Independent*, February 5, 1870.

Bray-Swart and Allied Families

BY MRS. VIOLA E. BRAY, FLINT, MICHIGAN

With Foreword by Walter S. Finley



ENEALOGY is the science that treats of tracing pedigrees, the ancestral lines from a common ancestor. History is a narration of facts and events arranged chronologically with their causes and effects. Family history is a combination of genealogy and history of a family which includes important facts pertaining to that family and to the various connections of that family. The compilers of this treatise of the Bray-Swart and Allied Families find much of value and interest not only in the direct lines of these families, but also in the many important connections with these lines.

Volumes could be written of the romance, pioneer life and heroic deeds of the ancestors of Everett Lewis Bray, late of Flint, Michigan, and his wife, Mrs. Viola Estella (Swart) Bray. The Swart and Vrooman progenitors were among the sturdy Dutch pioneers who were so important in the upbuilding of Albany, Schenectady and all that section of New York State, and included in those families were officers and soldiers in colonial wars and in the American Revolution. No more patriotic nor better citizens can be found than those Dutch pioneers and their descendants who are so important in the history of the Mohawk Valley, and much could be written of their early hardships and privations. We find that Adam Vrooman, an ancestor of Mrs. Viola Estella (Swart) Bray, by his heroic defense of his home against the French and Indians, in 1690, gained the admiration of the French who spared his life, although his wife and infant son were both killed in that massacre and his two eldest sons were taken prisoners.

More than a century and a half later we find Dr. Anselm Bray, grandfather of Everett Lewis Bray, as another heroic figure. A physician, Dr. Anselm Bray had practiced his profession in Mexico City, Mexico, later came to Springfield, Ohio, where he was interested in the founding of Wittenberg College. During the great

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cholera epidemic raging in that city in 1849, he was one of the two or three heroic physicians who remained there combating that dread scourge, and he, just at the time the epidemic was checked, fell a victim to cholera and died, a martyr to his chosen calling.

The Bray-Swart and Allied Families and the connections of these families, contain the names of many of America's noted men. Among them are Governor Thomas Welles, of Connecticut; Governor Thomas Chittenden, first Governor of Vermont, 1777-85, 1790-96; Jonas Galusha, Governor of Vermont, who married Mary, daughter of Governor Thomas Chittenden, and General Isaac Clark, distinguished for his service in the War of 1812, who married Hannah, daughter of Governor Thomas Chittenden.

In the Hawley and Seeley lines will be found the connections with Governors Thomas Welles and Robert Treat, of Connecticut, and through the Welles connection the descendants of Everett Lewis Bray trace in a direct line, back to Charlemagne and to the early Saxon Kings and the early Kings of Scotland. Many illustrious names are among the descendants of Joseph Hawley; among them are Rev. William Hawley, for thirty-five years rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Washington, District of Columbia, long known as the "President's Church," several Presidents of the United States having worshipped there during his régime; and Rev. Frank W. Gunsaulus, for twenty-eight years president of the Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago, Illinois.

The Seeley line goes back to Captain Robert Seeley, born in England, who came to Massachusetts with Winthrop's Fleet in 1630, and became one of the first settlers of Watertown. He was a lieutenant in the Pequot War, in 1637; captain of the New Haven troops against Ninegret in 1654, and was chief military officer of the Huntington Train Band in 1663.

Captain William Curtis, a Bray ancestor through the Hawley and Seeley lines, was one of the most important early settlers of Stratford, Connecticut, serving as deputy to the General Court for thirty-six sessions. He was commissioned lieutenant in the Stratford Train Band in 1667, captain in 1672, and in 1673 and 1675 was captain of the Fairfield County Troop. He also served on the Militia Committee in 1672 and on the War Committee in 1673.

In the Meigs line we find also many noted men. Captain Janna



Bray



Swart



Vrooman



Hawley

ARMORIAL COATS OF ARMS

1. The coat of arms of the City of London, which is a shield divided per pale, the dexter half argent, charged with a cross gules, and the sinister half gules, charged with a cross argent.

BRAY

Quarterly, 1st and 4th, argent, a chevron between three eagles, legs sable, armed and langued gules; 2d and 3d, vair three bends, gules.

Rest—A fess gules or. (Barks: "General Armory," Arms in possession of the family.)

SWART

Gules, a chevron or, charged with three lions passant guardant, palewise.

ROOMAN

Per fess the upper part divided per pale, 1st, or chevronny gules, 2d, or fretty gules a fesse purpure; the lower part party of three purpure, or fretty gules and gules; in chief a heart inverted proper surmounted by a crescent sable.

Rest—A fess gules or, charged with three lions passant guardant, palewise.

(L. Pierson: "First Settlers of Schenectady," opposite page 276 [uncolored picture].)

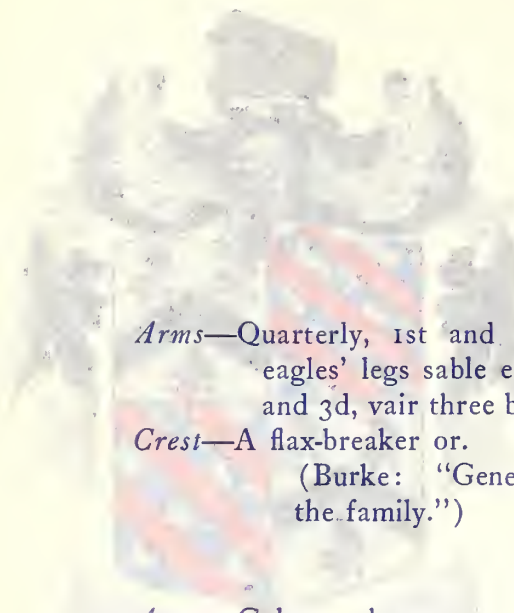
HAWLEY

Vert a saltire engrailed argent.

Rest—A dexter arm embowed in armor proper, garnished or, holding in the hand a spear point downward.

Rest—A fess gules or.

(Mather's "American Armory and Blue Book," 1903, p. 431.)

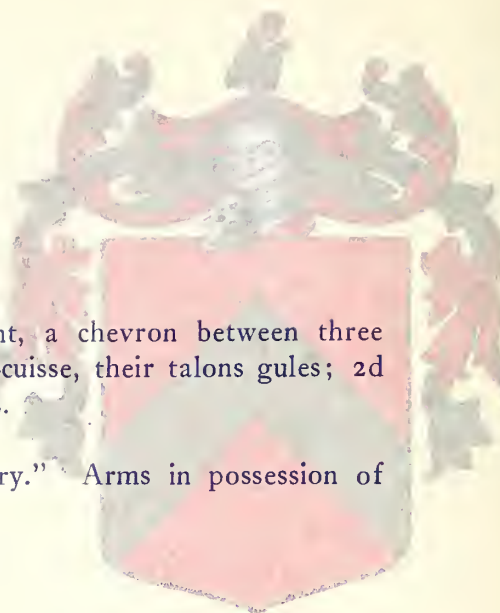


BRAY

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, argent, a chevron between three eagles' legs sable erased a-la-cuisse, their talons gules; 2d and 3d, vair three bends gules.

Crest—A flax-breaker or.

(Burke: "General Armory." Arms in possession of the family.)



SWART

Arms—Gules, a chevron or.

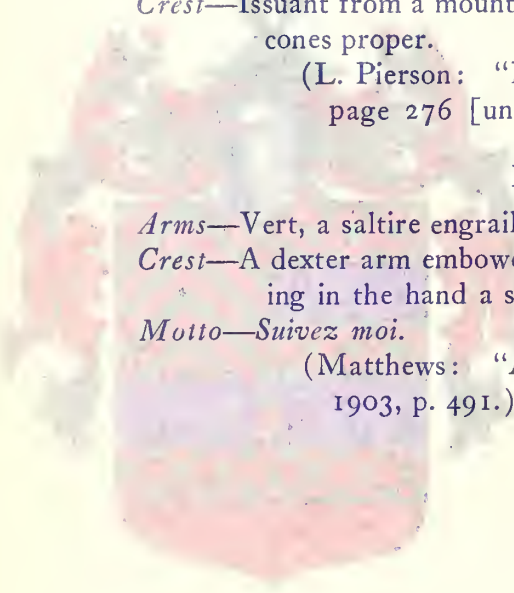
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

VROOMAN

Arms—Per fess the upper part divided per pale; 1st, or chevronny gules, 2d, or fretty gules a fesse purple; the lower part barry of three purple, or fretty gules and gules; in chief a heart inverted proper surmounted by a crescent sable.

Crest—Issuant from a mount vert charged with five bezants, two pine cones proper.

(L. Pierson: "First Settlers of Schenectady," opposite page 276 [uncolored picture].)



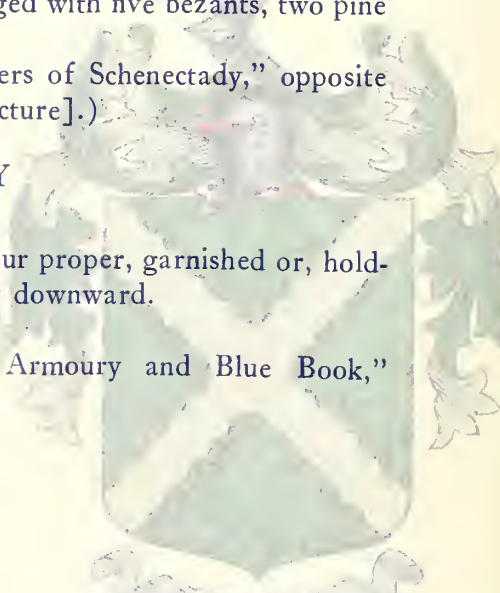
HAWLEY

Arms—Vert, a saltire engrailed argent.

Crest—A dexter arm embowed in armour proper, garnished or, holding in the hand a spear point downward.

Motto—*Suivez moi.*

(Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book," 1903, p. 491.)



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Meigs was a captain in Queen Anne's Wars and Deputy Governor of Connecticut. His wife, Hannah Willard, was a granddaughter of Major Simon Willard, who arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from London, England, in May, 1634. He was made lieutenant in 1637; captain in 1646, and in 1655 was made a major, which at that time was the highest rank in the colonial militia. Josiah Meigs was a graduate of Yale and later became the first president of the University of Georgia. His brother, John Meigs, was an officer in the American Revolution and later an officer in the War of 1812. Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs was an officer in the Connecticut Militia before the Revolution and was colonel of the 6th Connecticut Infantry during the Revolution, and later a pioneer settler of the Northwest Territory, largely instrumental in the founding of Marietta, the oldest city in Ohio. His son, Governor Return Jonathan Meigs, was twice Governor of Ohio, Supreme Judge of Ohio, United States Senator, and Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of President James Madison. His daughter, Mary Sophia, was the wife of John G. Jackson, Senator from Virginia, and United States District Judge of Western Virginia. Meigs County, Ohio, and Fort Meigs are named for this illustrious family.

A history of the Bray-Swart and Allied Families contains the names of many patriots who served their country valiantly and it would not be complete without mention of Menzo Swart, father of Mrs. Viola Estella (Swart) Bray, who served gallantly as an officer in the great War Between the States.

Thus we find in the history of the Bray-Swart and Allied Families, and families connected with them, sturdy and courageous pioneers, soldiers, officers and gentlemen, statesmen, educators, members of the clergy and leaders in business and the various professions; men and women who have been credits to their nation.

W. S. F.

(The Bray Line)

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, argent, a chevron between three eagles' legs sable erased a-la-cuisse, their talons gules; 2d and 3d, vair three bends gules.

Crest—A flax-breaker or.

Motto—*Gardez.* (Burke: "General Armory." Arms in possession of the family.)

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, argent a chevron between three eagles' legs sable erased a-la-cuisse, their talons gules; 2d and 3d, vair three bends gules.

Crest—A flax-breaker or.

(Burke: "General Armory." Arms in possession of the family.)

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Bray is a surname of locality origin which is found under different spellings in many countries in Europe. In England the name is found applied to parishes in counties Devon and Berks. The name is also found on the Roll of Battle Abbey among those who aided William the Conqueror in his conquest of England in 1066, and it is of record that Richard de Braie held lands at Winchester as early as 1148, while Richard de Brais possessed an estate at Cambridge and Bedfordshire in 1165. One branch of the Brays was seated in Devonshire in the thirteenth century and from this branch the Lords Bray descended, as well as Sir Reginald Bray, the eminent architect and Prime Minister to Henry VII. An interesting story which took place in the parish of Bray, County Berks, England, concerns the Vicar of Bray who changed his nominal religion three times in order that he might retain his position, saying that his one principal thought was "to live and die the Vicar of Bray."

"The Norman People," by King, states that the name derives from Bray, near Evreux, Normandy, and Milo de Brai (1064) and his son of the same name (1096), a crusader, are in evidence as early members of the family. Other forms of the name are the French *de Bray*, and *de Braye*, and the Dutch *Bree*. Many towns and districts in France employ Bray or some form of the name, such as: Bray-sur-Somme, Bray-sur-Seine, Bré-Côtes-du-Nord, Bray-la-Campagne, Bray-Calvados, and Pays de Bray.

In County Wicklow, Ireland, is a fashionable summer resort called Bray, near Brayhead, which rises 793 feet above the sea. In the ancient records the name was Bree, taken from the Old Irish *bri* or *brigh*, a hill.

As a family name the appellation Bray has been borne by eminent men down through the years. Several of the members of the various Bray families have held high official positions, and some of them appear to have been people of considerable wealth.

Among the earliest records of this family in England is the name of Sir Thomas de Bray, of Warwickshire, in the time of William the Conqueror, 1066.

The name of William, Sieur de Bray, occurs in the Roll of Battle Abbey, 1088. He was succeeded by Sir Robert Bray, Ranger of Saucy Forest, Northamptonshire, who was succeeded by his son, Sir

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James de Bray, in the time of Richard I. Anselm de Bray, of Cambridgeshire, 1273, was the next in line of descent and was succeeded by his son, William de Bray, whose son, Thomas de Bray, of Bedfordshire, married, for his second wife, the daughter of Braxby, and left a son, William Bray, father of Edmond Bray.

Sir Richard Bray, son of Edmond Bray, gentleman and surgeon, of Worcester, England, was descended from a branch of the Bray family which had held lands in County Bedford in the thirteenth century, and had a pardon of outlawry entered in the Patent Rolls of 1463. He is said by some to have been of the privy council to Henry VI, and this is probable as he was buried in the north aisle of Worcester Cathedral. One wife, Margaret, and five children were commemorated with him on his monument.

Richard Bray married (first) Margaret Sandes, daughter of John Sandes, of Furness Fell, County Lancaster, by whom he had an only son, Sir John, whose only daughter and heiress, Margery, married Sir William Sandys, Baron Sandys of the Vine. Richard Bray married (second) Joan Troughton, who was buried at Guildford, by whom he had two sons: Sir Reginald (above), a great statesman and architect, said to have been born at Waco in the suburban parish of St. John's in Bedwardine, near Worcester, who died August 5, 1503. He was receiver-general and master of the household to Sir Henry Stafford, second husband of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, mother of the Earl of Richmond, who afterward became Henry VII.

It was on Bosworth Field, August 22, 1485, after Richard III, the last of the Plantagenet Kings, was slain, that Reginald Bray found his golden crown hanging on a thorn bush and gave it to Lord Stanley, who placed it on the head of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, proclaiming him King Henry VII. Five weeks later at his coronation in Westminster Abbey, the King created Reginald Bray a Knight of the Bath. He was also instrumental in bringing about the marriage of the King with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, which united the red rose of the House of Lancaster with the white rose of York, and brought to an end the War of the Roses, that fierce civil struggle which had desolated England for nearly twenty years and marked her emergence from the shadows of medieval times into the

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dawn of the modern era. Sir Reginald Bray received many royal benefits and high honors, being created Knight of the Garter; Privy Councillor and joint Chief Justice of all the forests south of Trent; served a term in Parliament; High Treasurer and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; paymaster of forces in Brittany, 1492; high steward of the University of Oxford and perhaps of the University of Cambridge. For his bravery at the battle of Blackheath in June, 1497, he was made a knight banneret. He was trustee for the dower of Katherine of Aragon, guardian to Arthur, Prince of Wales, who died April 2, 1502, and of his brother Prince Henry, afterward King Henry VIII. He laid the foundation stone of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster, in January, 1503. Sir Reginald played a major part in the building of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, which has become the center of the historic castle. In the reign of Edward IV, Windsor saw the beginning of what was to become its culminating glory in the erection of the famous and splendid Chapel of St. George. Alterations and additions to the fabric of the castle have been made in successive reigns until the present time, but the stately chapel remains as the center of the great pile and its crowning ornament. Begun and completed in one design, and the work of craftsmen who have never been excelled, if indeed, they have ever been equalled, it exhibits one style of architecture in completeness and perfection and is the wonder and admiration of every beholder.

In 1472 the King appointed Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, to the office of Surveyor of the Chapel, the walls and foundations of which were found to be in serious danger, probably owing to the whole having been raised upon made ground, particularly toward the west end, where the slope of the hill toward the town was steep and precipitous. Authority was given to the bishop to remove and destroy all that stood in the way to the new and enlarged chapel, the works of which were prosecuted with such zeal and rapidity that within five years provision was made for hanging the bells, and contracts entered into for the carving of the stalls in the choir. The haste with which the work was pressed caused a great scarcity of masons in other parts of the country. Eton and Oxford both suffered in consequence. . . . The vaulting of St. George's Chapel is perhaps the finest that exists in any building. It and the somewhat simi-



SYDNEY PITCHER F.R.S.

Sir Reginald Bray
Panel in the North Transsept of the Great Malvern Priory Church

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lar roofs of Kings College, Cambridge, and Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, were all built by the same masons, and are unique in their wide spans and unsupported vaults.

The south transept is occupied by the chantry or chapel, known as the Braye Chapel, from Sir Reginald, who, after the death of Bishop Beauchamp, in 1481, was appointed superintendent of the works at the castle. Many parts of the building are decorated with his arms and crest, and by his badge of a hemp-bray, or brake. This occurs not only in the stone work, but also in the stained glass of the transept and of the nave, where some half dozen of these badges are still to be seen in the clerestory. Sir Reginald did not see the actual completion of his glorious design as it was not finished until twenty-five years after his death. Besides the arms of the Sovereign and Companions of the Order of the Garter decorating it, there may be seen the achievements of Charles V, Emperor of Germany; Francis I, King of France; and Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and afterward Emperor.

In the center of the Braye Chapel is placed the cenotaph and effigy of Louis Napoleon, only son of Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie, who was killed in South Africa while fighting with the British Army against the Zulus in 1879. He is represented wearing the uniform of an officer of the Royal Artillery. Close by hangs the sabre of Captain Wyatt-Edgell, of the 17th Lancers, who was killed at Ulundi when heir presumptive to the barony of Braye, and representative of the founder of the chapel. He was one of the escort when the body of the Prince Imperial was brought down to Natal. Against the west wall of the same chapel is erected a monument to another victim of the South African War. It is to Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein, eldest son of Prince and Princess Christian, and grandson of Queen Victoria. He was major of the King's Royal Rifles, and after a very distinguished career and much brave service he succumbed to an attack of fever, and lies buried in the distant colony where so many brave men of Britain have gone to their rest.

The figure of Sir Reginald Bray is to be seen in a stained-glass window in the south window of Jesus Chapel in the north transept of the Priory Church of Great Malvern, England. The glass in this window is about twenty years later than in the others, having been

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put in in 1502. About 1720 the glass was blown out in a storm and suffered much in consequence, but a great improvement in the arrangement was effected when the window was releaded in 1917. It has been called the "Virgin Mary" or the "Magnificat" window, the principal subject being the coronation of the Trinity. Verses of the Magnificat appear in the inscriptions. The pictures include: Coronation of the Virgin; Jesus with the Doctors in the Temple; Marriage at Cana; The Visitation; The Nativity; and the following kneeling figures of the benefactors of the Priory: Sir Thomas Lovell; Sir Reginald Bray; Prince Arthur, son of King Henry VII; and King Henry VII, who was most probably the donor of the window. The picture of the Queen has been destroyed. "St. Mary's Church in Oxford had once a window with the like figure of Sir Reginald Bray kneeling at a prayer desk in armour covered with a tabard displaying his own arms; argent a chevron between three eagles' legs erased sable. The cushion on which he kneels is of figured red stuff with gold tassels, the desk is hung with a violet cloth upon which lies a gold fringed cushion covered with a gold tasseled cloth, on the right edge of which his name is inscribed."

Sir Reginald married Katherine, the faithful friend and attendant of the Lady Elizabeth of York, the youngest daughter of Nicholas Hussey, Lord of Harling, Sussex. By his wife who survived him he left no children, and the representation of the male line passed to his nephew Edmund Bray, the son of his younger brother John. Sir Reginald Bray lies buried in the Braye Chapel. The manors of Shere, Vachery, and Cranley, of Gumshall, Tower Hill, and Gumshall Netley have remained in the name of Bray since the days of Sir Reginald.

Richard Bray had another son, John, by his second wife. John Bray was buried in the chancel of the Church at Chelsea, and had a daughter, who married Sir John Norris, and had three sons: i. Sir Edmund, Knight of the Garter, summoned to Parliament as Baron Bray. He was the ancestor of the Lords Braye and is also buried in the old Chelsea Church near his father. He was in attendance on Henry VIII when he met Francis I on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, "one of those nobles who with their pawned manors glistening on their backs followed Henry VIII to the field of the golden folly." He

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married Jane Halliwell, daughter of Richard Halliwell, and left a son Lord John Bray, who married a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury and had eight daughters. Of the funeral of Lord John Bray at Chelsea the heralds who marshalled it have preserved one of the most characteristic accounts "of those black velvet splendours."

Lord Bray died in the Blackfriars on a Thursday the 18th of November at three o'clock in the afternoon.

When the body was cold it was bowelled cered and coffined and brought into the great chamber where it lies under a table covered with a large pall of black unwatered camlet with a white cross along it. This pall has six scutcheons of his arms and his wife's arms wrought on buckram. A cross and tapers stand upon the pall, and the tapers burn there in the sight of those who watch before them until the Tuesday morning following. Early in the morning of that day John Lord Bray sets out for the Manor of Chelsea, and a great company with him.

First comes the cross with thirty-four priests and clerks following it. Then comes one hooded, who bears the dead Lord's standard, his long-tailed flag embroidered or painted with his crest of the lyon between two wyngs powdered with the dunne croppe eared connye and the brake and his word sera comme a Dieu plaira the price of that standard being thirty-three shillings and four pence, as appears by the bill annexed. Chaplains in their gowns and tippets go before Thomas Udall with the Bray banner and Rouge Dragon the pursuivant with the crested helm in his hands, Richmond herald with the coat of arms, and Garter King of Arms shepherding his tabored flock. My lord in his coffin comes next borne by six of his men and beside him walk two more hooded gentlemen who carry the banners of the Trinity and St. George (at 20 s a piece). Eighteen poor men carry eighteen torches before the chief mourner Sir George Broke, Knight of the Garter, Lord Cobham and many more mourners and friends.

In this order they go to the Blackfriars bridge and there take water upon two great barges covered with black and garnished with scutcheons, in which they row solemnly to Chelsea, the barge with the Lord's body going first.

At Chelsea Church the body is borne into the choir and set upon trestles within a chancel hung with blacks, amongst stools and cushions for mourners also covered with black. High candles burn on the barriers about the coffin, each with scutcheons of the Bray Arms.

Richmond herald bids the prayer for the soul of the right honourable Sir John Bray, Knight, late Lord Bray, asking a pater-noster for charity. Then is dirge sung, and mass of the requiem and divers

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masses at the side altar. At magnificat and benedictus, after the gospel and at libera me the corpse is censed. At the offering the Master Garter and his fellows with the seven mourners go up to the altar and a golden piece is offered for a mass penny. The coat of arms, the target, the sword and the helm and crest are each severally offered and set upon the altar by the heralds who take them from the priests hands. The mourners make their own offering, and Father Peryn, a blackfriar, begins his sermon on *Scio quia resurget in resurrectione in novissimo die*. Lazarus and his raising from the dead is expounded and Father Peryn or the good herald who reports him says that Lazarus was a gentleman given to chivalry for the wealth of his country. Application—even so was the noble man who lies here dead. At St. John's gospel standard and banners are offered, and the body is lowered to the grave. The mourners and heralds get them back to their boats and go back to their dinner in the dead lord's house at Blackfriars on the hall table where the black pall was.

ii. Edward, of whom further. iii. Reginald, ancestors of the Brays of Barrington, County Gloucester; married Ann Monington, of Barrington.

Sir Edward (1) Bray, Knight, of Vachery Park, Cranley, Surrey, purchased the Manor of Shere, in 1535, from his elder brother, Sir Edmund Bray, to whom it had been bequeathed by his uncle, Sir Reginald Bray. He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1539, and represented Surrey in the two Parliaments of Queen Mary. He died December 1, 1558, and was succeeded by his son:

Sir Edward (2) Bray, Knight, died in 1581. He was a Member of Parliament for Helston, Cornwall, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Sir Edward (2) Bray married (first) Mary Elrington, daughter of Simon Elrington, of Northampton; (second) Elizabeth Roper, daughter of William Roper, of Eltham, Kent, and his wife Margaret, who was the daughter of Sir Thomas More, that eminent lawyer and statesman, Lord Treasurer of the Exchequer, manager of the intrigues of Wolsey with Francis I, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Lord Chancellor. He held the Great Seal for two and a half years and was beheaded in the Tower because he refused to lend his authority to Henry VIII's project of divorce and second marriage, and also refused to swear allegiance to the act of succession for securing the throne to the offspring of Anne Boleyn. Sir Thomas More was the author of



*Bray, Manor of, Here,
Surrey, England*

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"Utopia." Sir Edward (2) Bray married (third) Magdalene Cotton, daughter of Sir Thomas Cotton, of Kent. In the direct descent from Sir Edward (2) Bray is found William Bray of Shere, the learned antiquary and historian of Surrey, who was baptized in November, 1736, and died in December, 1832. He was an attorney for fifty years on the board of Green Cloth and was treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries. He wrote a "Sketch of a Tour in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, etc.," and was editor of "John Evelyn's Diary." Between the ages of sixty-five and seventy-eight he produced a "History of Surrey" that stands to this day among the best works of its class and period in any language.

William Bray married Mary Stephens, of Witley, daughter of Henry Stephens. He was succeeded by his grandson Edward in 1866, his own son Edward, born January 31, 1768, who married Mary Ann Catherine Malthus, having died before his father, leaving three daughters, Catherine Elizabeth; Henrietta Mary; Louisa; and three sons, Edward, born in 1793, died in 1866; Rev. William, Vicar of St. Johns, Shirfield, Hants; and Reginald, born in January, 1797, died in 1899, who married Frances Longman, and had Reginald More Bray, born in 1842, died in 1879, and Sir Edward, County Court Judge, who left four sons: 1. Edward Hugh. 2. John Evelyn. 3. Maurice Woodbine. 4. Gerard Theodore.

It has not yet been determined from which of the numerous lines of this distinguished family the William of our line is descended.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Barber: "British Family Names." King: "The Norman People." Blackie: "Dictionary of Place Names." Burke: "Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry," p. 230. Burke: "Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage," p. 377. George Smith: "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, p. 237. "Records in the Priory Church, Great Malvern, England," pp. 373, 400, 401. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

I. William Bray, American progenitor of the line, "barrister," came from England in colonial times, accompanied by his family. They settled on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and reared four sons and a daughter. A record appears of one son: 1. Rev. William, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

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II. Rev. William Bray, son of William Bray, moved to that part of Massachusetts which is now Androscoggin County, Maine, where he was a pioneer settler. He was the father of: 1. Rev. Ebenezer, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Rev. Ebenezer Bray, son of Rev. William Bray, was born probably at Minot, Maine, and died at Middletown, New York, aged ninety-five years. He was educated at Minot, Maine, and became a preacher in the Calvinistic Baptist Church, holding pastorates in Hartford, Bethel, and Bridgton, Maine, Lancaster, New Hampshire, and Middletown, New York.

Rev. Ebenezer Bray married Penelope Royall. (Royall V.) Children: 1. Ebenezer. 2. Anselm, of whom further. 3. Eleanor. 4. Washington. 5. Rev. Jacob, born at Minot, Maine, December 31, 1793, died in 1882 or 1883 at Bridgton, Maine; became a Baptist minister; married Harriet McClellan Lewis, daughter of Major Lewis, and had a son: Dr. John B. Bray, father of Mary Almeda Bray, wife of George A. Bacon, and daughters, Harriet and Ruth. 6. Betsey. 7. Olive. 8. Eliza. 9. Elizabeth. 10. Mary A.

(*Ibid.* "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIX, p. 357. Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants," p. 59.)

IV. Dr. Anselm Bray, son of Rev. Ebenezer and Penelope (Royall) Bray, was born at Fryeburg, Maine, in 1798, and died in 1849, at Springfield, Ohio. He was graduated from the University of Vermont at Burlington. He was a prominent and successful physician of Fryeburg and was interested in the founding of Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio. For some years he practiced medicine at Mexico City, Mexico, but returned to Springfield, Ohio. During the great cholera epidemic which ravaged Springfield in the summer of 1849, Dr. Bray was one of only two or three doctors who remained to fight the scourge. Just at the time the epidemic was under control and the heroic fight had been won, Dr. Bray was stricken by the dread disease and died.



*Home of Mr. and Mrs. Everett L. Bray
Flint, Michigan*

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Dr. Anselm Bray married Lucy Marilla (Chittenden) Mitchell. (Chittenden VII.) Children: 1. Alexander Ramsey, of whom further. 2. Bennett Sheridan, born in 1836, died in 1914; married Amelia Wager; children: i. Bessie, deceased, married Harry Morgan. ii. Mary, married John Lyon. iii. Belle. 3. Caroline, born in 1839, died in 1921. (Aunt Carrie, whose keen interest in and knowledge of the ancestors inspired the research which had made possible this book.) She married (first) Rev. Enoch Atkins; (second) William Johnson, had one daughter, Marilla Johnson, who was graduated from the Flint High School and the University of Michigan; married John Sering, whose ancestors came to America in the "Mayflower." They reside in Mentone, California, and are the parents of: i. Wylie Sering, married to Orpha Miller. ii. Beth Sering, deceased. iii. Laurel Sering, student at the University of Redlands.

(E. S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 176, 184, 185. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

V. Alexander Ramsey Bray, son of Dr. Anselm and Lucy Marilla (Chittenden-Mitchell) Bray, was born at Williston, Vermont, in October, 1834, and died at Mount Morris, Michigan, in February, 1917.

Alexander Ramsey Bray married Bertha Julia (Seeley) Miles. (Seeley VIII.) Children: 1. Irving Seeley, born in 1860, died in 1893; unmarried. 2. Lucia Genevieve, married Charles G. Montague; children, surnamed Montague: i. Arthur C. ii. Bertha, deceased. iii. Rev. Ralph. iv. Frank Daniel. 3. Everett Lewis, of whom further. 4. Archie Alexander, married Lula Marianna Callow, daughter of Dr. Francis H. and Sarah Eva (Hendrick) Callow; children: i. Francis Alexander, married Merl Moore. ii. Sadie Bertha, married Jesse E. Austin; children, surnamed Austin: a. Mar-Dula. b. Alan. c. Owen. d. Ward. iii. Marilla Charlotte, married Orson B. Grover; children, surnamed Grover: a. Orson-Nil. b. Lyle-Bray. c. Marilla-Catherine. iv. Belma Elizabeth, married Paul B. Stallings; children, surnamed Stallings: a. Caroline-Jean. b. Floy-Elizabeth. v. Gertrude Florilla, married Charles E. Goss; children, surnamed Goss: a. Patricia-Susanne. b. James. vi. Clare

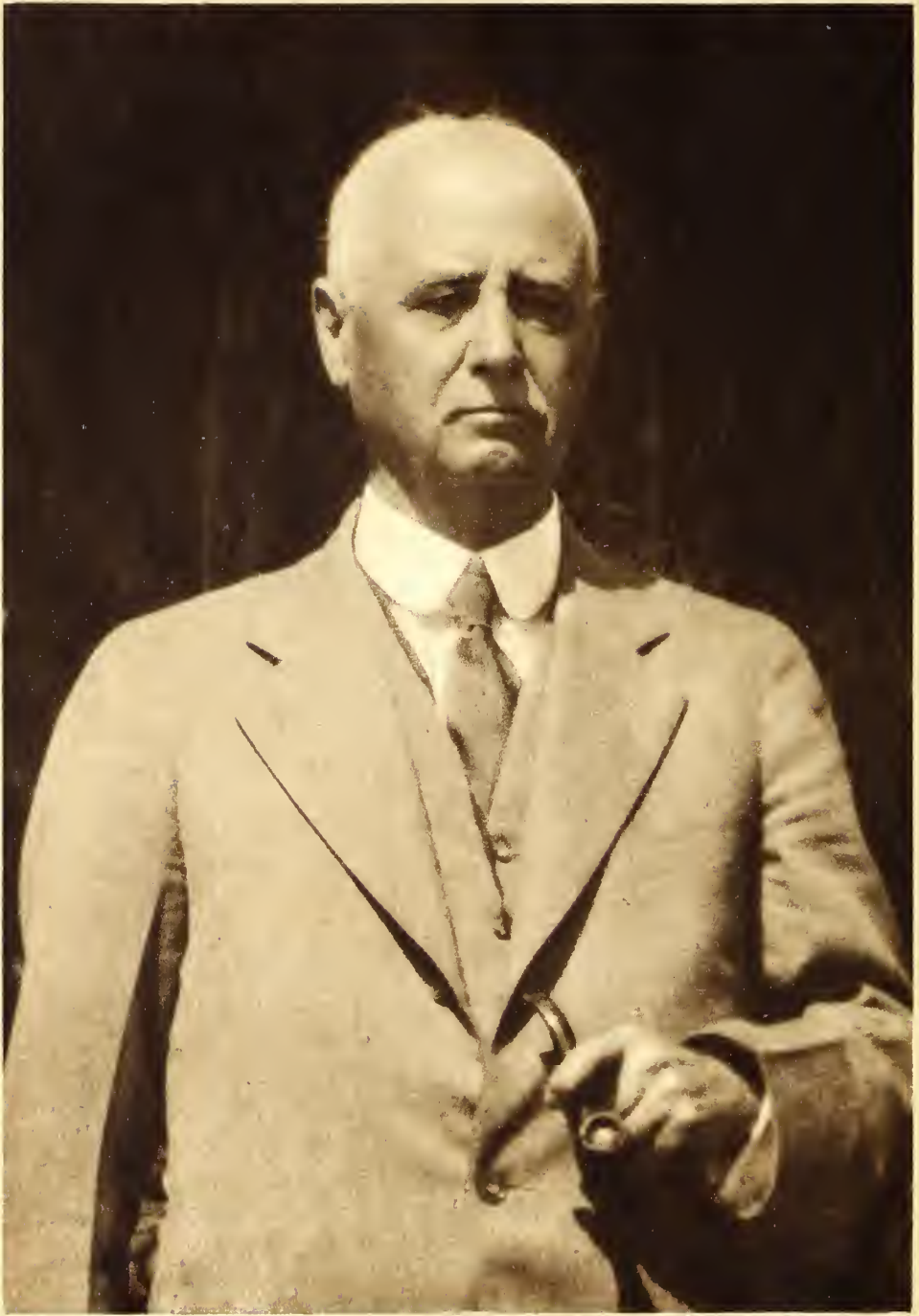
BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Winifred, married Frank Koontz; children, surnamed Koontz: a. Virginia-Marianne. b. Robert.

(Chapman: "Portrait and Biographical Record of Genesee, Lapeer and Tuscola Counties, Michigan," pp. 901, 974. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Everett Lewis Bray, son of Alexander Ramsey and Bertha Julia (Seeley-Miles) Bray, was born in Genesee Township, Genesee County, Michigan, May 18, 1864, and died at Flint, Michigan, September 24, 1935. After attending the Stanley district school, he came to Flint in 1881 to attend high school. He was graduated in 1885, and at once began to study law in the office of Judge Oscar Adams, of Cheboygan, Michigan, continuing his studies later at Flint with the firm of Durand and Carton. He was formally admitted to the bar of Michigan on August 17, 1887. He spent a few years in search of a suitable location, but returned to Flint where, in 1891, he entered into partnership with John M. Russell, who was then prosecutor of Genesee County. This partnership lasted for two years. Then Mr. Bray practiced his profession independently for ten years. At the death of Judge George H. Durand, he formed a partnership with the late Hon. John J. Carton under the firm name of Carton and Bray. Some years later William C. Stewart was admitted to the firm, which became known as Carton, Bray and Stewart. For three years Mr. Bray was a member also of the famous Flint Union Blues.

In 1917, after many years in his profession, Mr. Bray retired in order to devote himself to his private interests, which also gave him the opportunity to hunt and fish. He took great pleasure in these recreations. He was president of the Rainbow Hunting and Fishing Club, on the Pere Marquette River, at Baldwin, heading that organization from its inception. He was one of the five joint owners of "The Ranch," in Gladwin County, Michigan, and was a member and at one time a director of the St. Helen's Shooting Club, at St. Helen, Michigan. He was also one of the organizers and first governors of the old Flint Country Club. For the last twelve years of his life he spent his winters at St. Petersburg, Florida, and before that time he spent several winters in California. He was a member of



Everett Lewis Bray
Reproduced from a snapshot



Viola E. Bray



*Portrait of
Bertha Beatrice (Bray) Richards
By Douglas Chandler*



*Mr. and Mrs. William L. Richards
and daughter
Sally Richards*

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Genesee Lodge, No. 174, Free and Accepted Masons, and a charter member of Flint Lodge, No. 222, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He was also a Past Chancellor Commander of the Knights of Pythias.

Everett Lewis Bray married, January 8, 1902, Viola Estella Swart (First Swart Line IX), they becoming the parents of one daughter: 1. Bertha Beatrice, a graduate of Marlborough School, Los Angeles, California, and of Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland; for two years president of the Junior League of Flint, Michigan, and for one year president of the Flint, Michigan, branch of the Needlework Guild of America; married William L. Richards, and has one child, a daughter: i. Sally Richards. William Lewis Richards was born at Morganfield, Kentucky, the son of Lewis R. Richards and his wife, Margaret Blue Cromwell. He is descended through five generations from Lewis Richards, of Virginia, a Revolutionary soldier under General Clark, who married Lucy Hutton and came to Kentucky in 1800. The Cromwells are of the family of Sir Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England. The American ancestor, William Cromwell, was a member of Lord Baltimore's Council prior to 1684 and was prominently associated with the ruling spirits in the settlement of Maryland. Dr. William Muir, another ancestor of Maryland, was descended from the Muirs of "Brentwood" and "Hollows," an ancient family of the Shire of Ayr, Scotland. Among other ancestor families of Mrs. Richards are the Givens, of Virginia, the Suggs and Duprees, of North Carolina, the Bells, Blues and Vaughans, of Kentucky. William L. Richard's sister, Mary, is the wife of Judge King Swope, of Lexington, Kentucky.

(Records in possession of the family.)

(The Seeley Line)

Arms—Sable, a lion rampant or between two flaunches argent.

Crest—A lion rampant or.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

I. Lieutenant Robert Seeley or Seely, earliest known ancestor of the Seeley family of Connecticut, was born, presumably in England about the year 1600. Subsequent to his marriage at St. Stephen's Church, London, in 1626, he "lived in the Mason home in Coleman Street," London. He and Sir Richard Saltonstall were among a great

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company which sailed with the Winthrop fleet from Southampton to Massachusetts in the spring of 1630.

The more important of the many public services of Lieutenant Robert Seeley are thus summarized in D. L. Jacobus' "Old Fairfield":

Robert Seeley. Lieutenant (second in command under Mason), Pequot War, May, 1637; Marshal (New Haven), October, 1639, to November, 1642; Lieutenant, New Haven Train Band, August, 1642; Lieutenant, Artillery Company, March, 1645; Captain, Artillery Company, May, 1648; Captain, New Haven Colonial Troop, June, 1654; in command of New Haven Colonial Troops against Ninegret, October, 1654; Lieutenant (chief military officer), Huntington Train Band, May, 1663 (and referred to as Captain); Judge (Huntington town), May, 1663, May, 1664; Deputy (Huntington) to Connecticut Legislature, May, 1664.

Bond's "Watertown" says of him:

Robert Seeley, one of the first settlers of Watertown, applied, October, 1630, to be admitted a freeman, and was admitted next May 18. He was a proprietor, 1636-7, and 1642, after he left the town. In 1634, he and Abraham Browne were employed together in the survey of Watertown. In 1636, he was ordered "to surcease to do any more business for the town," about which time he joined that small colony that went from Watertown to settle Wethersfield, Connecticut. He sold his homestall (sixteen acres), to Simon Eire Robert Seeley was second in command, under Captain John Mason, in the Pequod war, and one of the signers of the original agreement, entered into by the first settlers of New Haven, in 1639.

Stiles, in his Wethersfield genealogies, mentions Robert Seeley's one-acre house lot there, and states that in the desperate fort fight, May 26, 1637, "he was one of the first to enter the fort, where he was severely wounded in the eye-brow by an Indian arrow. Captain Mason writes of him in his report: 'Lieutenant Seelye was a valiant soldier, I myself pulled the arrow out of his eye-brow.' He sold his home in Wethersfield to Matthew Mitchell, and in the autumn of 1638 joined the New Haven Colony."

"Robt. Seely" was one of the signers of an agreement signed June 4, 1639, by the free planters of the town of New Haven. He appears as follows in a 1643 tabulated list of New Haven planters: Names of the Planters: "Robt. Ceely." Persons numbered: "4." Estates

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"179." Land in the first division: "18¾-32." In the neck: "3¾-8." Meadow: "10¾-32." Land in the 2d division: "43." Rates yearly paid for land: "00-18-05."

In New Haven court, February, 8, 1643-44, "A difference betweene Rob^t Ceeley and John Mason was referred to Mr. Gregson and Mr. Malbon to determine."

In New Haven records of August 19, 1644 and later, Robert Seeley is often referred to as "Lieutenant Seely."

At a New Haven General Court, March 10, 1646-47, "The names of people as they were seated in the meeting howse were read in court," and "Bro. Seely" was assigned to the "4 Seate" of the "midle seates" for men, while "Sister Seely" was placed in the "6 Seate" of the "weomens seates. In the midle."

June 6, 1648, New Haven records mention "Lieutenant Seely, as sealler of leather for the towne."

November 12, 1649, "The Gouvernor propounded to the court that Lievtenant Seely might haue some help from y^e towne to buy Robert Bassetts house, for he is now resolved to staye here & to follow his trade of shoemaking, and shall not remove vnless y^e towne be satisfied that God by his providence calls him away."

August 23, 1654, the General Court at New Haven decided to "send Lieutenant Seely wth some men and powder and lead . . . wth his boate to Long Island," to negotiate with certain Indians "and p^swade to peace."

At a Huntington, Long Island, New York, town meeting, February 10, 1662-63, "it was this day ordered that the bootte (*i. e.*, boat) should bee sent to Conitucott Rivers mouth to fech Captine Seele to this Towne upon the Townes choose and that to be sent the first opurtunity."

By a Huntington deed dated December 22, 1662, "Captain Robert Ciely" purchased from William Jones "All that Island commonly called Eaton's Neck on the Eastward of Oyster Bay," with a parcel of land adjoining.

At a town meeting, April 6, 1663, "Captain Selle, Jonas Wood, Thomas wekes were chosen by the towne to send thar names to harforde for the Corte to Electe of them for magistrates."

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"Robart Seelye" was a witness of a Huntington deed dated July 7, 1663, from Jonas Wood to John Core.

September 27 to 29, 1666, Robert Ceely was defendant in a suit regarding land on Eaton's neck. The verdict was in his favor.

November 30, 1666, Governor Richard Nicolls granted to Robert Seely and others, freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Huntington, a tract of land beginning at a river or creek "called by the Indians by the name of Nackagnotok and by the English Cold spring."

The following record, of date less than four months prior to the granting of administration on "Captain" Robert Seeley's estate, and supposed to refer to him, is of importance in fixing the approximate time of his decease:

The Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam include this entry, under date of June 23, 1668:

"Robbert Ceely, plt: v/s Jan de Caerper, deft: The plt: declares y^e dft: is Indebted to him for his Survegh of his land 14^s:6^d good pay. The Court doth order the deft: to pay the plt: in 8 dayes Wth. Cost."

Robert Seeley evidently left no will. The New York City surrogate's record (as per the printed abstract) is as follows:

"Capt. Robert Seeley of this city died intestate. Letters of Administration granted to his wife Mary, October 19, 1668."

The following Huntington deed, dated July 15, 1669, is self-explanatory:

Know all men By these p^rsents that wee Mary seely, widdow, of the Cittie of New Yorke and Cap^{tn} John Manning, off the Cittie of new yorke, aforesaid, executor in trust unto the afore said widdow have for a valiable consideration in hand paid Before the sealeing and delivering hereof have Bargoned sould and by these presents doe Bargone sell and make over unto Andrew messenger off Jamacoe on Long eiland in new yorke sheare yeoman all our Rite title and Intrest in an Accomindacon or allotment sittuate and Lying in huntington uppon Long eiland in new yorke sheare afore said formerly in the tenor or occupation off Cap^{tn} Robart seely deceased and since Confirmed unto mee Mary seely widow Late wife off the said Cap^{tn} seely deceased and to my trusty and welbeloved Brother Cap^{tn} John Manning executor in trust unto mee the afore said Mary widow.
(The only signature to the deed is that of John Manning.)

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Lieutenant Robert Seeley married (first), at St. Stephen's Church, London, England, December 15, 1626, Mary Mason. He married (second), by a New York Province marriage license, December 22, 1666, Mrs. Mary (Manning) Walker, widow. She was living July 15, 1669, and was a sister of Captain John Manning. Children of first marriage: 1. Nathaniel, baptized at Saint Stephen's Church, London, September 16, 1627, evidently died in infancy. 2. Nathaniel (again), of whom further. 3. (Probably) Obadiah, died at Stamford, Connecticut, August 25, 1657; an inventory of his estate was made February 24, 1664-65; married Mrs. Mary Miller, widow of John Miller, Obadiah Seeley's widow "made oath November 7, 1666." She may have been the defendant named in a case which came before the Court of Magistrates at New Haven, May 28, 1660: "M^r. Mills, plainteif, Widdow Seely, defendt. The plaint' entered an action of debt to the vallew of 4^l against the defendt, who being called, answered not, but Leiftenn^t Bell on her behalf pleaded that since M^r. Mills had y^e warrant he told him, & he told the defendt, that he would not prosecute. . . . " Children: i. Cornelius, "age 60" in 1710, married Priscilla Osborn. ii. Obadiah, probably married Esther, whose surname is not known, who married (second) Moses Jackson. iii. Jonas, died in 1703; married (second), about 1689, Mrs. Mary Waterbury, widow of John Waterbury.

(Isabel MacBeath Calder: "The New Haven Colony," pp. 15-16. Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 524-25. Henry Bond: "Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 426, 932-33. Henry R. Stiles: "The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 616-17. Charles J. Hoadly: "Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven from 1638 to 1649," pp. 17, 91, 124, 146, 150, 222, 226, 292, 302-03, 384, 500. Charles J. Hoadly: "Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union," pp. 118, 347-48. Charles R. Street: "Huntington Town Records, Including Babylon, Long Island, New York, 1653-1688," Vol. I, pp. 38, 42, 45, 49, 86, 92-93, 137. Berthold Fernow: "The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini," Vol. VI, p. 136. "Collections for the New York Historical Society for the Year 1892," p. 9. Parish Register, St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street, London, England. "Names of Persons for Whom Marriage

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Licenses Were Issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York, Previous to 1784," p. 345. "The American Genealogist and New Haven Genealogical Magazine," Vol. IX, p. 127.)

II. Captain Nathaniel Seeley, son of Robert and Mary (Mason) Seeley, was baptized at St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street, London, England, May 1, 1629, was killed in the Great Swamp Fight in King Philip's War, December 19, 1675.

Evidently the colonists were expected, before their majority, to be prepared for defense against the Indians, for at a New Haven court, April 7, 1646, a check on weapons showed "Natha. Seely defective in scourer fyned 6^d."

In a court action May 4, 1647, against one Thomas Osborne, who as keeper of cattle, various owners' cattle grazing in a common pasture, had lost one cow, "Mr. Hooks man saith that he mett wth Nathanjell Seely as he came home, who kept cowes wth Tho^m Osborne that day, & told him that it was a wett day to keepe cowes in. I, saith hee, but I was the most part of the day in a wigwam or some shelter. Tho^m Osborne, answered for h^mselfe, that day he kept the cowes & Nathanjell Seely with him, and carfully turned the cattle from the swamps, & when they were to come home, Nathaniell Seely he sent throughout the playnes wth the cattle & went to search the swamps himselfe. . . . It was demanded of Nathaniell Seely how long they were in the howse, he answered, not aboue $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hower. . . ."

There is a New Haven town record of 1651 that "Robert Seely hath giuen to his sonn Nathaniell Seely his dwelling house."

Robert Turner and Nathanaell Seely witnessed "a firme bill of sale from M^r Pell & John Wheeler, administrators to the estate Tho: Deman . . . dated 27 November, 1658, . . . to John Tompson," conveying a certain vessel.

In 1659, "Nathaniell Seely, of ffairefield, sonne of Rob^t Seely in England," sold land in New Haven by a power of attorney from his father.

Nathaniel Seeley was called sergeant in May, 1674; was second in command of army, King Philip's War, in November, 1675; and captain of Fairfield County Dragoons in November, 1675.

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An inventory of Nathaniel Seeley's property was made February 5, 1675-76. In the proceedings regarding his estate it appears that he left a widow Elizabeth, mention being made of her former husband, Obadiah Gilbert and daughter Sarah; and that Nathaniel Seeley's children were Nathaniel, Robert, Benjamin, Joseph, John, Mary, Sarah, Phebe, and Rebecca. Widow Elizabeth Seeley made a mutual agreement, March 14, 1675-76, with Nathaniel and Robert Seeley on behalf of the children of Nathaniel Seeley, deceased.

Nathaniel Seeley married (first), about October, 1649, Mary Turney, who testified June 7, 1650, that she was then married about eight months. She was a daughter of Benjamin Turney. He married (second), in 1674, Mrs. Elizabeth (Burr-Olmstead) Gilbert, widow of Nehemiah Olmstead and of Obadiah Gilbert. She was a daughter of Jehu Burr. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Nathaniel, born about 1650, died March 28, 1687 ("probably should be 1688"); married, about 1677, Hannah (Bennett?). 2. Robert, born about 1653, died in 1690; married, in or before 1676, Sarah Olmsted. 3. Benjamin, born about 1657; married Deborah Sturges. 4. Joseph, born about 1659; married Mrs. Mary (Godwin) Jackson. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Mary, perhaps married Jonathan Squire. 7. Sarah, married Samuel Squire. 8. Phebe. 9. Rebecca.

(Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 524-26, 307-09. Parish Register, Saint Stephen's Church, Coleman Street, London, England. "The American Genealogist and New Haven Genealogical Magazine," Vol. IX, p. 127. Charles J. Hoadly: "Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven from May, 1653, to the Union," p. 317.)

III. John Seeley, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Turney) Seeley, was born in or before 1661, died at Stratfield, Connecticut, in 1710. He "lived in Stratfield, at Rocky Hill." His will, as given in Spencer P. Mead's Fairfield abstracts, is as follows:

John Seely, late of Stratfield, will dated February 4, 1709-10, probated April 18, 1710, mentioned his wife Rebeckah, and children John, devised the right the testator is to have of brother Nathaniel Seely's heirs, Joseph, David, Mary Durin, Ann Beardsley, Sarah, Rebeckah, Hannah, Abegaile, Ruth, Elizabeth, and Martha. Executors his wife Rebeckah with the assistance of Lieut. James Bennet and

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brother Sergeant Ezekeiell Sanford. Witnesses James Bennet, Captain Samuel Squire, and Ezekeiell Sanford. Inventory taken April 10, 1710, by James Bennitt, Benjamin Sherman, and Samuel Hubbell, and filed April 18, 1710.

May 4, 1710, the following statement recorded giving the names and ages of his children: Sarah, aged 19 years; Rebeckah, aged 18 years 26th last November; Hannah, aged 17 years 9th last March; John, aged 15 years last July; Joseph, aged 13th years 10th last March; Ruth, aged 7 years last June; Elizabeth, aged 6 years 28th last November; Martha, aged 3 years the last of June; David, aged 2 years last day of last July; Mary Durin and Ann Beardsley.

It also appears that the above named son John died before May 8, 1722, when "the court ordered the land devised to him by his father to be divided by Lieut. Richard Hubbell and Gideon Hawley between the surviving brothers, *viz.*: Joseph Seely and David Seely."

Another abstract of the above will gives the name Mary "dunin" instead of Durin. Jacobus' "Old Fairfield" gives the following from Stratford deeds:

Ruth Seeley of Stratfield receipted August 11, 1720 to father-in-law (*i. e.*, stepfather) John Man for legacy from father John Seeley's will. Joseph Seeley, for himself and as guardian to his brethren David Seeley and John Nichols, receipted November 12, 1726 to father-in-law John Mann, mentioning mother Rebecca Man and uncle Ezekiel Sanford. Elizabeth Seeley receipted, September 15, 1726, to John Man. Matthew Sherman and Hannah his wife receipted, November 21, 1726, to father-in-law John Man, mentioning uncle Ezekiel Sanford. Samuel Castle of Woodbury receipted, October 2, 1726, for himself and wife Martha, to father-in-law John Man. Joseph Pickett of Danbury and Abigail his wife receipted to John Man. William Castle of Woodbury receipted, October 2, 1726, to John Man for amount due him "upon y^e acco^t of marrying one of ye daughters of Rebecca Man dec'd."

John Seeley married (first) Sarah Squire, who died about 1690, daughter of George Squire. He married (second), about 1690, Rebecca Sanford, born December 13, 1672, died at Stratfield, Connecticut, in March, 1725-26, daughter of Ezekiel and Rebecca ("Wickle" or Wakelee) Sanford. She married (second), in 1711,

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Benjamin Nichols; (third), May 24, 1716, John Mann. Children of first marriage: 1. Mary, married, about 1700, Benjamin Dunning. 2. Ann, married, August 10, 1704, Daniel Beardsley, Jr. 3. Sarah, born about 1690, baptized October 28, 1694, probably married, May 28, 1713, Job Sherman. Children of second marriage, births recorded in probate records, baptized at Stratfield, the first six baptized together March 28, 1703: 4. Rebecca, born November 26, 1691, died in December, 1725; married, February 1, 1710-11, William Castle. 5. Hannah, born March 9, 1692-93; married Matthew Sherman. 6. John, born in February, 1694-95, died before May 8, 1722. 7. Joseph, of whom further. 8. Abigail, born March 9, 1698-1699; married Joseph Pickett. 9. Ruth, born in June, 1702; married, August 11, 1720, Thomas Thompson. 10. Elizabeth, born November 28, 1703, baptized April 23, 1704; married, October 16, 1728, Nathaniel Sanford. 11. Martha, born June 30, 1706, baptized July 7, 1706; married Samuel Castle. 12. David, born July 31, 1707, baptized August 31, 1707, resided in 1730 at Newark, New Jersey.

(Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 518, 526, 529-30. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," p. 1278. Spencer P. Mead: "Abstract of Probate Records at Fairfield County of Fairfield, and State of Connecticut, 1648-1750" (typewritten), pp. 211-12 (copies at New York Public Library and Long Island Historical Society).)

IV. Joseph Seeley, son of John and Rebecca (Sanford) Seeley, was born, probably at Stratfield, Connecticut, March 10, 1696-97, died at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1766.

In October, 1725, "upon consideration of the petition of the northwest farmers of Stratford, called Nickols' Farms, praying for village privileges," the Connecticut Assembly granted such "village privileges, to be distinct from the town of Stratford and from the villages of Stratfield and Repton." In describing the boundaries, there are mentioned "Bare Swamp Road," "Nickols Farms Road," "Little Success Road." One boundary was "from the west door of Stratford meeting house . . . up Rocky Hill Road, as said road runs, four miles and a half, or in the street just above Joseph Seely's house, there to be another boundary, which is the southwest bounds of said village."

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The Connecticut Colonial Records have this entry under date of October, 1752:

The cost taxed and allowed by this Assembly to John Wheeler, of the society of Stratfield in the county of Fairfield, clerk of said society, and the rest of the members of said society, *vs.* Richard Burton, Richard Hall, Joseph Seeley, and nine others, all of Stratfield, aforesaid, for attendance &c. to answer the memorial of the said Richard Burton &c., which the memorialists did not appear to prosecute, is £3 19s. 7d. proclamation money. Ex. granted November 2d, 1752.

Joseph Seeley married Hannah Peat, born at Stratford, Connecticut, December 22, 1704, baptized at Stratfield, August 26, 1705, living March 16, 1762, daughter of John and Mary (Morehouse) Peat. Children, recorded at Stratford: 1. John, born September 18, 1724; married, January 25, 1744, Charity Hinman. 2. Benjamin, born July 6, 1726; married Deborah Loring. 3. Joseph, born April 5, 1728, died in 1778; married Jerusha Hubbell. 4. Rebecca, born January 21, 1730. 5. David, born February 4, 1732; married (first), December 17, 1755, Susannah Curtis; (second) Beulah Gregory. 6. Seth, born December 16, 1733, buried January 21, 1812, "aged 78 years." 7. Gideon, born December 13, 1735; married Betty Wheeler. 8. Michael, born January 25, 1737. 9. Hannah, born September 17, 1738. 10. Elnathan, born March 4, 1741. 11. Justus, born May 1, 1743. 12. Israel, of whom further. 13. Ruth, born November 7, 1746. 14. Dinah, born January 23, 1748.

(Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 469-70, 530, 533-34. Charles J. Hoadly: "The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1717-1725," p. 568; 1751-1757, p. 148. Grant Gregory: "Ancestors and Descendants of Henry Gregory," p. 99.)

V. Israel Seeley, son of Joseph and Hannah (Peat) Seeley, was born at Stratford, Connecticut, September 9, 1744, died there in 1776.

March 7, 1767, Israel Seeley sold his land in Stratford to his brother, Seth Seeley. In 1770 he bought a home in North Stratford (later called Trumbull).

November 11, 1770, Israel Seeley, of Stratford, purchased from Samuel Hawley, of Stratford, land in the parish of North Stratford

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(now Trumbull) "nigh to meeting house" containing thirty-three and one-half acres.

Administration on Israel Seeley's estate was granted October 8, 1776, to David Seeley (Generation IV, child 5), and Bette Seeley, with Daniel Hawley as bondsman, was appointed guardian of Lewis Seeley. The estate was distributed May 5, 1777, to the widow, "Bettee" and the "only son," Lewis Seeley.

December 11, 1777, David Seeley, as administrator of the estate of Israel Seeley, sold a part of the land in North Stratford, which the said Seeley had bought in 1770.

Israel Seeley married Bette Hawley. (First Hawley Line VI.) Child: 1. Lewis, of whom further.

(Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 533-34. "Stratford, Connecticut, Probate Records," Vol. XVII, pp. 74-75; Vol. XXI, pp. 74-75. Fairfield Probate Files, 1776. Stratford, Connecticut, Town Records on File at Bridgeport. Seeley Family MSS, by and in possession of Mrs. Harvey Tyson White. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford, and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," p. 1214. Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," p. 306.)

VI. Lewis Seeley, son of Israel and Bette (Hawley) Seeley, was born at Stratford, Connecticut, about 1772, and died in Genesee Township, Genesee County, Michigan, April 12, 1841. He was "about fifteen years old" when Daniel Hawley was appointed his guardian on June 4, 1787, and Bette Seeley also signed the guardianship bond with him for £500. On February 1, 1797, Lewis Seeley of Stratford, bought of Ebenezer and Sarah Barnum, forty-five acres of land with dwelling at "Whittleberry Hills" in Brookfield for £227. This part of Brookfield had been a part of Danbury which, with portions of Newtown and New Milford was taken to create Brookfield. On March 29, 1798, Lewis Seeley deeded to Bette Seeley "land with dwelling at Whittleberry Hills," and on January 14, 1799, deeded fourteen acres on the east side of "my home lately purchased of Ebenezer Barnum." Lewis and Bette Seeley sold, on March 11, 1806, for \$362, thirteen acres at "Whittleberry Hills," with two houses. On April 17, 1806, Lewis Seeley deeded to Dennis B. Lobdell land at "Whittleberry Hills," "it being all the land I own in the

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place." In 1806 he moved to Edinburg Township, Saratoga County, New York; in 1823 to Camillus, Onondaga County, New York, and, in 1835, to Genesee County, Michigan.

Lewis Seeley married Anna Beardsley, who was born in 1779-80, died in Genesee County, Michigan, January 18, 1868, "in her ninetyeth year" and was buried in Upton Cemetery. William and Mary Beardsley arrived from London in the ship "Planter" in 1635. He was a freeman in 1636, removed to Connecticut with his family and was one of the first settlers of Stratford, Connecticut, in 1639, a deputy to the General Court in 1645 and again in 1649. Stratford was named in his honor. It is believed that he was the ancestor of all the Beardsleys in America. Anna Beardsley was the daughter of Thomas Beardsley, who married Mehetable Thompson, daughter of Nathan Thompson, of Ripton. He was a member of a cavalry company in the Revolution and was at the Danbury fight with Eben Ripton. His children were all born in the old red house still standing in Islinglass Huntington. Thomas Beardsley was the son of Ensign Benjamin and Thankful Beardsley, born November 17, 1754 or 1764.

Among the nine children of Lewis and Anna (Beardsley) Seeley were: 1. Orin. 2. Fayette. 3. Daniel Hawley, of whom further.

("Brookfield, Connecticut, Land Records," Vol. II, pp. 284, 381; Vol. III, p. 2; Vol. V, pp. 35, 39. Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, p. 534. Seeley Family MSS. by, and in possession of, Mrs. Harvey Tyson White. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VII. Daniel Hawley Seeley, son of Lewis and Anna (Beardsley) Seeley, was born at Bridgeport, Connecticut, April 13, 1805, and died at Genesee, Michigan, June 28, 1892.

Mr. Seeley engaged in the merchant tailor business in Flint in 1836, where he built the eighth house that was erected in the city. He also built a shop and a store, the latter being the second business place in Flint. The first court held in Flint convened in his shop and also the first meeting of the board of supervisors of Genesee County. In 1843, Mr. Seeley removed to his farm. There was a log shanty on the place and a few improvements had been made, but he was obliged to cut the road to his house before lumber could be hauled there. Wild animals were numerous and had to be guarded against.

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Mr. Seeley built a fine home on his 320-acre farm which he cultivated and improved to the highest possible degree. He was township treasurer and justice of the peace.

Daniel Hawley Seeley married, at Brockport, New York, September 2, 1829, Julia Ann Taylor, who was born at Pittsford, New York, February 22, 1811, and died at Genesee, Michigan, January 31, 1895, the second daughter of John F. and Betsy or Elizabeth (Smith) Taylor. John F. Taylor was born at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and died at Pittsford, New York. His wife, Betsy or Elizabeth Smith, was born at Old Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1783, and died at West Webster, New York. Children of Daniel Hawley and Julia Ann (Taylor) Seeley: 1. Burton B. 2. Bertha Julia, of whom further. 3. Daniel Lewis. 4. Frances, married S. A. Burroughs. 5. Marvin L. 6. Dr. Frank T. 7. Theron V.

(Chapman: "Portrait and Biographical Record of Genesee, Lapeer and Tuscola Counties, Michigan," pp. 901, 974. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VIII. Bertha Julia Seeley, daughter of Daniel Hawley and Julia Ann (Taylor) Seeley, was born at Genesee, Michigan, in 1831, and died in August, 1879. Bertha Julia Seeley married (first) Isaac Newland Cushman Miles, born August 16, 1828, died October 18, 1853, son of Manley and Mary Cushman Miles. His sister Harriet A. was the wife of Josiah W. Begole, Governor of Michigan, 1883-85. She married (second) Alexander Ramsey Bray. (Bray V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The First Hawley Line)

Arms—Vert, a saltire engrailed argent.

Crest—A dexter arm embowed in armour proper garnished or, holding in the hand a spear point downward.

Motto—*Suivez moi.* (Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book," 1903, p. 491.)

The surname Hawley is one of locality origin, meaning the "one who dwells by the hedged meadow." The Hawley Family is of ancient and noble descent, a Lord Hawley being a peer in the reign of Charles I, and members of this family were long seated in the counties of Dorset, Somerset and Derby in England. The Hawleys were very prominent in the early history of the State of Connecticut and covering a period of eighty years members of the family had been

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seventy times elected to the Assembly. They were among the wealthy families of Connecticut and a familiar phrase among the people of Bridgeport was the saying: "As rich as the Hawleys."

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Joseph Hawley, the son of Judge Samuel Hawley, was born in the little town of Parwich (then Parwidge), in Derbyshire, England, about 1603, and died at Stratford, Connecticut, May 20, 1690. His will, dated September 17, 1689, gives his place of residence in England. An abstract of the will follows: "I give to my sonn Samuel Hawley all my lands and buildings in Parwidge in Darbyshire in Old England, to him, his heirs and assigns." The above property was quit-claimed by Samuel Hawley to his brother, Nathaniel, who gave for it a lot of meadowland in Stratford, Connecticut. Joseph Hawley came to America about 1629-30. His brother, Thomas, settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he had land granted him as early as 1639, but there is no indication that Joseph was there. He makes his first appearance at Stratford in 1650, when his first land purchase is recorded. As time passed he became a large landowner and, in 1671, stood the second highest on the tax list. Joseph's home lot was No. 37. His holdings also included land in Bridgeport, Derby, known as the "Hawley Purchase," and what is now Trumbull. A modest estimate of all his holdings would be that he owned between four thousand and five thousand acres of land. He owned much land in what is now the central business section of Bridgeport.

Joseph Hawley was also very active in the public affairs of the community. He was the first town clerk, serving from 1650 until 1666, and in 1663 was the town treasurer. The town chose him "to keep an ordinary" for several years in a row. He also was chosen to serve on committees that surveyed lands and adjusted boundaries between Stratford and the towns of Milford and Fairfield. In 1687, he was one of a committee chosen to draft a "Patent" for the town. Almost without interruption he served as a Deputy to the General Assembly of Connecticut from 1658 to 1687. He was appointed by the General Assembly to be commissioner of Stratford, which office he held from 1682 to 1689. He was a member of the First Church of Stratford and, in 1680, he was one of those appointed by the church to seat the inhabitants.

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Joseph Hawley married, about 1640, Katharine Birdseye, daughter of Edward Birdseye. She died in 1692, and is said by family tradition to have been a niece of Deacon John Birdsey, of Stratford, Connecticut. Deacon John Birdsey, said to have come from Reading, Berkshire, England, to America in 1636, came to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he married Phillipa, daughter of Rev. Henry Smith. Tradition says his brother came with him and remained in Wethersfield, and that the brother's children were all daughters and one of them married Joseph Hawley, the first of that name in Stratford. Children, with the exception of the eldest, were born at Stratford: 1. Samuel (see Second Hawley Line II). 2. Joseph, born January 9, 1649, died June 25, 1691. 3. Elizabeth, born January 26, 1651, died May 10, 1676; married, June 7, 1670, John Chapman. 4. Ebenezer, born September 17, 1654, died in 1681; married, in 1678, Hester Ward. 5. Hannah, born May 26, 1657; married (first), December 13, 1678, Josiah Nichols; (second) John Wolcott. 6. Ephraim, of whom further. 7. John, born June 14, 1661, died July 27, 1729; married, April 23, 1686, Hannah, whose surname is not of record. 8. Mary, born July 16, 1663, died September 9, 1731; married, December 20, 1682, Captain John Coe.

(Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 2, 3, 429, 432-34. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 118; Vol. II, p. 1212. Hawley and Nason: "Ancestry," pp. 13, 14. Family records.)

II. Ephraim Hawley, son of Joseph and Katharine (Birdseye) Hawley, was born at Trumbull, Connecticut, August 7, 1659, and died there April 18, 1690.

Ephraim Hawley married, at Stratford, Connecticut, December 4, 1683, Sarah Welles. (Welles—American Line—III.) Children: 1. Daniel, of whom further. 2. Gideon, born at Stratford, January 30, 1687-88, died February 16, 1730-31; married, February 15, 1710-11, Hannah or Anna Bennett. 3. Abiah, born at Stratford, September 18, 1690, died June 16, 1716; married, November 5, 1707, William Wolcott.

(Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, part 2, p. 1212. Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old

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Fairfield," Vol. I, part 3, pp. 264-65. Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," p. 2.)

III. Daniel Hawley, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Welles) Hawley, was born at Stratford, Connecticut, September 20, 1684, and died July 28, 1750.

Daniel Hawley married, March 6, 1706-07, Elizabeth Brinsmade, born about 1684, died January 6, 1763, daughter of Paul and Elizabeth (Hawkins) Brinsmade. Children: 1. Oliver, of whom further. 2. Ephraim, born June 1, 1711, died in 1785; married, May 22, 1738, Sarah Watkins. 3. Elizabeth, born October 16, 1715; married Timothy Sherman. 4. Edward, born June 16, 1720, died January 11, 1782; married, in November, 1764, Abigail Welles. 5. Abiah, baptized March 5, 1723-24; married, April 24, 1743, Ephraim Osborn.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 1212-13. Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, part 3, p. 266. Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 306-307).

IV. Oliver Hawley, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Brinsmade) Hawley, was born at Trumbull, Connecticut, January 31, 1708, and left a will dated February 15, 1776.

Oliver Hawley married Bethia, whose surname is not of record. Children: 1. Ichabod, of whom further. 2. Daniel, born in August, 1734; married, March 26, 1758, Phebe Mallett. 3. Ebenezer, born September 12, 1738, died December 2, 1767; married, July 11, 1765, Hannah Beach. 4. Sarah (probably).

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 1212. Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 306-07.)

V. Ichabod Hawley, son of Oliver and Bethia Hawley, was born October 3, 1731, and died after 1791. In 1784 he and his brother Daniel Hawley divided the lands which their father had left to them in his will and Ichabod asked for fifteen acres situated in the parish of North Stratford at the south end of Daniels Farms Hill. In 1788 Ichabod Hawley deeded one acre of land to his son-in-law, Joseph Hamlin, and in March, 1791, he deeded the whole of his homestead with dwelling and about forty acres in North Stratford to his son Eben Hawley.

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Ichabod Hawley married, January 3, 1751, Eunice Curtis. (Curtis VI.) Children: 1. Bethia, born in September, 1751. 2. Bette, of whom further. 3. Eunice, born in June, 1758; married, April 28, 1785, Joseph Hamlin. 4. Oliver, born in May, 1765. 5. Eben, born in September, 1768, died December 20, 1842.

(Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 306-07.)

VI. Bette Hawley, daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley, was born, according to "The Hawley Record," in January, 1753. According to a manuscript copy of the Church Records of Trumbull, Connecticut, she was "b. Feb. 1753," but this may have been the date of her baptism. She died after March 11, 1806, when she and her son Lewis Seeley deeded thirteen acres of land and two houses to Thadeus Gray.

Theories have been advanced in past years that the Bette Hawley who married Israel Seeley was the daughter of Oliver and Bethia Hawley (First Hawley Line IV), but no mention of her as his daughter can be found. This theory has been based on the fact that Daniel Hawley, supposedly the Daniel who was the son of Oliver and Bethia Hawley, was bondsman for Bette (Hawley) Seeley when she was appointed guardian for Lewis Seeley, her son, and that this dealing implied a very close relationship. It is further known that Lewis Seeley had a son Daniel Hawley Seeley (Seeley VII), named no doubt for the above Daniel Hawley, but it does not necessarily obtain that Daniel Hawley was the brother of Bette (Hawley) Seeley. He was, most probably, her uncle.

The Seeley Family MSS., by and in possession of Mrs. Harvey Tyson White, states that "Israel Seeley married Elizabeth (called Bette) Hawley, born in 1741, died November 24, 1803." However, since it is known that Bette (Hawley) Seeley was party to a deed of land at Brookfield, Connecticut, March 11, 1806, in which her son, Lewis Seeley, also took part, it does not follow that Elizabeth (called Bette) and Bette (Hawley) Seeley could have been identical. From records in possession of the family it is known that Lewis Seeley removed from Brookfield, Connecticut, in 1806, and settled in Saratoga County, New York. Since the death date of Bette (Hawley) Seeley has not been found in Fairfield County, Connecticut, it is only

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natural to believe that the deed of March 11, 1806, marked the disposal of their lands at Brookfield prior to his removal, and that Bette (Hawley) Seeley accompanied her son. For these reasons, and since the Bette Hawley given as the daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley is the only one so named who would have been of suitable age to have married Israel Seeley; since she is called Bette Seeley in the administration of Israel Seeley's estate, and also appears in various land transactions with her son, Lewis Seeley, as Bette Seeley, and as her grandson was named Daniel Hawley, it follows without question that Bette Hawley, daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley, was identical with the Bette Hawley who married Israel Seeley. (Seeley V.)

(Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 306-07, MSS. copy of the Church Records of Trumbull, Connecticut. Donald Lines Jacobus: "History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield," Vol. I, pp. 533-34, Stratford, Connecticut, Land Records. "Fairfield, Connecticut, Probate Records," Vol. XVII, pp. 74-75; Vol. XXI, pp. 74-75. Fairfield Probate Files, 1776. Stratford, Connecticut, Town Records on File at Bridgeport, Connecticut. Seeley Family MSS., by and in possession of Mrs. Harvey Tyson White. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," p. 1214.)

(The Curtis Line)

Arms—Azure, a fesse dancette between three ducal crowns or.

Crest—A lion issuant proper supporting a shield of the arms.

(F. H. Curtis: "A Genealogy of the Curtiss Family," Bolton: "American Armory.")

Curtis, as a surname, is of descriptive origin, from the Norman French *curteis* or *curtois*, meaning the civil or courteous person. It has known great popularity from the thirteenth century downward and it is but natural that such a complimentary appellation should be retained.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. John Curtis was born in England and died there at an early date. He married, at Nazing, County Essex, England, April 19, 1610, Elizabeth Hutchins, whose will was proved at Stratford, Connecticut, June 4, 1685. Following the death of her husband she

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came to America and settled at Stratford, Connecticut, being one of the first seventeen settlers of the village. In her will she left a Bible to Jonathan Curtis, "son of my son William." Children, baptized at Nazing, County Essex, England: 1. John. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Thomas.

(F. H. Curtis: "A Genealogy of the Curtiss Family," pp. vii, 1, 2. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 1178.)

II. Captain William Curtis, son of John and Elizabeth (Hutchins) Curtis, was baptized at Nazing, County Essex, England, and died at Stratford, Connecticut, December 21, 1702, leaving a will dated December 15, 1702. He was one of the most important early settlers of Stratford and served as a deputy to the General Court for thirty-six sessions, beginning with October, 1667, and ending with June, 1692. He was commissioner for Stratford from 1671 to 1675, 1676 to 1679, 1680 to 1687, and from 1689 to 1697. He was one of the grantees of Woodbury in 1672 and, although he never settled there, was deputy from that place to the General Court from 1676 to 1679.

Captain William Curtis was active and prominent in the military affairs of Stratford and was commissioned lieutenant of the Stratford Trainband in October, 1667, being raised to the rank of captain in June, 1672, in which month he was called the second military officer for Fairfield County. In November, 1673, and again in October, 1675, he was captain of the Fairfield County Troop. He was a member of the Militia Committee in June, 1672, and of the War Committee in August, 1673.

Captain William Curtis married (second) Sarah (Marvin) Goodrich, who was baptized at Great Bentley, County Essex, England, December 27, 1631, and died about 1702, daughter of Matthew Marvin, of Norwalk, Connecticut, and widow of Ensign William Goodrich, of Wethersfield. The name of the first wife of Captain William Curtis, by whom eight children are recorded, is not known. Children of first marriage: 1. Sarah, born in October, 1642. 2. Jonathan (1), of whom further. 3. Joshua, born in October, 1646. 4. Daniel, born in November, 1652. 5. Elizabeth, born in February, 1654. 6.

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Ebenezer, born in July, 1657. 7. Zechariah, born in November, 1659. 8. Josiah, born in August, 1662.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 3-5. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 1178. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 487.)

III. *Jonathan (1) Curtis*, son of Captain William Curtis, was born February 14, 1644-45, and died at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1681.

Jonathan (1) Curtis married Abigail Thompson, born May 1, 1646, died March 2, 1731, daughter of John Thompson. She married (second) Nicholas Hughes; (third), August 1, 1695, Samuel Sherman. Children: 1. Abigail. 2. Sarah. 3. William. 4. Jonathan (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 10. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 1178.)

IV. *Jonathan (2) Curtis*, son of Jonathan (1) and Abigail (Thompson) Curtis, was born at Stratford, Connecticut, June 28, 1679, and died there in 1770.

Jonathan (2) Curtis married (first) Hannah, whose surname is not of record. He married (second), December 24, 1718, Mary Summers. There were eight children of the second marriage. Child of first marriage: 1. Jonah or Jonas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and of the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 1178.)

V. *Jonah or Jonas Curtis*, son of Jonathan (2) and Hannah Curtis, was born October 26, 1703, and left a will which was proved May 27, 1792. In 1775 he enlisted in Captain Whiting's company of the 5th Regiment commanded by Colonel Waterbury.

Jonah or Jonas Curtis married, September 11, 1727, Eunice Burroughs. Of their six children the eldest was Eunice, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 21, 45. Samuel Orcutt: "A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 1180.)

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VI. *Eunice Curtis*, daughter of Jonah or Jonas and Eunice (Boroughs) Curtis, was born in April, 1728. She married Ichabod Hawley. (First Hawley Line V.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 45.)

(The Welles Line)

Arms—Or, a lion rampant double-queued sable armed and langued gules.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant sable.

Motto—*Semper paratus.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

The family name Wells or Welles was adopted as a surname to signify a dweller at or near "the springs," the old English *w(i)ell* or *wylla* meaning a spring or fountain. The early form of the name in Anglo-Saxon charters was "aet Wyllan," appearing mainly in the counties of Somerset and Norfolk. In County Somerset it referred more specifically to a spring near the cathedral, called St. Andrew's Well.

Many examples of this patronymic may be found in early records. The Hundred Rolls of 1273 record a Gilbert de Welles of County Norfolk and a William de Welles of County Lancaster. Hervy de Welle was vicar of Menham, County Norfolk, in 1320, and in 1583 Anthony Welles, of County Sussex appears on the register of the University of Oxford.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom," Vol. II.)

(The Family in England)

I. ——— *Welles*, perhaps the Robert Welles who was taxed at Whichford, County Warwick, in 1523, was the father of at least two of the following children, whose order of birth is not known: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Walter, of Tredington and Tidmington, County Worcester, yeoman, died between December 1, 1577, the date of his will, and December 7, 1577, the date when the inventory of his estate was taken; left no surviving issue. 3. William (perhaps a brother of Thomas and Walter), who was taxed at Whichford in 1542. Probably other children.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXX, p. 299.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. Thomas Welles, son of ——— Welles, was of Stourton in Whichford, County Warwick, and was buried in Whichford, August 30, 1558. Thomas is presumably the one of that name who was taxed at Whichford in 1542 on goods valued at £8, the tax amounting to 25s. 8d. Administration on his will was granted October 8, 1558, to his brother Walter Welles of Tredington, County Worcester, for the benefit of his children, Robert and Ann, until one of them should attain the age of twenty-one years.

Thomas Welles married (first) Elizabeth, who was buried at Whichford on January 11, 1552-53. He married (second), October 28, 1553, at Whichford, Elizabeth Bryan, who was perhaps the Elizabeth Wells of Stourton, who was buried October 4, 1558. Children: 1. Ann, who was under twenty-one on October 8, 1558. 2. Robert, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Robert Welles, understood to be the son of Thomas and Elizabeth Welles, was probably the Robert Welles of Stourton in Whichford, County Warwick, who was baptized November 6, 1540, and was under twenty-one on October 8, 1558. He died about 1619. Robert's uncle, Walter Welles, in his will of December 1, 1577, made him his residuary legatee and sole executor.

Robert Welles married Alice, who was living July 5, 1615. Children: 1. Robert, of Tidmington, County Worcester, died between June 10, 1627, the date of his will, and February 7, 1627-28, the date of its probate; married Joan (perhaps Tymms), who was living in 1615. 2. Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. Governor Thomas Welles, son of Robert and Alice Welles, was born in England about 1598 and died at Wethersfield, Connecticut, January 14, 1659-60. His will, dated November 7, 1659, was presented to the Particular Court, April 11, 1660, and the inventory of his estate taken January 30, 1659-60, by John Cotton and John Deming amounted to £1,069 8s. 2d.

On July 5, 1615, before his first marriage, his father and elder brother settled on him a house and lands in Burmington, County War-

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wick, England. It is also probable that he owned, before coming to America, a share in the Piscataqua patent lands of what is now Dover, Durham, Stratham, and parts of Newington and Greenland, New Hampshire.

Thomas Welles brought his six children to New England between August 20, 1635, and April 5, 1636. He was with his wife in Boston, Massachusetts, June 9, 1636, but soon removed to Hartford, Connecticut, where he was a member of the court held there March 28, 1637. He was chosen magistrate to the General Court, May 1, 1637, and held this office every successive year until his death. In 1639, on the full organization of the Colonial Government, he was chosen Treasurer of the Colony, serving until 1641. He was reëlected in 1648 and held the office until 1652.

From 1640 to 1648 Thomas Welles was Secretary and in 1649 Alternate Commissioner of the United Colonies in Boston, holding that office again in 1659. In 1654 Governor Haynes, the first Governor of Connecticut, died. The Deputy Governor being absent from the Colony, Thomas Welles was called upon to discharge the duties of the Governor's office until the election, at which time he was chosen Deputy Governor. The following year he was elected Governor and served again as such in 1658. He was Deputy Governor again in 1656, 1657, and 1659. Throughout his life Governor Welles held many positions of public interest and served on committees of importance. In 1646, Governor Welles moved his residence from Hartford to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he died. It is thought that his death was hastened by sadness over the deaths of his daughter Mary, his son John, and niece Mary Robbins.

Governor Thomas Welles married (first), in England, soon after July 5, 1615, Alice Tomes. (Tomes IV.) He married (second), in Connecticut, about 1646, Elizabeth (Deming) Foote, who died between August 16, 1682, and September 3, 1683. She was a sister of John Deming and widow of Nathaniel Foote. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born in England, died at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1659. 2. Thomas, born in England, died at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1668. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Mary, born in England, died in Connecticut, probably before November 7, 1659. 5. Ann, born in England, died in Connecticut before October 19, 1680;

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married (first) Thomas Thompson; (second), in 1656, Anthony Hawkins. 6. Sarah, born about 1631, died December 12, 1698.

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. LXXX, pp. 299-305. Henry R. Stiles: “History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut,” Vol. II, pp. 760-61. J. Savage: “A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England,” Vol. IV, p. 479.)

II. Captain Samuel Welles, son of Governor Thomas and Alice (Tomes) Welles, was born at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, England, about 1630, and died at Wethersfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, July 15, 1675. He resided at Hartford until 1649, when he removed to Wethersfield, and lived in the home which was originally his father's on the east side of the Connecticut River. He was made a freeman in 1657, and was appointed an ensign in the county militia in 1658, a lieutenant in 1665, and captain in 1670. He was deputy magistrate at Hartford from 1657 to 1662, and in 1675, and also served as a member of the General Assembly.

Captain Samuel Welles married (first), in 1659, Elizabeth Hollister, who died in 1673, daughter of John and Joanna (Treat) Hollister. Joanna (Treat) Hollister was the sister of Robert Treat, Governor of Connecticut from 1683 to 1698. He married (second), in 1675, Hannah Lambertson, daughter of George Lambertson, of New Haven, Connecticut. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born April 13, 1660, died August 28, 1731; married Ruth Rice. 2. Thomas, born July 29, 1662; married (first), Thankful Root; (second), in 1705, Jerusha Treat. 3. Sarah, of whom further. 4. Mary, born November 23, 1666; married Samuel Hale, Jr., of Glastonbury, Connecticut. 5. Ann, born in 1668; married Captain James Judson, of Stratford, Connecticut. 6. Elizabeth, born in 1670; married Daniel Shelton, of Stratford, Connecticut.

(T. W. Welles: “Ancestral Tablets.” Henry R. Stiles: “History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut,” Vol. II, pp. 760-61.)

III. Sarah Welles, daughter of Captain Samuel and Elizabeth (Hollister) Welles, was born September 29, 1664. She married (first) Ephraim Hawley. (First Hawley Line II.) She married (second) Angers Tomlinson, of Stratford, Connecticut.

(*Ibid.*)

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(The Tomes Line)

Tomes, as a surname, was evolved from the designation, "Tom's son," which became Toms, and later Tomes. There are many variations of the name, as Thommes, Tommys, Tombes, and Thomme.

Richard Tommes, of Long Marston, County Gloucester, contributed to the guild of Stratford-on-Avon, County Warwick, in 1429-1430. William Tommys, of Long Marston, contributed to the same guild in 1441-42, and received a lease of the manor of Marston from the abbot of Winchcombe, September 29, 1479. Sir William Thommys, clerk in holy orders, rector of Whitchurch, County Warwick, contributed to the guild in 1471-72 and in 1492-93. If there is any relationship between these three men and the following Tomes family, it has never been established.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 287-88. Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom," Vol. II.)

I. ——— *Tomes*, of Marston Sicca, County Gloucester, England, had sons Geoffrey and John (1), of whom further.

(Joseph J. Howard: "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," Vol. III, New Series, pp. 273-74. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXXIV, p. 288.)

II. *John (1) Tomes*, of Long Marston, County Gloucester, England, son of ——— Tomes, died between March 20, 1547-48, and May 19, 1548, when his will was proved at Gloucester. In the Court Rolls of 1515, he claims to hold lands in Long Marston. He received a lease of lands called Nolland, in the manor of Long Marston, August 26, 1536, and was present at a court of the manor held January 28, 1540.

John (1) Tomes married twice. The name of his first wife, who was buried at Long Marston, is not known. He married (second) Alice Harburne, who died between February, 1587-88, and June 4, 1588, daughter of Thomas Harburne. She married (second), in 1550 or earlier, John Holtom, whose will was dated February 18, 1563, and proved at Gloucester, April 19, 1564, and in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, October 7, 1569. He was executor of the will of his wife's stepson, Robert Tomes, in 1557. Alice (Harburne-

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Tomes) Holtom was the executrix of the will of her husband, John (1) Tomes, in 1548, and the will of her second husband, John Holtom, in 1564. She received a grant of land and a house in Long Marston on January 29, 1567. Children of first marriage: 1. Robert, of Long Marston, died between March 1, 1566, and June, 1567; he is mentioned in his father's will. 2. Alice, admitted a tenant of lands in the manor of Long Marston, April 11, 1532; mentioned in her father's will. 3. Joan, mentioned in her father's will. 4. Alice (again), mentioned in her father's will. Children of second marriage: 5. John (2), of whom further. 6. Joan (again), married a Mr. Harrington.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *John (2) Tomes*, of Long Marston, County Gloucester, England, son of John (1) and Alice (Harburne) Tomes, died at Long Marston, May 25, 1601, according to the "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," and May 25, 1602, according to the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register." He was mentioned in the will of his stepfather, John Holtom, and in that of his mother. On February 8, 1577-78, he received a grant of half of the manor of Marston Sicca from Robert, Earl of Leicester.

Following is the will of John (2) Tomes, which was dated May 21, 1602, and proved November 3, 1602:

To my daughter Anne Tomes, my lease in the manor of Marston. To the child of my wife Anne now goeth with all the residue of my lands in Marston. To my wife Anne the use of the above lands while she remains "sole and unmarried." To my daughters Anne Tomes, Joan Tomes, and Alice Tomes, £20 apiece. To John George, my kinsman, £10. To Marie Kecke, daughter of my son, William Kecke, £20. To the unmarried children of my sister, Alice Kecke 10 s. To the children of my brother, William *Holtam*. To the children of my brother Thomas *Altam*. To my sister Joan Harrington. To my wife Anne the residue of my estate, and she is to be executrix.

John (2) Tomes married (first) Ellen (Gunn) Phelps. (Gunn III.) He married (second), at Wormington, County Gloucester, August 3, 1601, according to the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," and August 3, 1600, according to "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," Ann Warner, who was executor of his will in 1602; she married (second) Henry Cooper, of

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Long Marston, who was on the muster rolls there in 1608, was assessed for a subsidy there in 1623, and whose will, dated September 7, 1646, was proved at Gloucester, October 13, 1646. Children of first marriage: 1. Mary, married William Kecke. 2. Anne, married after May 21, 1602, Clement Bushell, of Long Marston; he married (second) Elizabeth. 3. Joan, married, at Quinton, County Gloucester, July 24, 1662, William Bigges. 4. Alice, of whom further. Child of second marriage: 5. John, mentioned in his father's will.

(*Ibid.* "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXX, pp. 300, 446; Vol. LXXXIV, p. 289.)

IV. *Alice Tomes*, daughter of John (2) and Ellen (Gunne-Phelps) Tomes, died in Connecticut about 1646. She married Governor Thomas Welles. (Welles—American Line—I.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Gunne Line)

Opinions of surname authorities about the origin of the surname "Gunne" seem to differ. One authority believes that it was a baptismal name, meaning "the son of Gawen." Another considers it a contraction of an ancient personal name, such as Gundebert or Gundric. Still a third believes that it is a nickname for the weapon, a gun, which in Middle English was *gunne* or *gonne*.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom," Vol. I.)

I. *Richard (1) Gunne*, of Saintbury, County Gloucester, England, died before 1587. He married Mary Horne, whose will was dated October 23, 1587, and proved at Gloucester, February 17, 1587-88. Children: 1. Richard (2), of whom further. 2. William, of Saintbury, was mentioned in his mother's will; was on the muster roll at Saintbury in 1608. 3. John, of Saintbury, was mentioned in his mother's will. 4. Joan, mentioned in her mother's will; married a Mr. Parrett. 5. Alice, mentioned in her mother's will; married a Mr. Fisher. 6. Anne, mentioned in her mother's will.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXXIV, p. 290.)

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II. Richard (2) Gunne, son of Richard (1) and Mary (Horne) Gunne, was of Saintbury, County Gloucester, England. He was mentioned in his mother's will and in that of his son-in-law, Joseph Phelps. Richard (2) Gunne married, at Aston Cantlow, May 20, 1566, Anne Fulwood. (Fulwood XII.) Children: 1. Richard, mentioned in the will of his paternal grandmother, Mary Gunne. 2. John, mentioned in the will of his paternal grandmother, Mary Gunne. 3. Ellen, of whom further. 4. Anne, died before May 23, 1626; married Henry Izod, of Todington, County Gloucester, who died between May 20, 1628, and April 7, 1632. He married (second) Bridget Penny, marriage settlement dated May 23, 1626.

(*Ibid.* Joseph J. Howard: "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," Vol. III, New Series, p. 273.)

III. Ellen Gunne, daughter of Richard (2) and Anne (Fulwood) Gunne, died before August 3, 1601. She married (first) Joseph Phelps, of Gengeworth, County Worcester, England, whose will was dated October 26, 1579, and proved at Worcester, in December, 1579. She married (second) John (2) Tomes. (Tomes III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Fulwood Line)

Arms—Gules, a chevron between three mullets argent, within a bordure or.

("The Visitation of the County of Warwick," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XII, p. 237.)

I. Robertus de Fulwood had sons, Robertus and Radulphus, of whom further.

("The Visitation of the County of Warwick," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XII, pp. 237-38.)

II. Radulphus de Fulwood, son of Robertus de Fulwood, had a son, Robertus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Robertus de Fulwood, son of Radulphus de Fulwood, had a son Ricardus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Ricardus de Fulwood, son of Robertus de Fulwood, married Margareta. They had Robertus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

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V. Robertus de Fulwood, son of Ricardus and Margareta de Fulwood, married Alicia de Tanworth, daughter of Johannes or John Woodward de Tanworth. A son was William Fulwood, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. William Fulwood de Fulwood, son of Robertus and Alicia (de Tanworth) de Fulwood, married Joan Sedenhall, daughter and heir of John Sedenhall. Their son was Johannes Fulwood, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Johannes Fulwood de Fulwood, son of William and Joan (Sedenhall) Fulwood de Fulwood, married Isabella de Wotton, daughter of Johannes Harwell de Wotton. They had John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. John Fulwood, of Clay Hall in Fulwood, son of Johannes and Isabella (de Wotton) Fulwood de Fulwood, married Matilda Ernies, daughter of William Ernies. A son was Richard, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Richard Fulwood, of Clay Hall in Fulwood, son of John and Matilda (Ernies) Fulwood, married Agneta de Baidon, daughter of Johannes Hubbard de Baidon. They had Robert (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

X. Robert (1) Fulwood, of Clay Hall, in the parish of Tanworth, County Warwick, son of Richard and Agneta (de Baidon) Fulwood, married Margaret Mytton. (Mytton IV.) Their son was Robert (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. Robert (2) Fulwood, of Alne Parva, parish of Aston Cantlow, County Warwick, son of Robert (1) and Margaret (Mytton)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Fulwood, married Maria Hunter or Hunt, daughter of Thomas Hunter or Hunt of Studley. A daughter was Anne, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Joseph J. Howard: "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," Vol. III, New Series, p. 273.)

XII. *Anne Fulwood*, daughter of Robert (2) and Maria (Hunter or Hunt) Fulwood, married Richard (2) Gunne. (Gunne II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Mytton Line)

Arms—Per pale argent and azure a double-headed eagle and bordure or.

("Visitation of Shropshire, 1623," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XXIX, p. 360.)

I. *Sir Richard Mytton, Mitton or Mutton*, Knight, of record August 17, 1415, died before October 26, 1419. He married Margaret de Peshall. (de Peshall IX.) They were the parents of William, of whom further.

(The William Salt Archæological Society: "Collections for a History of Staffordshire," Vol. I, p. 367.)

II. *William Mytton, Esq.*, of Weston, son of Sir Richard and Margaret (de Peshall) Mytton, was over eight years of age on September 6, 1420, and was living in 1485. He was presented to Blynhill Church as patron in January, 1436, and was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1443, 1458, and 1463.

William Mytton married Margaret Corbet, daughter of Thomas Corbet, of Lee. Their son was John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *John Mytton, Esq.*, of Weston, son of William and Margaret (Corbet) Mytton, died in February, 1500. He was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1495 and 1496.

John Mytton married (first) Ann Swynerton, daughter and coheir of Thomas Swynerton. He married (second) Joan Middlemore, who died July 26, 1475, daughter of Richard Middlemore, Esq., of Edgbaston. A daughter of the second marriage was Margaret, of whom further.

("Visitations of Warwickshire," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XII, pp. 237, 238.)

PESHALL (DE PESHALL)

Arms—Argent, a cross fleurette sable on a canton gules, a wolf's head erased of the field.

(C. E. Pearsall and H. M. Pearsall: "History and Genealogy of the Pearsall Family in England and America," Vol. I, plate 6, p. 18.)

MYTTON

Arms—Per pale argent and azure a double-headed eagle and a bordure or.

("Visitation of Shropshire, 1623," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XXIX, p. 360.)

FULWOOD

Arms—Gules, a chevron between three mullets argent, within a bordure or.

("The Visitation of the County of Warwick," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XII, p. 237.)

TOENI (DE TONY)

Arms—Argent, a maunch gules.

(J. Maclean: "Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, p. 64.)

BOTETOURT (DE BOTETOURT)

Arms—Or, a saltire engrailed sable.

Crest—Out of a mural coronet six spears in saltire proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

SEELEY

Arms—Sable, a lion rampant or between two flanches argent.

Crest—A lion rampant or. (Crozier: "General Armory.")



Arms—Sable, a lion rampant or between two branches argent.
Crest—A lion rampant or. (Crozier: "General Armory.")

SERLEY

Arms—Or, a saltire engrailed sable.
Crest—Out of a mural coronet six spears in saltire proper.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

BOTTICOURT (DE BOTTICOURT)

Arms—Argent, a mannikin gules.
(J. Maclean: "Parochial and Family History of the Dean-
city of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, p. 64.)

TOENI (DE TONY)

Arms—Gules, a chevron between three mullets argent, within a
bordure or.
("The Visitation of the County of Warwick," in "Har-
leian Society Publications," Vol. XII, p. 43A.)

FULWOOD

Arms—Per pale argent and azure a double-headed eagle and a
bordure or.
("Visitation of Shropshire, 1623," in "Harleian Society
Publications," Vol. XXIX, p. 360.)

MYTTON

Arms—Argent, a cross fleury sable on a cannon gules, a wolf's
head erased of the field.
(C. H. Pearsall and M. Pearsall: "History and
Genealogy of the Pearsall Family in England and
America," Vol. I, plate 6, p. 48.)

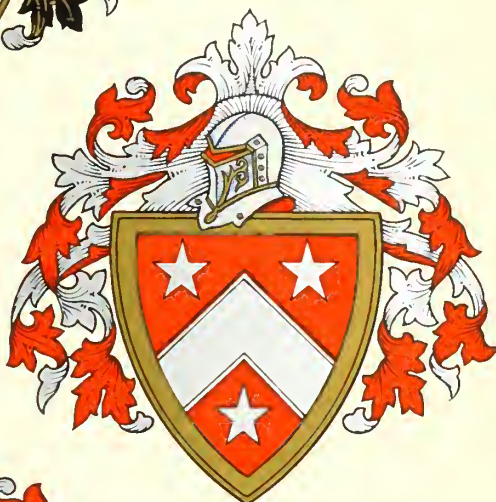
PESSHALL (DE PESHALL)



Peshall
(de Peshall)



Mytton



Fulwood



Toeni
(de Tony)



Botetourt
(de Botetourt)



Seeley

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IV. Margaret Mytton, daughter of John and Joan (Middlemore) Mytton, married Robert (1) Fulwood. (Fulwood X.)

(*Ibid.* "Visitations of Shropshire, 1623," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XXIX, p. 360.)

(The de Peshall Line)

Arms—Argent, a cross fleurettée sable on a canton gules, a wolf's head erased of the field.

(C. E. and H. M. Pearsall: "History and Genealogy of the Pearsall Family in England and America," Vol. I, plate 6, p. 18.)

I. Robert de Peshall, son of Robert Fitz Gilbert de Corbeil, married Ormunda de Lumley, daughter of Osbert de Lumley. A son was John de Lumley, of whom further.

(C. E. Pearsall and H. M. Pearsall: "History and Genealogy of the Pearsall Family in England and America," Vol. I, p. 197.)

II. John de Lumley de Peshall, son of Robert and Ormunda (de Lumley) de Peshall, married a daughter of Robert Fitz Alan, of Swynnerton. Their son was William, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 366.)

III. William de Peshall, son of John de Lumley de Peshall, married (first) Ellen Broughton; married (second) a daughter of William Pantulf. His son was Walter (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 391.)

IV. Dr. Walter (1) de Peshall, son of William de Peshall, married a daughter of William Fitz Alan III, Lord of Clun, and had Walter (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 438.)

V. Walter (2) de Peshall, son of Dr. Walter (1) de Peshall, married and had a son, Adam (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 456.)

VI. Adam (1) de Peshall, son of Walter de Peshall, married Alice de Swynnerton de Sugghenhulle, daughter of John and Eleanor (de Peshale) de Swynnerton de Sugghenhulle. They had Adam (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 453.)

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VII. Adam (2) de Peshall, son of Adam (1) and Alice (de Swynnerton de Suggenhulle) de Peshall, married Joan de Eyton, daughter of John de Eyton, and his wife, the widow of Sir Henry de Creswell of Creswell and Bishops Offley, Staffordshire. A son was Adam (3), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 508.)

VIII. Sir Adam (3) de Peshall, Knight, son of Adam (2) and Joan (de Eyton) de Peshall, died in 1419. He married (first), in 1362, Elizabeth de Weston, daughter of Sir John de Weston, Knight. He married (second), in 1367-68, Elizabeth ap Rees, daughter of Sir Philip ap Rees, Knight. He married (third), in 1388, Joyce (de Botetourt) Freville, widow of Sir Baldwin Freville. (de Botetourt IV.) (First Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXI; Second Descent from Charlemagne XX; The Kings of Scotland XIX; The Saxon Kings of England XX.) A daughter was Margaret, of whom further.

(The William Salt Archæological Society: "Collections for a History of Staffordshire, England," New Series, Vol. XV, p. 312.)

IX. Margaret de Peshall, daughter and coheir of Sir Adam (3) and Joyce (de Botetourt-Freville) de Peshall, died August 5, 1420. She inherited the manors of Weston, Blymhill, Newton and Bobbington. She married Sir Richard Mytton, Knight. (Mytton I.)

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 367. C. E. Pearsall and H. M. Pearsall: "History and Genealogy of the Pearsall Family in England and America," Vol. II, p. 572.)

(The Chittenden Line)

Arms—Argent on a chevron gules, three bezants, in chief a crescent in point gules, all within a bordure engrailed gules.

Crest—A talbot's head erased proper, collared gules.

Motto—*Cordi dat robora virtus.*

(G. N. Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. IV, p. 87. Arms in possession of the family.)

Chittenden as a surname is of Anglo-Saxon origin, according to one authority, meaning "belonging to Citta's Valley," in County Kent, England, and to another, a combination of the Welsh *chug* (house), *tane* (lower), and *din* (hill), "the lower house on the hill."

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants.")

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I. William Chittenden, son of Robert and Mary (Merriam) Chittenden, was born in the parish of Cranbrook, County Kent, England, about 1594, and died in Guilford, Connecticut, February 1, 1661. The parish of Marden, near Cranbrook, has the following baptismal record: "March, 1594, William, son of Robert Chittenden. Salmon Boxer, vicar of Marsden." It is reasonable to believe that this William was the William Chittenden who came to Guilford, Connecticut, for no other records for the name have been found in the territory adjacent to Cranbrook for the last half of the sixteenth century.

William Chittenden was one of a group of about twenty-five persons, coming mostly from the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, in the South of England, who banded together to seek religious freedom in a new land. The company left England May 20, 1639, arriving at their destination on July 10, or July 12, 1639. While still aboard ship they signed a covenant, July 1, 1639, binding each and every one to work together and to protect each other. They arranged to settle at Guilford in the autumn, meanwhile adding a few persons to their company. They landed at Quinnipiac, now New Haven, Connecticut, about July 10, 1639, and on September 29, 1639, purchased the lands for this Colony from Shaumpishuh, Sachem of Menunkatuck. William Chittenden became a man of importance in the Colony and held many important offices in the plantation, being one of the six persons chosen to purchase the Guilford lands from the Indians. He was also appointed, with Robert Kitchell, John Bishop, and William Leete "with full power and authority to act, order and dispatch all matters respecting the publick weall and civile government of the plantation, until a church is gathered amonge us." When the church was organized, June 19, 1643, these four magistrates gave over their authority to the church, which, as in New Haven, had charge of civil as well as religious matters.

William Chittenden was the chief military man of the plantation with the rank of lieutenant. He had been an English soldier in the Thirty Years' War, holding the rank of major. He was a deputy to the General Court in 1643, and a magistrate until his death, being present, during this time, at no less than twenty-seven sessions of the General Court. He was sergeant in 1648, and lieutenant in 1653.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

From Guilford proprietary records it appears that William Chittenden possessed a home lot of three and one-quarter acres overlooking the Menunkatuck River, sixteen acres of upland, seven and one-half acres of meadow-land, with other lots, totaling about one hundred acres. The house lot and land was inherited by his eldest son, Thomas, who divided it between his married sons, William and Josiah. Inventory of the estate of William Chittenden amounted to £677 6s. 7d., as presented and proved in court at Guilford, Connecticut.

William Chittenden married, in England, Joanna Sheaffe, who died August 16, 1668, daughter of Dr. Edmund and Joanna Sheaffe, of Cranbrook, County Kent. She married (second), in 1665, Abraham Cruttenden. Joanna Sheaffe's mother came to New England with her daughter and died on August 1, 1659, at Guilford, Connecticut. Dorothy, sister of Joanna (Sheaffe) Chittenden, was the wife of Rev. Henry Whitfield, first minister and leading member of the Guilford Colony. Her brother, Dr. Jacob Sheaffe, a prominent man of Boston is buried in the cemetery at King's Chapel. Her other sister, Margaret, married Robert Kitchell. Mary Merriam, widow of Robert, and sister-in-law of Joanna Chittenden, in her will of February 15, 1688, names four children of her sister Joanna Chittenden: John, Nathaniel, Mary, and Joanna, the other six having died previously. Children of William and Joanna (Sheaffe) Chittenden: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, married, June 16, 1657, Thomas Wright. 3. Nathaniel, married Sarah, whose surname is unrecorded. 4. John, married Hannah Fletcher. 5. Mary, married, October 4, 1670, John Leete, eldest son of Governor Leete. 6. Hannah, born November 15, 1649, died in 1650. 7. Joseph (twin), born April 14, 1652, died in infancy. 8. Hannah (twin), born April 14, 1652, died September 13, 1674. 9. Deborah, born December 12, 1653, died September 16, 1674. 10. Joanna.

(Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants," pp. 5-8, 12. Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 16. "Commemorative Biographical Record of New Haven, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 857; Vol. XXII, p. 161. "New Haven Colonial Records," p. 417. R. D. Smith: "The History of Guilford, Connecticut," pp. 27, 71, 72, 186. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 382.)

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II. Thomas Chittenden, son of William and Joanna (Sheaffe) Chittenden, was probably born in England about 1635 and died at Guilford, Connecticut, in October, 1683. Thomas Chittenden took the oath of fidelity at Guilford, May 4, 1654. He lived at the old homestead at Guilford and was a freeman there in 1669. On January 13, 1663, Thomas Chittenden, with his brother, John, and Andrew Leete, witnessed a deed from the Mohegan Indian, Uncas, to William Leete and Samuel Kitchell.

Thomas Chittenden married, about 1663, Joanna Jordan. (Jordan II.) Children: 1. Samuel, born September 20, 1664, died January 15, 1694. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Joanna, born December 13, 1668, died January 14, 1672. 4. Abigail, born December 15, 1670; married Caleb Bennett. 5. Thomas, born January 12, 1674, died in 1722, unmarried. 6. Mehitable, born in 1675. 7. Josiah, born in 1677, died August 28, 1759; married, January 8, 1707, Hannah Sherman.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 13, 16, 21-23. Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 16. R. D. Smith: "The History of Guilford, Connecticut," pp. 27, 71, 72, 186.)

III. William Chittenden, son of Thomas and Joanna (Jordan) Chittenden, was born October 5, 1666, and died at Guilford, Connecticut, August 11, 1738, "aged 72 years." Like many of his neighbors, William Chittenden was a farmer.

William Chittenden married (first) Hannah, whose surname is not recorded, who died January 31, 1703. He married (second), Elizabeth, whose surname has not been found. Children of the first marriage: 1. Ebenezer, of whom further. 2. Hannah, born in January, 1703, died July 1, 1773; married (first), December 31, 1728, Josiah Bishop; (second) Samuel Fitch. Children of the second marriage: 3. William, born in 1706, died January 14, 1786, at Guilford; married (first), April 16, 1729, Rachel White; (second), April 29, 1754, Sarah Stevens. 4. Rebecca, born in 1708, died young. 5. Jared, born in 1710, died young. 6. Thankful, died January 12, 1757; married, October 13, 1751, as his second wife, Caleb Benton.

(*Ibid.* Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 16.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. Ebenezer Chittenden, son of William and Hannah Chittenden, was born at Guilford, Connecticut, August 31, 1699, and died August 8, 1756, at East Guilford, where he had moved during the early settlement of the town.

Ebenezer Chittenden married, March 21, 1723, Mary Johnson. (Johnson III.) Children: 1. Elizabeth, born February 7, 1725, died in infancy. 2. Ebenezer, born September 11, 1726, died May 11, 1812; married (first) October 25, 1749, Hannah Meigs (Meigs V, Child 2); (second) Elizabeth Parmelee. 3. Elishaba, born January 16, 1728; married Silvanus Evarts. 4. Thomas, of whom further. 5. Timothy, born November 15, 1732, died February 16, 1816; married, April 20, 1758, Rebecca Skinner. 6. Abigail, born September 4, 1734, died July 26, 1782; married, February 12, 1761, Nathaniel Dudley. 7. Bethuel, born December 10, 1736, died in infancy. 8. Mary, born July 4, 1738, died in infancy. 9. Rev. Bethuel (again), born October 24, 1739, died November 5, 1809; married Deborah Strong, who died November 13, 1810. 10. Mary, born May 25, 1742; married Abel Buell.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 21, 32, 35, 36. Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 16.)

V. Governor Thomas Chittenden, son of Ebenezer and Mary (Johnson) Chittenden, was born at East Guilford, Connecticut, January 6, 1730, and died at Williston, Vermont, August 25, 1797. After his common school education he had an adventure at sea, sailing as a common sailor on a merchant vessel, and being captured by a French man-of-war. He finally reached home, and at the age of twenty-one years established himself at Salisbury, Litchfield County, Connecticut, where he became prosperous and prominent, and held important civil and military offices. He was a famous colonel of militia, and represented Salisbury in the Connecticut Legislature for six years. He was major of the 14th Regiment from 1767 to 1770, and lieutenant-colonel, 1770-1773. In May, 1774, he removed to the New Hampshire Grants, now the State of Vermont. He purchased a tract of several thousand acres of land in the wilderness which was later the township of Williston. After clearing the land, he built a log house to accommodate his large family and employees, and was progressing nicely when the



Governor Thomas Chittenden Monument
From photograph taken by Mrs. Everett L. Bray

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Revolutionary War came. He was appointed president of the Committee of Safety, in 1777, and was soon forced to move to a position less exposed to the enemy. He took a prominent part in the measures to form a separate government for Vermont, and in 1777 was its first Governor, holding this office, save for one year, until his death. Among the difficulties which beset Vermont was the threatened invasion of the State by the British forces in Canada. Governor Chittenden pursued a policy which saved the State from invasion, and finally secured its admission to the Union. While he was Governor, he wrote the following letter to General Washington upon the course and policy of Vermont in the Revolutionary War. The letter is as follows:

ARLINGTON, Nov. 14, 1781.

SIR:—The peculiar situation and circumstances with which this state, for several years last past, has been attended, induces me to address your Excellency on a subject which mostly concerns her interests, and may have its influence on the common cause of the states of America. Placing the highest confidence in your Excellency's patriotism in the cause of liberty, and disposition to do right and justice in every part of America (who have by arms supported their rights against the lawless power of Great Britain) I herein transmit the measure by which this state has conducted her policy, for the security of its frontiers; and as the design and end of it was set on foot, and has ever since been prosecuted on an honorable principle (as the consequences will fully evince). I do it with full confidence that your Excellency will not improve it to the disadvantage of this truly patriotic suffering state; although this substance has been communicated by Captain Ezra Hicock, employed by Major General Lincoln, by your Excellency's particular direction, and who, arrived here with the resolutions of Congress of the seventh day of August last, which approved in some measure favorable to this state, I then disclosed to him the measures this state had adopted for her security, which I make no doubt has by him been delivered to your Excellency, and though I do not hesitate that you are well satisfied of the real attachment of the government of this state to the common cause, I esteem it nevertheless, my duty to this state, and the common cause at large, to lay before your Excellency, in writing the heretofore critical situation of this State, and the management of its policy, that it may operate in your Excellency's mind as a barrier against clamorous aspersions of its numerous (and in many instances, potent) adversaries. It is the misfortune of

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this state to join on the frontier of Quebec, and the waters of the Lake Champlain, which affords an easy passage for the enemy to make a descent with a formidable army on its frontiers, and into the neighborhood of several states of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, who have severally laid claims, in part or in whole, to this state, and who have used every art which they could devise to divide her citizens, to set Congress against her, and finally, to overturn the Government, and share its territory among them. The repeated applications of this state to the Congress of the United States to be admitted into the Federal Union with them upon the liberal principles of paying a just proportion of the expenses of the war with Great Britain have been rejected, and resolutions passed *ex parte* tending to create schisms in the state and thereby embarrass its efforts in raising men and money for the defence of her frontiers and discountenancing the every existence of the state. Every article belonging to the United States, even the pick axes and spades, has been by the commissioners ordered out of the state at a time when she was erecting a line of forts on her frontiers. At the same time the state of New York evacuated the post of Skemsborough for the avowed purpose of exposing this state to the ravages of the common enemy.

The British officers in New York, being acquainted with the public disputes between this and the claiming states, and between Congress and this state, made overtures to General Allen in a letter projecting that Vermont should be a colony under the crown of Great Britain, endeavoring at the same time to draw the people of Vermont into their interest. The same day General Allen received this letter (which was in August 1780) he laid it before me and my council, who, under critical circumstances of the state, advised that no answer either oral or written, should be returned, and that the letter be safely deposited till further consideration, to which General Allen consented. A few months after he received a second letter from the enemy and some council advised that General Allen should send bothe letters to Congress (enclosed in a letter under his signature) which he did in hopes that Congress would admit Vermont into the Union, but they had not the desired effect.

In the fall of the year 1780 the British made a descent up the Lake Champlain and captured the forts George and Ann, and appeared in force on the lake. This caused the militia of this state most generally to go forth to defend it. Thus the militia were encamped against the enemy near six weeks when General Allen received a flag from them with an answer to my letter dated the preceding July to General Haldemand, on the subject of an exchange of prisoners. The flag was delivered to General Allen from the com-

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manding officer of the enemy, who was there at Crown Point, with proposals for a truce with the state of Vermont during the negotiating the exchange of prisoners. General Allen sent back a flag of his to the commanding officer of the British agreeing to the truce, provided he would extend the same to the frontier parts of the state of New York which was complied with, and a truce took place which lasted about three weeks. It was chiefly owing to the military powers of the militia of this state and the including the state of New York in the truce, that Albany and Schenectady did not fall a sacrifice to the ambition of the enemy that campaign.

Previous to the retreating of the enemy into winter quarters Colonel Allen and Major Fay were commissioned to negotiate the proposed exchange of prisoners. They proceeded so far as to treat with the British commissioners on the subject of their mission during which time they were interchangeably entertained with politics, which they treated in an affable manner, as I have been told, but nothing was settled; and the campaign was ended without the effusion of blood.

The cabinet council, in the canvas of the succeeding winter, finding that the enemy in Canada were about seven thousand strong, and that Vermont must needs be their object in the ensuing campaign, circular letters were therefore sent from the supreme executive authority of this state to the claiming states before mentioned, demanding of them to relinquish their claims to this state, and inviting them to join in a solid union and confederation against the common enemy. Letters were also sent to your Excellency and to the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and (one) of them stated the extreme circumstances of this state, and employed their aid and alliance, giving them withal to understand that it was out of the power of this state to lay in magazines and support a body of men sufficient to defend this state against the force of the enemy. But to these letters there has been no manner of answer returned.

From all of which it appeared that this state was devoted to destruction by the sword of the common enemy. It appeared to be the more unjustifiable that the state of Vermont should be thus forsaken inasmuch as her citizens struck the first offensive blow against British usurpation by putting the continent in possession of Ticonderoga and more than two hundred pieces of cannon with Crown Point, St. Johns, and all Lake Champlain; their exertions in defeating General Carlton in his attempt to raise the siege of St. Johns; their assistance in penetrating Canada; their valor in the battles of Hubbardton, Bennington, and the landing near Ticonderoga; assisting in the capture of General Burgoyne; and by being the principal barrier against the power of the enemy in Canada ever since.

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That the citizens of this state have, by nature, an equal right to liberty and independency with the citizens of America in general cannot be disputed and that they have merited it from the United States, by their exertions with them in bringing about the present glorious revolution, is as evident a truth as any other which respects the acquired right of any community. Generosity, merit and gratitude, all conspire in vindicating the independence of Vermont, but notwithstanding the arguments which have been exhibited in sundry pamphlets in favor of Vermont, which have been abundantly satisfactory to the impartial part of mankind, it has been in the power of her external enemies to deprive her of union confederation, or any equal advantage in defending themselves against the common enemy. The winter being thus spent in fruitless attempts to form alliances and no advantages were procured in favor of this state except that Massachusetts withdrew her claims on condition that the United States would concede the independence of Vermont; but that if they would not, they would have *their* smack at the South end of its territory. Still New York and New Hampshire were strenuously opposed to the independence of Vermont, and every stratagem in their power to divide and subdivide her citizens were exerted, imagining that their influence in Congress, and the certain destruction (as they supposed) of the inhabitants of this state by the common enemy, could not fail of finally accomplishing their wishes.

In this juncture of affairs, the cabinet of Vermont projected the extension of their claims of jurisdiction upon the state of New Hampshire and New York, as well to quiet their own internal divisions occasioned by the machinations of those two governments as to make them experience the evils of intestine broils, and strengthen this state against insult. The legislature accordingly extended their jurisdiction to the eastward of Connecticut River to the old Mason (Muson) line, and to the westward to the Hudson River; but in the articles of union reformed the determination of the boundary line of Vermont and the respective claiming states to the final decision of Congress, or such other tribunal as might be mutually agreed upon by the contending governments. These were the principal political movements of the last winter. The last campaign opened with a gloomy aspect to the discerning citizen of this state, being destitute of adequate resources and without any alliance, and that from its local situation to Canada, obliged to encounter the whole force of that province or give up its claim to independence and run away.

Vermont being thus down to desperation by the injustice of those who should have been her friends was obliged to adopt policy in room of power, and on the first day of May last, Colonel Ira Allen was sent

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to Canada to further negotiate the business of exchange of prisoners, who agreed on a time and place, and other particulars relating to the exchange. While he was transacting that business, and entertained with political matters, which necessity obliged him to honor in that every manner which might serve the interests of this state in its extreme critical situation and though its consequences might not be injurious to the United States. The plan succeeded, the frontiers of this state were not invaded and Lord George Germen's letter wrought upon Congress and procured that from them which the public virtue of this people could not. In the month of July last Joseph Fay was sent to the British shipping on Lake Champlain, who completed an exchange of a number of prisoners who were delivered at Shunsborough in September last, at which time and place Colonel Ira Allen and Major Fay had a conference with the British commissioners and no damage had as yet occurred to this or the United States from this quarter. And in the month of October last the enemy appeared in force at Crown Point and Ticonderoga but (manœuvered) out of their expedition, and were returned into winter quarters in Canada with great safety; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the prophet: "I will put my hook in their nose, and turn them back by the way which they came and they shall not come into this city (*alias* Vermont)" saith the Lord. It remains that I congratulate your Excellency and participate with you in the joy of capturing the haughty Cornwallis and his army, and assure your Excellency that there are no gentlemen in America who enjoy the glorious victory more than the gentlemen of this state, and him who has the honor to subscribe himself your Excellency's devoted and most obedient, humble servant.

(Signed) THOMAS CHITTENDEN.

His Excellency General Washington.

At the time of the admission of Vermont into the Union, General Washington observed, in 1791, that "Governor Chittenden deserved well of his country for the wisdom, patriotism and firmness he had displayed in managing the affairs of his adopted state." Governor Chittenden has been called "the father of Williston," and a granite monument was erected to his memory at Williston, August 19, 1896, by the State of Vermont. It has been said of him that he was a man of simple habits with a strong and active mind, an abundance of practical knowledge, and almost unerring judgment.

Governor Chittenden married, October 4, 1749, Elizabeth Meigs. (Meigs VI.) Children: 1. Mabel, born July 10, 1750; married

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Thomas Barney, Esq. 2. Noah, born October 26, 1753, died at Jericho, Vermont, in 1834; married Sally Fassett. 3. Mary, married Jonas Galusha, Governor of Vermont for nine years. 4. Hannah, married General Isaac Clark, distinguished for service in the War of 1812. 5. Betty, born February 17, 1761; married James Hill. 6. Beulah, born May 23, 1762; married (first) Elijah Galusha; (second) Colonel Matthew Lyon. Matthew Lyon, Vermont's fighting Congressman after representing Vermont in Congress was chosen Representative from Kentucky and was nominated by the President the territorial delegate to Congress from Arkansas. It was Lyon's vote in 1800 that broke the tie in the Presidential election and made Jefferson President instead of Burr, this being the only time in our history when Vermont was the pivotal State. 7. Martin, born March 12, 1763, died September 5, 1840, at Williston, Vermont; was Governor of Vermont in 1814-15; married Anna Bentley. 8. Giles, of whom further. 9. Truman, born August 3, 1770, died September 5, 1840; married Lucy Jones. 10. Electa, born July 27, 1773; married Jacob Spofford.

(Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 177, 511. B. C. Steiner: "A History of the Plantation of Menunkatuck and the Original Town of Guilford, Connecticut," p. 483. Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 16. "A History of the Town of Williston," pp. 35, 36. Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants," pp. 33-35, 58-60. Hemenway: "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," Vol. I, p. 907. H. B. Meigs: "The Descendants of Vincent Meigs," pp. 20, 194. Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. IV, pp. 85-86. L. L. Johnson: "Guilford, the Story of an Old Town." Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Colonel Giles Chittenden, son of Governor Thomas and Elizabeth (Meigs) Chittenden, was born July 30, 1768, and died in March, 1819. He was a farmer and "settled on the Williston side of the river below his father's place." He served as a town representative and as colonel of the militia.

Colonel Giles Chittenden married, April 5, 1790, Mary or Polly Hawley. (Second Hawley Line VI.) 1. Elizabeth Ann, born in May, 1791, died January 5, 1808. 2. Florilla, born December 14,

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1792, died January 8, 1878; married Isaac Hyde. 3. Mary, born August 7, 1794, died December 24, 1820. 4. Eli, born January 26, 1796, at Burlington, Vermont; married Charlotte (Moore) Sinclair. 5. Harvey, born December 25, 1798. 6. Minerva, born January 21, 1801, died September 15, 1848; married Hiram Burnham and lived in Kalamazoo, Michigan. 7. Lucy Marilla, of whom further. 8. Emily, born August 2, 1805, died in infancy. 9. Noah, born January 4, 1808, died December 3, 1864; married Sarah Miller. 10. Nelson Harvey, born July 17, 1810; married Caroline Reed; children: i. Giles Eli, married Emily Parsons; child: a. Gertrude, married (first) a Mr. Sharpe and had five daughters. ii. Henry Hudson, married Ella Chamberlain; children: a. Carrie, a missionary in China. b. Mary, deceased. iii. George, married Milly Wager, sister of Mrs. John J. Carton; children: a. Cornelia Florilla, married Alfred Frehe; children, surnamed Frehe: (1) Evelyn. (2) Frances. (3) Alfred J. (4) George. b. May, married Frederick Cowell. iv. Charlotte Elizabeth, married (first) Howard S. Fee, son of Rev. John Gregg Fee, founder of Berea College; (second) a Mr. Bogue. 11. Ossian Hawley, born January 22, 1812, died in youth. 12. Giles, married Beulah, surname not known.

(The Salisbury Association: "Historical Collections Relating to the Town of Salisbury, Litchfield County, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 56. Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 176, 177, 184, 185. Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants," p. 59. Hemenway: "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," Vol. I, p. 907.)

VII. Lucy Marilla Chittenden, daughter of Colonel Giles and Mary (Hawley) Chittenden, was born January 12, 1803, and died December 16, 1879. She married (first) John Mitchell, by whom she had one son, Ossian Mitchell, who married Susan Walton and had two children, Charles Eli Mitchell, who married Bessie Kent, and had one son, Kent Ossian Mitchell; and Mary Marilla Mitchell, who married Darwin P. Kingsley, president of the New York Life Insurance Company, and left one son, Walton Pearl Kingsley. She married (second) Dr. Anselm Bray. (Bray IV.)

(Elias S. Hawley: "The Hawley Record," pp. 184, 185.)

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(The Second Hawley Line)

For Introduction and Generation I, see First Hawley Line.

II. Samuel Hawley, son of Joseph and Katharine (Birdseye) Hawley, was born 1647-48, and died August 24, 1734. His will was dated April 15, 1734, and proved September 24, 1734. An abstract of it follows: "I give unto Patience, my well-beloved wife, all my movable estate for her to use and dispose of as she shall think fit, both in life and at death." Samuel came to Stratford, Connecticut, with his parents about 1650 and established his home there. He followed the occupation of farming but also had extensive dealings in real estate. According to a list of proprietors in 1699, he was then the largest owner of undivided lands, or commonage, except for three, in Stratford. He continued to accumulate land but redistributed it among his children, making them quite independent. Samuel Hawley was one of the thirty-six original proprietors of the township of Newtown, Connecticut, which was organized in May, 1708. He was a prominent man in the affairs of the town and church. In 1690, he was elected representative to the Colonial Assembly and served there eight times during the next eighteen years. His youngest brother, John, was elected in 1702 and served at different times until the year 1725. Thus including the terms of their father, during sixty-six years some member of the Hawley family had been elected fifty-seven times from Stratford.

Samuel Hawley married (first) Mary Thompson, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Welles) Thompson. He married (second) Patience (Nichols) Hubbell, widow of Lieutenant John Hubbell, who was killed 1690 in the Indian massacre at Schenectady. Children of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born May 14, 1674, died in 1754; married, May 14, 1702, Bethia Clarke. 2. Captain Joseph, born June 6, 1675, died November 20, 1752; married, June 7, 1697, Elizabeth Wilcoxson. 3. Thomas, born July 30, 1678, died May 6, 1722; married, October, 1701, Joanna Booth. 4. Matthew, born November 7, 1680, died in 1693; married Joanna Clarke. 5. Ebenezer, born February 25, 1682, died before 1717. 6. Jehiel, born April 5, 1685, died July 19, 1727; married, December 13, 1708, Hope Stowe. 7. Elizabeth, born March 30, 1687, died November 3, 1765; married, December 19, 1706, Lieutenant Charles Wolcott. Children of second

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

marriage: 8. Ephraim, of whom further. 9. Catherine, born in 1693, died in February, 1696. 10. Stephen, born in 1695, died in 1790; married, July 21, 1720, Mary DeForest. 11. Benjamin, born in 1696, died May 8, 1765; married (first), February 13, 1724, Mary Nichols; (second) Experience Dibble. 12. Mary, born in 1699; married Josiah Hubbell. 13. Nathaniel, born in 1701, died January 7, 1754; married, December 12, 1723, Mary Ufford.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3, 439, 440, 453. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXX, p. 301. Samuel Orcutt: "History of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 1212, 1213. Family records.)

III. Ephraim Hawley, son of Samuel and Patience (Nichols-Hubbell) Hawley, was born in 1692, and died at Arlington, Vermont, in 1771. In 1717, Ephraim's father deeded to him one hundred and seventy-two acres of land at "White Plain," now in Trumbull, Connecticut. He was of Stratford, in 1727, but in 1728, he was of Newtown, Connecticut, and in 1733 of New Milford. In 1727, he was one of a committee appointed to erect a schoolhouse. On December 9, 1728, he was chosen as a selectman. He became a large landholder in that part of New Milford which is now Bridgewater. Several of his children having removed to Arlington, Vermont, he went there and lived with them until his death.

Ephraim Hawley married, October 5, 1711, Sarah Curtis. Children: 1. Jehiel, of whom further. 2. Captain Matthew, married (first), December 4, 1737, Abigail Noble, who died in 1738; married (second), December 3, 1740, Hannah Buck. 3. Ephraim, died in 1750, or before; married Ann Chapman. 4. Nathan, married, November 8, 1733; Keziah Bunnell. 5. Patience, married, March 25, 1742, Consider Hulburt. 6. Abel, born in 1720, died October 16, 1797; married (second) Bethia Curtis. 7. David, baptized July 29, 1722; married Ruth, whose surname is not known. 8. Josiah, born in 1731, died October 22, 1791; married, February 8, 1753, Hannah Warner. 9. Gideon, baptized June 6, 1734; married, October 30, 1755, Elizabeth Love, a widow. 10. Phebe, baptized, April 12, 1739; married, March 20, 1754, Abijah Hurd.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3, 176, 177, 453, 506. Samuel Orcutt: "History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport," Vol. II, pp. 1212-14.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. Captain Jehiel Hawley, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Curtis) Hawley, was born at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1712, and died at Shelburne, Vermont, November 2, 1777. About the year 1732, Jehiel settled with his father in the southeastern part of New Milford, now Bridgewater, Connecticut. After living there for thirty-two years, in 1764 he removed to Arlington, Vermont, with his father and brother, Josiah. There they became leading landholders. Jehiel was a captain in the militia, and for several years was a representative in the General Assembly for the town of Milford. He was annually chosen reader of the Episcopal Church in Roxbury, Connecticut, for twelve years. This office he continued to hold after he removed to Arlington, Vermont. He was called the founder of the Episcopal Church in that town. In connection with disputes over land claims of New York and Vermont, Jehiel was sent to England as agent for Vermont. During the Revolution he remained loyal to the King and joined Burgoyne's army. After its defeat he set out for Canada, though he had been invited to Arlington, and died on his way at Shelburne, Vermont.

Captain Jehiel Hawley married (first), March 30, 1731, Sarah Dunning, born August 14, 1713; (second) Abra Hubbell. Children: 1. Andrew, of whom further. 2. Phebe, born July 1, 1734; married John Treat. 3. Anna, born November 26, 1736; married Phineas Hurd. 4. Abijah, born January 30, 1738, died April 20, 1832; married, January 1, 1785, but the name of his wife is not known. 5. Mary, born March 24, 1739. 6. Jephtha, born September 29, 1740; married, December 26, 1762, Esther Castle. 7. Ruth, born August 19, 1742; married, February 23, 1761, Abel Mix. 8. Jehiel, born September 16, 1744. 9. Curtis, born April 24, 1747; married Hannah French.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 176, 506, 507. Hemenway: "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," Vol. I, p. 132.)

V. Andrew Hawley, son of Captain Jehiel and Sarah (Dunning) Hawley, was born June 22, 1732, and died June 24, 1801, at Arlington, Vermont. He married, January 2, 1757, Ann Hard, daughter of James and Hannah (Kimberly) Hard, born in 1735 and died February 28, 1827. Children: 1. Eli, born at New Milford, Connecti-

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

cut, November 20, 1757, died January 19, 1850; married, November 4, 1787, widow Mary (Jeffers) McGeer. 2. Philo, born July 3, 1759, died November 2, 1856; married, December 30, 1784, name of mate unknown. 3. Zadoc Hard, born June 15, 1761, died in October, 1814; married, August 24, 1786, Rhoda Everts. 4. Adoniram, born at New Milford, August 28, 1763, died February 24, 1788. 5. Jehiel, born May 31, 1765; married Amanda Case. 6. Sarah Ann, born September 28, 1767, died July 2, 1857; married (first), January 15, 1789, Samuel Stone; married (second), March 2, 1810, Gould Buck. 7. Mary, of whom further. 8. Andrew, born October 15, 1772, at Arlington, Vermont, died July 9, 1825; married Urania Leonard. 9. Elijah, born November 17, 1774, at Arlington, Vermont, died February 1, 1858; married (first) Martha Mages; (second) Eunice Perry. 10. Lucy, born June 5, 1777, at Arlington, Vermont, died November 30, 1836; married Samuel Baker.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177. Hemenway: "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," Vol. I, pp. 132, 134.)

VI. Mary or Polly Hawley, daughter of Andrew and Ann (Hard) Hawley, was born in February, 1770. She married, April 5, 1790, Colonel Giles Chittenden. (Chittenden VI.)

(*Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177, 511.)

(The Meigs Line)

Arms—Or, a chevron azure between three mascles gules, on a chief sable a greyhound courant argent.

Crest—A talbot's head erased argent, eared sable, collared or, under the collar two pellets fesseways, three acorns erect, issuing from the top of the head proper.

Motto—*Semper paratus.*

(Crozier: "General Armory." G. N. Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. II, p. 511.)

I. Vincent Meigs, the first of this line to be of record, was probably born in Devonshire, England, about 1583, and died at Hammonassett (now Madison), Connecticut, December 1, 1658. His will was dated September 2, 1658, and probated December 2, 1658. He sailed, with his three sons, for Weymouth, Massachusetts, from Weymouth, England, in 1634. Later, in 1644, he moved to New Haven, Connecticut. In 1653 he went to Hammonassett (now Madison), where he died. He was the first person buried in East Guilford.

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Vincent Meigs married, in 1606, a Miss Churchill. Children: 1. Vincent, born in England, in 1609, died November 3, 1700. 2. John (1), of whom further. 3. Mark, born in England, 1614, will probated in 1673; married Avis, whose surname is not of record.

(Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. II, p. 511. H. B. Meigs: "Descendants of Vincent Meigs," 1935 edition, p. 6.)

II. John (1) Meigs, son of Vincent and ——— (Churchill) Meigs, was born near Bradford, England, February 29, 1612, and died at Killingworth, January 4, 1672. He warned the regicides Whalley and Goffe of their intended apprehension and aided in their concealment and escape.

John (1) Meigs married, in 1632, Tamazin Fry, of Weymouth, England. Children: 1. Mary, born at Weymouth, England, in 1633, died April 30, 1703; married, March 3, 1653, William Stevens, son of John Stevens, of Guilford, Connecticut. 2. Elizabeth, probably born in America, about 1635; married, in 1650, Richard Hubbell, of Stratford, Connecticut. 3. Concurrence, died October 9, 1708; married Henry Crane, of Killingworth, Connecticut. 4. John (2), of whom further. 5. Tryal, born in 1646, died in 1690; married, in 1668, Andrew Ward, of Killingworth, Connecticut.

(Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. II, p. 512. H. B. Meigs: "Descendants of Vincent Meigs," 1935 edition, pp. 7-8.)

III. John (2) Meigs, son of John (1) and Tamazin (Fry) Meigs, was born at Weymouth, Massachusetts, February 28, 1641, and died November 9, 1713. About 1660, he removed to Guilford, and on December 7, 1685, he was one of the twelve patentees of that town. From 1696 to 1713, he was deacon of the First Church of Guilford.

John (2) Meigs married (first), March 7, 1665, Sarah Wilcoxson. (Wilcoxson II.) He married (second) Lydia Crittenden, of Guilford, died December, 1729, who was the widow of Isaac Crittenden. Children of first marriage: 1. Sarah, born February 14, 1667, died April 8, 1688; married, January 11, 1685, Daniel Bartlett, of Guilford, Connecticut. 2. John, born November 11, 1670, died

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December 19, 1718; married, July 20, 1694, Rebecca Hand. 3. Janna (1), of whom further. 4. Ebenezer, born September 19, 1675, died before 1712; married, October 7, 1700, Mercy Weeks. 5. Hannah, born February 25, 1678; married Jeremiah Foster, of Long Island. 6. Hester, born November 10, 1680. 7. Mindwell, born in 1682, died March 31, 1762; married, October 8, 1702, Samuel Crittenden, of Guilford. 8. Sarah (again).

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Captain Janna (1) Meigs, son of John (2) and Sarah (Wilcoxson) Meigs, was born at East Guilford, Connecticut, December 27, 1672, and died June 5, 1739. He was Deputy Governor of the Colony, and during the years 1716, 1717, 1718 and 1726 was a member of the Connecticut Legislature. From 1722 to 1733, inclusive, he was justice of the peace of New Haven Colony. He was captain of the Guilford trainband and of a company in Queen Anne's wars.

Captain Janna (1) Meigs married, May 18, 1698, Hannah Willard. (Willard III.) Children: 1. Janna (2), of whom further. 2. Captain Josiah, born May 14, 1701, died December 26, 1774; married, June 14, 1727, Mary Hand, daughter of Stephen and Sarah (Wright) Hand. 3. Captain Jehiel, born June 11, 1703, died March 23, 1780; married, September 27, 1736, Lucy Bartlett. 4. Hannah, born August 13, 1705, died May 20, 1727. 5. Return (see Meigs Family of Ohio). 6. Hester, born December 19, 1709; married, in 1733, Stephen Bishop. 7. Silence (twin), born January 5, 1712, died January 9, 1712. 8. Submit (twin), born January 5, 1712, died January 16, 1712. 9. Timothy, born September 19, 1713, died September 14, 1751; married, September 27, 1735, Mary French, died March 15, 1788, daughter of John French, and granddaughter of the first rector of Yale University. 10. Eunice, born October 19, 1715.

(Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. II, pp. 512, 515. H. B. Meigs: "Descendants of Vincent Meigs," 1935 edition, pp. 9, 13, 14.)

V. Lieutenant Janna (2) Meigs, son of Captain Janna (1) and Hannah (Willard) Meigs, was born April 17, 1699, and died February 12, 1772. He lived in Salisbury, Connecticut, and was a lieutenant as is shown by his tombstone.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Lieutenant Janna (2) Meigs married, May 13, 1724, Elizabeth Dudley, daughter of Ebenezer Dudley, of Guilford. Children: 1. Sybil, born April 25, 1725; married Joseph Bradley, of Sunderland, Vermont. 2. Hannah, born November 20, 1727, died February 15, 1751; married, October 25, 1749, Ebenezer Chittenden, of New Haven, Connecticut. (Chittenden IV, Child 2.) 3. Nathaniel, born August 6, 1729. 4. Elizabeth, of whom further. 5. Esther, born March 19, 1734, died September 8, 1809; married, November 9, 1757, Ezra Wilcox, of Madison, Connecticut. 6. Prudence, born January 12, 1737; married a Mr. Ward. 7. Janna, born February 17, 1739; married, January 16, 1764, Rebecca Whiting, of Wallingford, Connecticut. 8. Simeon, born July 13, 1741; served in Kirtland's regiment during the Revolutionary War; enlisted from Salisbury, May 5, 1777, for the war. 9. Bezai, born March 11, 1746. He was of Albany, New York. He served during the Revolution in the 1st and 2d Regiments of the Line, and also in the 8th Regiment of Militia of Albany County, New York. He married Jamima Von Boskerk, widow of William Von Loan, of Athens, New York.

(Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America," Vol. II, pp. 515, 516.)

VI. Elizabeth Meigs, daughter of Lieutenant Janna (2) and Elizabeth (Dudley) Meigs, was born October 17, 1731, and died October 14, 1817. She married Governor Thomas Chittenden. (Chittenden V.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 516.)

(The Meigs Family in Ohio)

An important and interesting Meigs Family connection descends from Return Meigs. (Meigs IV, Child 5.)

I. Return Meigs, son of Captain Janna (1) and Hannah (Willard) Meigs, was born March 16, 1708, and died June 22, 1782. He was of Middletown, Connecticut. In 1745 he was a lieutenant of the 2d Company, in the 6th Connecticut Regiment. Two years later, in 1747, he was elected a representative to the General Assembly.

Return Meigs married (first), February 1, 1732-33, Elizabeth Hamlin, died September 17, 1762, daughter of Jabez Hamlin, of Middletown, Connecticut. He married (second), March 25, 1763, Mrs.

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Jane Doane, a widow. Children, all of the first marriage: 1. Elisha, born January 15, 1734, died October 10, 1736. 2. Janna, born September 29, 1735, died October 4, 1736. 3. Elizabeth, born July 15, 1737, died April 16, 1740. 4. Elisha (again), born October 4, 1739, died December 22, 1739. 5. Return Jonathan (1), of whom further. 6. John, born October 9, 1742, died October 28, 1751. 7. Giles, born October 29, 1744, died November 7, 1824; married (first), October 13, 1768, Experience Allen, died September 25, 1775; (second), June 8, 1777, Anna Pinto, died September 25, 1835. 8. Josiah, born November 1, 1746, died October 29, 1751. 9. Elizabeth (again), born January 25, 1748, died August 4, 1753. 10. Timothy, born February 28, 1750, died October 28, 1751. 11. Hannah, born November 21, 1751, died January 28, 1753. 12. John (again), born November 21, 1753, died November 24, 1826; married, January 18, 1781, Elizabeth Henshaw, died March 5, 1847. He served in the Revolutionary War as an ensign, January 1, 1777; adjutant, April 22, 1778; lieutenant in Caleb Bull's company, May 16, 1778; captain in Colonel S. B. Webb's 3d Regiment of Connecticut Line from 1781 until the end of the war. He also saw service in the War of 1812 as lieutenant, captain and brigade major in the regular army. 13. Josiah (again), born August 21, 1757, died September 4, 1822; married, January 21, 1782, Clara, died August 13, 1849, daughter of Colonel John Benjamin, of Stratford, Connecticut. Josiah Meigs graduated from Yale in 1778 with a Bachelor of Arts degree. Later he was a professor there. Eventually he became the first president of the University of Georgia. He also was commissioner in the General Land Office at Washington, District of Columbia.

(H. B. Meigs: "Descendants of Vincent Meigs," 1935 edition, pp. 14, 15, 24, 25, 26.)

II. Colonel Return Jonathan (1) Meigs, son of Return and Elizabeth (Hamlin) Meigs, was born December 17, 1740, and died January 28, 1823. He was of Middletown, Connecticut. He saw much military service as before the Revolution he served as ensign, lieutenant, and captain in the Connecticut Militia. When the Revolution broke out, he marched with a company of men to Boston on the Lexington Alarm. Later he became colonel of the 6th Connecticut

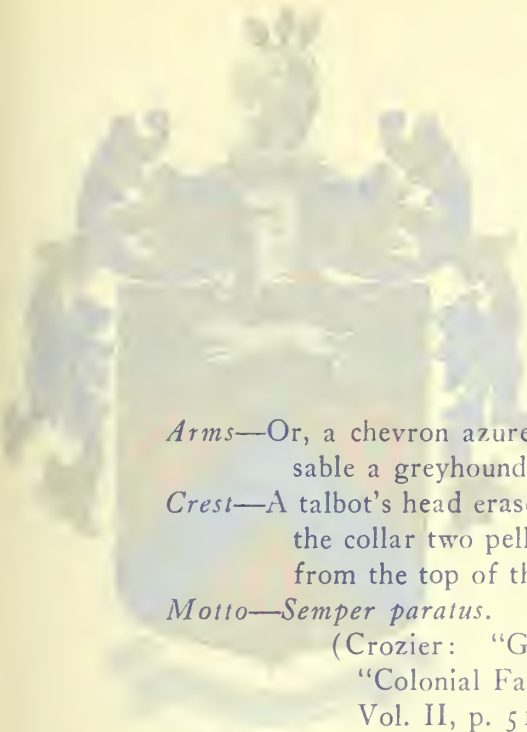
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Infantry. When Arnold went on the ill-fated expedition to Quebec, Colonel Meigs accompanied him, and was captured in the assault on that town. However, later he was exchanged. When Wayne captured Stony Point, he was in that assault. Colonel Meigs on May 23-24, 1777, made a successful assault on Sag Harbor, Long Island. Here he captured and destroyed twelve enemy supply ships, killed six and captured ninety men and retired without the loss of a man. For this brilliant exploit, Congress voted him a handsome sword. When insurrection arose among the Connecticut troops, in consequence of the famine of 1780, he was active in quelling the unrest. After the Revolution he was one of the pioneer settlers of the Northwest Territory, having landed at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers with the earliest emigrants. He was appointed Federal Agent to the Cherokees in Tennessee, where he died at Hiawassee.

Colonel Return Jonathan (1) Meigs married (first), February 14, 1764, Joanna Winborn, died October 30, 1773; (second), December 22, 1774, Grace Starr, died at Hiawassee, Tennessee, October 10, 1807. Children of first marriage: 1. Return Jonathan (2), of whom further. 2. Joanna, born October 21, 1766; married Janna Hand, of East Guilford, Connecticut, son of Captain Joseph and Lucy (Meigs) Hand. 3. Mary, born January 12, 1769, died in 1799; married Rev. Mr. Miner. 4. John, born March 9, 1771, died July 4, 1808. Children of second marriage: 5. Elizabeth, born November 22, 1775, died December 22, 1775. 6. Richard Montgomery, born October 4, 1777, died July 22, 1785. 7. Timothy, born September 28, 1782, died in 1815.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Governor Return Jonathan (2) Meigs, son of Colonel Return Jonathan (1) and Joanna (Winborn) Meigs, was born at Middletown, Connecticut, November 17, 1765, and died at Marietta, Ohio, March 29, 1825. He graduated from Yale College in 1785, and three years later, in 1788, he was admitted to the bar. Shortly after his marriage he went into the wilderness of Ohio, and upon the organization of this territory as a State he was immediately elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1804 he was made Colonel and Commandant of the upper part of the District of Louisiana. A year



MEIGS

Arms—Or, a chevron azure between three mascles gules, on a chief sable a greyhound courant argent.

Crest—A talbot's head erased argent, eared sable, collared or, under the collar two pellets fesseways, three acorns erect, issuing from the top of the hand proper.

Motto—*Semper paratus.*

(Crozier: "General Armory." G. N. Mackenzie: "Colonial Families of the United States of America." Vol. II, p. 511.)

WILLARD

Arms—Argent a chevron ermine between three flasks proper.

Crest—A griffin's head erased or.

Motto—*Gaudet patientia duris.*

(Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

BUSHNELL

Arms—Argent, five fusils in fesse gules, in chief three mullets sable.

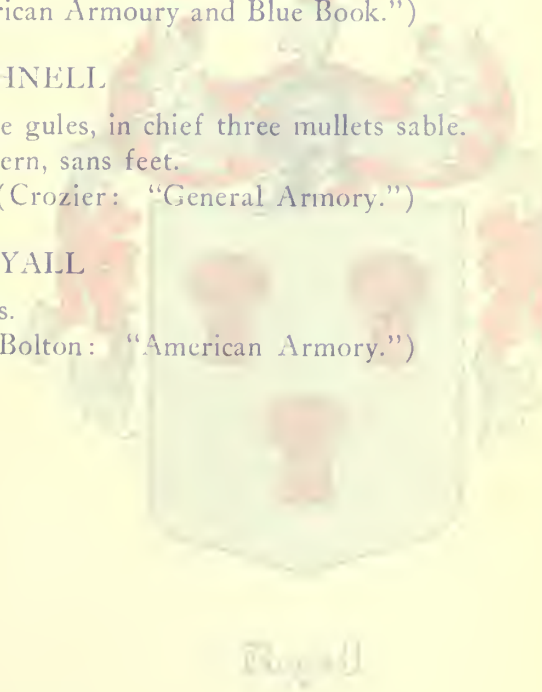
Crest—On a ducal coronet a wivern, sans feet.

Motto—*Dum spiro spero.* (Crozier: "General Armory.")

ROYALL

Arms—Argent, three garbs gules.

(Bolton: "American Armory.")



MEIGS

Arms—Or, a chevron azure between three martlets gules, on a chief
sable a greyhound courant argent.
Crest—A talbot's head erased argent, erced, collared or, under
the collar two pellets fessways, three acorns erect, issuing
from the top of the head proper.

Motto—Semper paratus.

(Crest: "General Armory," G. N. Macdonald,
"Colonial Families of the United States of America,"
Vol. II, p. 511.)

WILLARD

Arms—Argent a chevron ermine between three fasks proper.

Crest—A griffin's head erased or.

Motto—Gaudet patientia duris.

(Matthews: "American Armory and Blue Book.")

BUSHNELL

Arms—Argent, five fusils in fesse gules, in chief three mollets argent.

Crest—On a ducal coronet a wiverin sans feet.

Motto—Dum spiro spero. (Crest: "General Armory.")

ROYAL

Arms—Argent, three garbs gules.

(Bolton: "American Armory.")



Meigs



Willard



Rushnell



Royall

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later he was made judge of the same territory with the seat of justice in St. Louis. His health failing in 1806, he returned to Ohio, and in 1807 was commissioned judge of the territory of Michigan. From 1810 to 1814 he was twice elected Governor of the State of Ohio. Besides this he was elected Supreme Judge of Ohio, and United States Senator from Ohio. With all these honors to his credit, he added still another by serving as Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of President Madison.

Governor Return Jonathan (2) Meigs married, in 1788, Sophia Wright. A child was : 1. Mary Sophia, born January 1, 1793, died February 4, 1863. She married, about 1811-12, John G. Jackson, member of Congress from Virginia, serving in the Senate, and United States District Judge of Western Virginia.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.)

(The Willard Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron ermines between three flasks proper.

Crest—A griffin's head erased or.

Motto—*Gaudet patientia duris.* (Matthews: "American Armoury and Blue Book.")

Willard and Wellard are surnames of baptismal origin, "the son of Willihard." Although not confined to County Kent, it is chiefly in this district that the name was found.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in England)

I. Richard Willard, first of his line of record, left a will dated 1558. A son was: 1. Symon, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Symon Willard, son of Richard Willard, was of Growherst, County Kent; and left a will dated 1584. He was buried in 1587.

Symon Willard married Elizabeth, whose surname is not of record. Child: 1. Richard, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Richard Willard, son of Symon and Elizabeth Willard, was of Horsemonden, County Kent. In his will, dated 1616, he called himself yeoman.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Richard Willard married (first) Catherine; (second) Margery; (third) Joan. Child of the third marriage: 1. Simon, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. Major Simon Willard, son of Richard and Joan Willard, was baptized at Horsemonden, County Kent, England, April 7, 1605, and died at Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 24, 1676. He arrived at Cambridge, Massachusetts, from London, in May, 1634, with his wife and daughter, Mary. The next year he removed to the new settlement of Concord, so called to mean "the home of agreeing men," then, before 1661, to Lancaster. Before the Indians destroyed Groton, in 1676, to which he had removed a few years previous, he had established a retreat at Salem, where he was residing at the time of his death, which occurred while attending the session of the Court of Assistants at Charlestown.

He must have had military experience in England, for he was made lieutenant in 1637, captain in 1646, and in 1655 a major, at that time the highest rank in the Colonial Militia. He was the commander of the Colonial forces in Ninegret's War in 1654. He served as a representative to the General Court from 1636 to 1649, and as assistant from 1657 until his death. For his services to the government he received a grant of 1,000 acres of land which he never took up, but gave to his daughter, Elizabeth, as a wedding present. His widow, Mary, "was compelled to petition for it" in the year of his death.

Major Simon Willard married (first), in England, Mary Sharpe, who was baptized October 16, 1614, daughter of Henry and Jane (Feylde) Sharpe, according to a tablet in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. He married (second) Elizabeth Dunster, sister of President Dunster of Harvard College. He married (third) Mary Dunster, niece of President Dunster. Children of first marriage: 1. Mary, died in youth. 2. Elizabeth, married, April 8, 1653, Robert Blood. 3. Josiah, of whom further. 4. Rev. Samuel, born at Concord, Massachusetts, January 31, 1640, died September 12, 1707; married (first), August 8, 1664, Abigail Sherman, daughter of Rev. John Sherman, of Watertown; (second), about 1679, Eunice Tyng, daugh-

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ter of Edward Tyng. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1659, and was the pastor of the Old South Church in Boston and baptized Benjamin Franklin. He was the seventh president of Harvard College, serving from 1701 to 1707. From John, one of six children by his first marriage, was descended Rev. Joseph Willard, president of Harvard, 1781-1804. 5. Sarah, born June 27, or July 24, 1642; married, July 2, 1666, Nathaniel Howard, of Charlestown. 6. Abovehope, born October 30, 1646, died aged seventeen. 7. Simon, born November 23, 1649. Children of second marriage: 8. Mary (again), born September 7 or 27, 1653; married, January 22, 1672, Cyprian Stevens. 9. Henry, born June 4, 1655. 10. John, born January or February 12, 1657. 11. Daniel, born December 29, 1658. Children of third marriage: 12. Joseph, born January 4, 1661. 13. Benjamin, born in 1665. 14. Hannah, born October 6, 1666; married, May 23, 1693, Captain Thomas Brintnall, of Sudbury. 15. Jonathan, born December 14, 1669. 16. Elizabeth (again), died in infancy. 17. Dorothy, died in infancy.

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 554. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Josiah Willard, son of Major Simon and Mary (Sharpe) Willard, was born at Concord, Massachusetts, about 1635, and died at Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1674. He was a schoolmaster at Hartford, Connecticut, later removing to Wethersfield, where he became a trader and passed the rest of his life.

Josiah Willard married, at Concord, Massachusetts, March 20, 1657, Hannah Hosmer, daughter of Thomas Hosmer, a distinguished citizen and one of the founders of Hartford, Connecticut. Thomas Hosmer, son of Stephen and Dorothy Hosmer, was born at Hawkhurst, County Kent, England, February 2, 1603, and died at Northampton, Massachusetts, April 12, 1687. He was in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as early as 1632, and resided on the south side of what was later Brattle Street. He was made a freeman May 6, 1635, and was a selectman the same year. The following year he removed to Hartford, Connecticut, where he received sixty acres of land in the distribution of 1639, his home lot being near the south end of what later became Governor Street. He was a townsman in 1643 and

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1647; served as a deputy to the General Court several times, and was a selectman in 1642 and 1646. By his will he gave £5 to a free school in Hartford "to be paid when there is such settled effectually." His name is fourteenth on the "Founder Monument" at Hartford. Thomas Hosmer married (first) Frances ———, who died in February, 1675, aged seventy-three. He married (second) Katherine Wilbur, widow of David Wilbur, of Northampton. A daughter of the first marriage was Hannah, mentioned above, who married (second) a Mr. Maltby. Children of Josiah and Hannah (Hosmer) Willard: 1. Samuel, born September 19, 1658. 2. Josiah, born March 13, 1660. 3. Dorothy. 4. Simon. 5. Stephen. 6. Thomas. 7. John. 8. Hannah, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 554. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. *Hannah Willard*, daughter of Josiah and Hannah (Hosmer) Willard, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1674 and died January 4, 1749. She married Captain Janna (1) Meigs. (Meigs IV.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 554.)

(The Wilcoxson Line)

Wilcoxson, and its variants, Wilcock, Wilcocke, Wilcocks, Wilcockson, Wilcox, Wilcoxon, and Wilcoxen, are all of the same baptismal origin, "the son of William," from the nickname "will" and suffix "cock."

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *William Wilcoxson*, emigrant ancestor of the line, was born in England and died at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1652. He sailed from London in the ship "Planter" for Boston, Massachusetts. The ship's clearance papers named him as a linen weaver, aged thirty-four, his wife, Margaret, aged twenty-four, and son, John, aged two. He probably settled first at Concord, Massachusetts, but in 1647 he was a representative from Hartford, Connecticut. He later removed to Stratford, Connecticut, where he died.

William Wilcoxson married, in England, Margaret, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. John. 2. Joseph. 3. Samuel. 4. Obadiah. 5. Timothy. 6. Elizabeth, married, at Windsor, Connecticut, April 16, 1663, Henry Stiles. 7. Hannah, married, at Windsor,

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Connecticut, March 17, 1665, Daniel Hayden. 8. Sarah, of whom further. 9. Phebe, married, December 11, 1669, John Birdseye, Jr., of Stratford, Connecticut.

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 548.)

II. Sarah Wilcoxson, daughter of William and Margaret Wilcoxson, was born probably at Stratford, Connecticut, and died at Guilford, Connecticut, November 24, 1691. She married, as his first wife, John (2) Meigs. (Meigs III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Johnson Line)

Johns, Johnes, and Johnson, are surnames of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of John," originally spelled and pronounced "Jone."

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Deacon William Johnson, first of the line to be of record, died October 1, 1702. He was of Guilford, Connecticut, and an important man, as he was a representative to the General Court in 1665, and was for many years a deacon.

Deacon William Johnson married, July 2, 1651, Elizabeth Bushnell. (Bushnell III.) Children: 1. Elizabeth, born in 1652; married, in 1674, Samuel Hall. 2. Hannah or Ann, born March 21, 1654; married, in 1680, John Fowler. 3. Mary, born February 21, 1657. 4. Sarah, born November 22, 1658, died in infancy. 5. Martha, born February 27, 1660, died in infancy. 6. Abigail, born October 24, 1661, died in infancy. 7. Mercy, born January 12, 1665. 8. Sarah (again), born August 13, 1667, died in infancy. 9. Samuel, of whom further. 10. Nathaniel, born April 17, 1672.

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 558.)

II. Samuel Johnson, son of Deacon William and Elizabeth (Bushnell) Johnson, was born at Guilford, Connecticut, June 5, 1670. He married, November 7, 1694, Mary Sage, who was born in 1672 and died May 8, 1727, daughter of David Sage, of Middletown, Connecticut. David Sage was born in Wales in 1639 and died at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1703, his will being dated March 27, 1703, in the probate office at Hartford. He first settled upon a tract of land,

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now part of the town of Cornwall, upon the banks of the Connecticut River, where some of his descendants yet reside. In 1652 he is of record in Middletown. David Sage married (first), in February, 1664, Elizabeth Kirby, daughter of John Kirby. He married (second), in 1673, Mary Wilcox. The children of the first marriage were: 1. David, born in 1665. 2. Elizabeth, born in 1670. 3. Mary, mentioned above. Children of Samuel and Mary (Sage) Johnson: 1. William, born September 4, 1695, died in infancy. 2. Samuel, born October 14, 1696; a graduate of Yale College in 1714, a distinguished scholar who became president of King's College, now Columbia University, New York City. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. David, born in 1700. 5. Elizabeth, born October 19, 1703, died in infancy. 6. Nathaniel, born April 17, 1705. 7. Abigail, born April 9, 1707. 8. William (again), born April 19, 1709. 9. Mercy, born December 19, 1710, died in infancy. 10. Elizabeth (again), born February 20, 1713, died in infancy. 11. Timothy, born in October, 1715, died at sixteen years of age.

(*Ibid.*, p. 557. Records in possession of the family, citing Cuyler Reynolds: "Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 682.)

III. *Mary Johnson*, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Sage) Johnson, was born March 8, 1699, and died August 31, 1779. She married Ebenezer Chittenden. (Chittenden IV.)

(*Ibid.* Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants," Vol. V, p. 16.)

(The Bushnell Line)

Arms—Argent, five fusils in fesse gules in chief three mullets sable.

Crest—On a ducal coronet a wivern, sans feet.

Motto—*Dum spiro spero.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Bushnell is derived from its position in the locality, and signifies a "dweller at the bushy slope or corner." A John Bushnell, who died in 1701, was a famous sculptor of his day, and was a pupil of Thomas Burman. Among his first commissions were the statues of Charles I, Charles II, and of Sir Thomas Gresham for the Royal Exchange. Probably his best works were the Kings which adorned the Temple Bar, and the statue of John, Lord Mordaunt, in Roman costume, that stands at Fulham Church at Fulham. Another figure

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that stands out in the annals of the family is that of Walter Bushnell, 1609-67, ejected clergyman under the Commonwealth. He was a son of William Bushnell, of Corsham, Wiltshire. He published his experiences in "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Commissioners Appointed by Oliver Cromwell, for Ejecting Scandalous and Ignorant Ministers in the Case of Walter Bushnell, Clerk Vicar of Box, in County Wiltshire."

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." The "Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," Vol. VII, p. 137, July, 1904. L. Stephen: "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VIII, pp. 38, 39.)

An account of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LII, pp. 446 to 448, goes carefully into the long disputed material on the Bushnell family of New England. It says that the accounts of the early Bushnells are not easily to be reconciled. We find them in Savage's "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," in Drake's "Founders of New England," in Hinman's "Connecticut Settlers," and in Dr. Cheesbrough's recent address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Church at Saybrook, Connecticut. The various children of Francis and John have been matters of conjecture for a long time. The writer in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," William T. R. Marvin, A. M., of Boston, says:

After considerable study, I am led to conjecture that the first "John of Boston" was an older son of the first Francis of Guilford, and that Deacon Francis was his brother.

He continues to say that this conclusion seems to be the only one which harmonizes the conflicting accounts. Accepting this theory, we give the line as follows.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LII, pp. 446-48.)

I. Francis (1) Bushnell was born in England about 1576 and died in 1646. In 1639 he was at Guilford, Connecticut. Children: 1. John, born in England about 1598. 2. Francis (2), of whom further.

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 317. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LII, p. 448.)

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II. Deacon Francis (2) Bushnell, son of Francis (1) Bushnell, was born in 1600 and died December 4, 1681. He was of Saybrook, Connecticut. He was a deacon and had the favor of the Indians as is proved by the will of Joshua, son of Uncas, in 1677, in which he and others were given large tracts of land. Children: 1. Samuel, married, April 17, 1684, Ruth Sanford, daughter of Zechary Sanford. 2. Martha, married, January 1, 1664, Jonathan Smith, of Wethersfield. 3. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Elizabeth Bushnell, daughter of Deacon Francis (2) Bushnell, married Deacon William Johnson. (Johnson I.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Jordan Line)

Jordan, as a surname, is not taken from the river of that name, as has been fancifully conjectured, but from Jourdain, an early Norman baptismal name, probably derived from the Latin *Hodiernus*, which was a not uncommon personal name of the same period. The first settler of the name in Wales was Jordan de Cantington, one of the companions of Martin de Tours in his conquest of Kemmes during the reign of William I.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. John Jordan, American ancestor of the line, was born in the vicinity of Lenham, County Kent, England, probably about 1615 and died at Guilford, Connecticut, between February 2, 1646, the date of his will, and February 1, 1649-50, the date of the inventory of his estate. With his brother, Thomas, John Jordan came to America in the company with the Rev. Henry Whitfield, arriving between the sixth and tenth of July, 1639. Both John Jordan and his brother were men of education and position, and were among the first planters of Guilford. On June 1, 1639, John Jordan signed the plantation covenant, and his name also appears as one of the trustees in the deed of Uncas, the Indian, to the settlers of Guilford, December 17, 1641. With John Stone, on December 17, 1645, he was directed to receive the college corn (the contributions for Harvard College) which was requested to be paid before March 25, 1646. John Jordan's home lot contained nine and a half acres and was located on the west side of Whitfield Street.

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John Jordan married, about 1640, Ann Bishop, daughter of John and Ann Bishop. She married (second), in 1654, Thomas Clarke, of Milford, Connecticut, and died January 3, 1672-73. Children, exact order of birth not known: 1. Joanna, of whom further. 2. Hannah, married, June 28, 1666, Esbon Wakeman. 3. Elizabeth, died in 1720; married, November 17, 1664, Daniel Hubbard, who died in 1720. 4. Mary, married Abraham Post. 5. John, died about 1713; married Deborah, who died in 1677.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIX, p. 132; Vol. LXII, pp. 333, 334. Alvan Talcott: "Chittenden Family: William Chittenden of Guilford, Connecticut, and His Descendants," p. 13. B. C. Steiner: "A History of the Plantation of Menunkatunk and of the Original Town of Guilford, Connecticut," pp. 12, 18, 25, 26, 31, 33, 45, 54, 129.)

II. *Joanna Jordan*, daughter of John and Ann (Bishop) Jordan, married Thomas Chittenden. (Chittenden II.)

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 381.)

(The Royall Line)

Arms—Argent, three garbs gules.

(Bolton: "American Armory.")

The surname Royall, with its variant Ryall, is of locality origin, derived from a township of that name in Stamfordham Parish, County Northumberland.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. *William (1) Royall*, the emigrant ancestor of this line, died at Dorchester, Massachusetts, June 15, 1676. The first mention of him occurs in a letter from the Governor and Deputy of the New England Company for a Plantation in Massachusetts Bay, to Captain Endicott at Salem, dated at Gravesend, April 17, 1629, and printed in full in Suffolk Deeds, I. An abstract of this letter follows:

William Ryall and Thomas Brude Coops and Cleavors of Tymber are entertained by vs in halfes wth M^r Cradock o^r Go^r; pray ioyne others that can assist them vnto them and lett them pvide vs some Staves and other Tymber of all sorts, to bee sent vs by the Talbott, Whelpe, or other 2 Shipps that come after. . . . Wee have advised you of the sending of Willm Ryall and Thomas Brude Cleavors of Tymber.

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He settled at Salem, probably in 1629, and had a grant of land there, afterwards known as "Ryall's side," or "Ryall's Neck." There is evidence that he was at Casco Bay as early as 1635-36, and from Winthrop's "Journal" it would appear that he was in possession of a land grant at Sagadahoc in 1639. In 1643 he obtained possession of an important tract in Saco by purchase from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, confirming his rather uncertain title three years later by purchase from the rival claimant, Colonel Alexander Rigby. In March of 1673 he had conveyed to his sons William and John some of his Yarmouth lands in consideration of support in his declining years. Troubles with Indian tribes forced him to move, in the summer of 1675, for safety to Dorchester. He served as Assistant in 1636 under William Gorges, and again in 1648, under Cleaves. In 1667 he was made Clerk of the Writs.

William (1) Royall married Phœbe Green, who died July 16, 1678, daughter of widow Margaret Green, who afterwards married Samuel Cole, of Boston. Children, order of birth unknown: 1. William (2), of whom further. 2. John, married Elizabeth Dodd. 3. Samuel, married Sarah, whose surname is unknown. 4. Isaac, died in January, 1729; married (first) Ruth Tolman; (second) Waitstill, surname not known. 5. Joseph, born about 1645, died at Boston, Massachusetts, January 14, 1728; married Mary, surname not known. 6. Mary. 7. Mehitable.

(E. D. Harris: "The New England Royalls," pp. 3-5.)

II. William (2) Royall, son of William (1) and Phœbe (Green) Royall, was born about 1640 and died November 7, 1724. In the summer of 1675 he went to Dorchester, Massachusetts, with his parents. He was a carpenter by occupation. His name occurs in the list of Massachusetts freemen in 1678, and he was a tythingman in 1682.

William (2) Royall married Mary, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Isaac, born about 1672, died at Medford, Massachusetts, June 7, 1739; married, July 1, 1697, Elizabeth Eliot. 2. Hannah, born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, August 7, 1677. 3. Martha, born at Dorchester, September 6, 1679, baptized November 2, 1679; married, February 2, 1699, Benjamin Cheney, of Dorchester. 4. Jacob, born at Dorchester, June 29, and baptized July 2, 1682, died

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soon after November, 1770; married, February 22, 1716, Rebecca (Townsend) Adams, widow of Elial Adams. (Adams I.) 5. Waitstill, baptized July 26, 1685, living in 1701. 6. Sarah, born December 15, baptized December 25, 1687; married, August 24, 1715, Ebenezer Dunton. 7. Maria, baptized June 8, 1690. 8. Jemima, born January 13, baptized January 29, 1692-93, died November 9, 1709. 9. Samuel, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 5-16.)

III. Samuel Royall, son of William (2) and Mary Royall, was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, August 7, 1696, and died April 19, 1784. He had many real estate dealings in and around Boston. He removed to Maine and is said to have lived and died at North Yarmouth, having attained an old age.

Samuel Royall married, October 19, 1719, Rev. Benjamin Coleman officiating, Priscilla Adams. (Adams II.) Children: 1. Mary, born at Boston, Massachusetts, May 21, 1721. 2. Mary (again), born at Boston, August 1, 1723. 3. Eliah, born at Boston, February 28, 1724-25; married, June 17, 1746, Bathsheba Bailey, daughter of Robert Bailey. 4. Jacob, of whom further. 5. Samuel Winthrop, born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, June 4, 1730; married, May 22, 1759, Naomi Bailey, daughter of Robert Bailey. 6. William, born at Dorchester, March 8, 1732-33.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 16-26.)

IV. Jacob Royall, son of Samuel and Priscilla (Adams) Royall, was born at Boston, Massachusetts, January 26, 1726-27. He went to Maine with his parents. He was a justice of the peace in 1760 and was living in 1778.

Jacob Royall married, June 26, 1749, Hannah Brown. Children, born and baptized at North Yarmouth: 1. Mary, born April 6, 1750, baptized January 6, 1751. 2. Miriam, born April 17, 1751, baptized December 8, 1751. 3. Rebecca, born February 7, 1754, baptized February 17, 1754. 4. Hannah, born January 7, 1756, baptized February 22, 1756. 5. William, born September 29, 1757, baptized January 1, 1758. 6. Elizabeth, baptized February 3, 1760. 7. Isaac, baptized July 28, 1765. 8. Jacob, baptized June 12, 1774. 9. Penelope, of whom further. 10. Priscilla, baptized June 12, 1774. 11. Sarah

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Brown, baptized July 30, 1776. 12. Peter Brown, baptized April 13, 1777.

(*Ibid.*, p. 25.)

V. *Penelope Royall*, daughter of Jacob and Hannah (Brown) Royall, was baptized June 12, 1774, and died about 1849. She married Rev. Ebenezer Bray. (Bray III.)

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Adams Line)

Adams, Adam, and Adamson are all variants of the baptismal name which was much more widely used in the Middle Ages than at present.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. *Elial Adams*, first known of the family, was born about 1675-80 and died before February 22, 1716. He was of Dorchester, Massachusetts, but little of his life is known. He married (first) Priscilla Winthrop, baptized May 16, 1669, and died after July 1, 1702. He married (second), July 16, 1703, Rebecca Townsend, who married, as her second husband, Jacob Royall (Royall II, Child 4), uncle of her stepdaughter's husband, Samuel Royall. Child of first marriage: 1. Priscilla, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 2. Elial. 3. Joseph. 4. Rebecca.

("Boston Transcript," issue of August 12, 1939. "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIX, pp. 349, 353.)

II. *Priscilla Adams*, daughter of Elial and Priscilla (Winthrop) Adams, was born about 1700 and died April 19, 1784, according to a note on one of the original papers on file in the Suffolk County Probate Records, in relation to the estate of Isaac Royall. She married Samuel Royall. (Royall III.)

("Boston Transcript," issue of August 12, 1939. "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIX, p. 353. A. W. Corliss: "Old Times" (a magazine devoted to the preservation and publication of documents relating to the early history of North Yarmouth, Maine), Vol. VII, No. I, p. 1161.)

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(The First Swart Line)

Arms—Gules, a chevron or.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Swart as a surname, in Old English, German, and Dutch, is the equivalent of "black," meaning swarthy or dark-skinned. The Swart family is closely identified with the early history of Schenectady, Albany, and the Mohawk Valley in the State of New York.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." W. K. Griffin: "Some Notes on the Descendants of Teunis Cornelisze Swart," p. 5.)

I. Teunis Cornelisze Swart, ancestor of the Mohawk Valley families of that name, and original proprietor of Schenectady, New York, came from Holland, landing at New Amsterdam about 1661. He died at Schenectady about 1680. In "Hudson and Mohawk Valleys," Vol. VIII, we find: "The Swart family came originally from Holland, and have always been prominent in the Mohawk Valley. As a family they have been wealthy. Teunise Cornelise Swart was one of the original proprietors of Schenectady and received allotment No. 10 on the 'Goote Valchte' (great flat) and a village lot on the corner of State and Church two hundred by one hundred and seventy feet." In June, 1663, Teunis Cornelisze Swart was one of twelve settlers who petitioned the West India Company for permission to cultivate their lands at Schenectady. By order of May 20, 1664, Jacques Cortelyou, surveyor, was directed to lay out the lands "to each man his share." The double bouwery No. 10, containing about forty acres, was first patented to Teunis Cornelisze Swart, June 16, 1664; confirmed January 16, 1667, and about 1686, following the death of Teunis Swart, his widow, Elizabeth Van der Linde, conveyed eight acres, on February 20, 1685-86, to her son Esaias Swart, and on April 26, 1692, she and her third husband conveyed the balance to Class Lawrence Van Purmerant, or Van der Volgen, husband to Marytje Swart. The house lot of Teunis Swart was situated on the east corner of what is now State and Church streets. He also had a pasture of two and one-half morgen, or five acres, confirmed to him by patent, September 10, 1670. Governor Edmund Andros appointed Alexander Glen, Twen T——, Jan Van Eps, Teunis Cornelisze Swart, and Daniel Justin, Commissioners of Schenectady and dependencies with power

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to keep a Court of Indicture, and to hear and determine all cases according to law and practice.

Teunis Cornelisze Swart married Elizabeth Van der Linde, who married (second) Jacob Meese Vrooman, of Albany, New York, who died about 1690, uncle of "our distinguished Adam Vrooman." She married (third), October 14, 1691, Wouter Uythoff, of Albany. Children: 1. Cornelise Theunisze, born in 1652; married (first) Jacomyntje Frijnhout or Fynhout; (second) Anna Maria Deckers. 2. Esaias or Jesaias, of whom further. 3. Teunis. 4. Jannetje or Joanna, married, July 2, 1695, Wouter Storm Van der Zee. 5. Adam Anthonisze, married Metje Van Slyk, of Albany, New York. 6. Marytje Theunes, married Class *Lourens* Van der Volgen or Van Purmerant. 7. Jacomyntje, married (first) Pieter Cornelisze Viele; (second) Bennoy Arentse van Hoeck; (third) Cornelis Fynhout. 8. Neeltje, married William Abrahanise Tietsoort. 9. Pieternelle, married Gerrit Van Vliet.

(W. K. Griffin: "Some Notes on the Descendants of Teunis Cornelisze Swart," pp. 6, 7, 8, 11, 14. Jonathan Pearson: "Contributions for the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady," pp. 180, 181. G. R. Howell and J. Tenney: "History of Schenectady County," pp. 11, 19.)

II. Esaias or Jesaias Swart, son of Teunis Cornelisze and Elizabeth (Van der Linde) Swart, was born in 1653. He received conveyance of part of bouwery No. 10, over the Poenties Kill, from his mother, in 1686, and a release, in 1716, from his brother, Cornelise, for a lot on the east side of Church Street, two hundred feet north of State Street. His descendants owned the "sixth flat," on the north side of the Mohawk River.

Esaias or Jesaias Swart married Eva Van Woert, daughter of Teunis Van Schoen der Woert or Van Woert, of Albany, and his wife Elizabeth or Sarah Denys, of England. Children: 1. Teunis, of whom further. 2. Sara, baptized December 16, 1691, at Albany, New York; married Jan Barentse Wemple. 3. Wouter, baptized April 11, 1694, at Schenectady, New York; married Elizabeth Thickstone. 4. Elizabeth, baptized December 30, 1696. 5. Maria, baptized January 9, 1700, at Schenectady, New York. 6. Esaias, baptized February 27, 1704, at Schenectady, New York, died in infancy. 7. Jacobus

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(see Second Swart Line III). 8. Jesaias, baptized October 30, 1709, at Albany, New York; married Elizabeth Arentse Vedder.

(*Ibid.* Jonathan Pearson: "Contributions for Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady," p. 180.)

III. *Teunis Swart*, son of Esaias or Jesaias and Eva (Van Woert) Swart, was born probably at Albany, New York, just before the registers of baptism of the Reformed churches of Albany and Schenectady began. He is known to have been the son of our Esaias or Jesaias Swart, because the two brothers of Esaias who left children, each had sons named Teunis accounted for by records at Kingston, New York.

Teunis Swart married, October 30, 1710, at Schenectady, New York, Christina Vrooman. (Vrooman III.) Children: 1. Jesaias, of whom further. 2. Engeltie or Engeltien, baptized December 17, 1715, at Schenectady, New York; married Barent Vrooman. 3. Adam Antonisze, baptized July 12, 1718, at Schenectady, New York; moved to Glenville, five miles above Schenectady; married Catharine Van Patten. 4. Jacobus Antonisz, baptized January 1, 1722, at Schenectady, New York. 5. Dirk, married, July 22, 1758, Jannetie Van der Zee.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 14, 29. Munsell: "Collections on the History of Albany," Vol. IV, p. 184. Jonathan Pearson: "Contributions for Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady," pp. 180, 181.)

IV. *Jesaias Swart*, son of Teunis and Christina (Vrooman) Swart, was baptized at Schenectady, New York, May 3, 1713. He died at Schoharie, New York, in 1782, where he lived most of his life and where his will, dated February 22, 1781, was proved June 14, 1782. In it he named his oldest son, Teunis; youngest son, Bartholomew; daughter, Sarah, deceased; daughter Geertruy and her heir; Josias Clark; daughters Steynge, Maria, Engel, and Eva; deceased daughter Susannah, and her heirs, Engel and Eva.

Jesaias Swart married (first), at Schoharie, New York, October 2, 1737, Janneke Vrooman; (second), January 9, 1747-48, Geertruy Vrooman, daughter of Bartholomew Vrooman, of Schenectady. Geertruy (Vrooman) Swart died intestate, and letters of administration were granted September 21, 1799, to Bartholomew Swart and Johannes

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I. Lawyer. For some reason settlement was delayed until 1816, when David Swart and Bartholomew Swart, Jr., petitioned the court for settlement. Children of first marriage, baptized at Schoharie, New York: 1. Sara, baptized June 18, 1738; married Peter Vrooman. 2. Geertruy, baptized April 13, 1740; married a Mr. Clark. 3. Christyntje, baptized January 23, 1742-43; married Ephraim Vrooman. Children of second marriage: 4. Teunis, of whom further. 5. Susannah, baptized July 12, 1750. 6. Maria, married Johannes Hager. 7. Margaretha, born December 28, 1755. 8. Engeltje, baptized December 5, 1757, died in infancy. 9. Engeltje (again), born January 12, 1760, baptized June 27, 1760. 10. Bartholomew, born November 19, 1762, died in infancy. 11. Eva, born March 17, 1765. 12. Bartholomew (again), baptized August 16, 1767; married Maria Lawyer.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 68, 70, 71. "Schoharie County Wills," Surrogate's Court, Schoharie County, New York, Liber "A," p. 98; Liber "B," pp. 124, 128.)

V. *Teunis Swart*, son of Jesaias and Geertruy (Vrooman) Swart, was baptized at the Reformed Church of Schoharie, New York, October 14, 1748, the witness being Jacob and Engeltje Swart, and died November 5, 1822. He lived at Schoharie and inherited from his father "Smith's Dorf," near the present Schoharie Junction, several miles from the present Schoharie, and woodland in the Schoharie Patent. He served in the Revolutionary War, being a private in the 15th Regiment, Albany County Militia, commanded by Colonel Peter Vrooman and Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Zielie. Teunis Swart owned a tavern which was partially burned by Brant, the famous Indian chief.

Teunis Swart married, November 17, 1770, Annatje Zielie. (Zielie V.) Children: 1. Josias, born July 10, 1771. 2. Peter, born June 7, 1773. 3. Janett, born October 5, 1775. 4. David, of whom further. 5. Bartholomew, born June 21, 1781.

(*Ibid.* J. A. Roberts: "New York in the Revolution," p. 128. "Records of the Reformed Church of Schoharie," a MSS. in the New York State Library.)

VI. *David Swart*, son of Teunis and Annatje (Zielie) Swart, was born April 10, 1777, baptized at the Reformed Church of Scho-

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harie, New York, and died at Litchfield, Michigan, October 3, 1858. Shortly after his marriage he removed to Orleans County, New York, in 1810, and later to Ann Arbor, and finally to Litchfield, Michigan.

David Swart married Nancy Swart. (Second Swart Line V.)

Children: 1. Annatje (Nancy), born November 20, 1795, baptized at the Lutheran Church, at Schoharie, New York. 2. Cornelis, born March 18, 1798, baptized at the Reformed Church at Middleburgh. 3. Yannetje (Jane), born April 21, 1800, baptized at Middleburgh. 4. Engeltje (Anna), born April 27, 1802, baptized at Middleburgh. 5. Teunis, born September 12, 1803, baptized at Middleburgh. 6. Peter, born October 4, 1804. 7. Theodore, born April 19, 1807. 8. Martin, of whom further. 9. Anna Maria, born December 11, 1812. 10. Rufus, born February 20, 1815. 11. Bartholomew, born February 7, 1817. 12. David, born June 20, 1819. 13. Nancy Jane, born July 22, 1822. 14. Oliver, born April 5, 1825.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 71, 73. "Records of the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church of Schoharie, New York, and the Reformed Church of Middleburgh." Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VII. Martin Swart, son of David and Nancy (Swart) Swart, was born in Orleans County, New York, December 30, 1810, and died at Montrose, Michigan, December 16 or 17, 1853. He moved to Genesee County, Michigan, in 1847, settling in what is now Mt. Morris Township. Later he removed to Montrose, and then engaged in the lumber and milling business at Flushing, Michigan, until his death.

Martin Swart married, in October, 1835, Sarah Smith. (Smith VI.) Children: 1. Mary Jane, born December 23, 1836, died May 1, 1870; married (first) Alvin Wright; (second) George Gray, and had five children by her first husband: i. Helen Wright, married Frank Smith; children, surnamed Smith: a. May. b. Carrie. c. Charles (twin), married Harriet; child: (1) Robert Smith. d. Helen (twin), married Mervin Gaskell. ii. Charles Wright, born in 1876, deceased. iii. Sarah (Sadie) Wright, married (first) Charles Smith; (second) William J. McKee. iv. Willard Wright, born in 1856, died in 1921; married, in 1862, Elizabeth Fenton; children: a. Mary, married George Mason. b. Helen, married Louis Kehoe; children, surnamed Kehoe: (1) Mary Jane. (2) William, called

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"Bob." (3) Margaret. v. Elma Wright, married Charles B. Royce. 2. Jeanette, born May 1, 1838; married Andrew Smith, and they were the parents of twelve sons and one daughter. 3. Menzo, of whom further. 4. William Hanson, born in 1843, died in 1858. 5. Rufus, born March 20, 1845; married (first) Anastasia Ensign and had: i. Clarence, married Ethel Honey and had: a. Floyd. b. Eileen, married Charles Lowell, and had one child. ii. Edgar J., married Florence Pollard and had: a. Edgar Jay. b. Thelma. He married (second) Edna Dunham Wood and had: i. Clara, married Arthur V. Way. ii. Floyd, married Sadie Ofield. 6. Nancy, born January 17, 1849, died December 9, 1925; married James Grant, of Scotch descent, born July 17, 1850, died October 1, 1915; children, surname Grant: i. Mary E. ii. Nellie F., married Perry Richards and had Helen Richards, who married Owen Tremayne. iii. Jennie (twin), married Howard G. Pound, and had: a. Grant Pound, who married Jeanette Stevenson, granddaughter of Judge William Stevenson, and had: (1) Donald. (2) Nancy. (3) Mary Kay. b. Marjorie Pound, deceased at age of nineteen. iv. Julia I. (twin), married Arthur J. Dake. v. Saida H., married John F. Ross, born in Scotland. Mrs. Ross is Regent of Genesee Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. vi. William, married Ethel Eckles. 7. Edgar J., married Mary Winthrop Pratt, descendant of John Winthrop; children: i. Olive, married O. Frank Jones, and had: a. Edgar Winthrop Jones. b. Ralph Lawrence Jones. ii. Chester, married Myrtle McKerroll, and had: a. John Winthrop. b. Elizabeth Jeane. iii. Arza Martin, married Helen Berry, and had: a. Berry George. b. Paul N. c. Judson Pratt. d. Sheldon M. e. Edgar J. iv. Grant Anthony, married Mary Nelson. v. Jeanette. vi. Edith Ruth, married William E. Duke. vii. Frances Violet.

(Chapman: "Portrait and Biographical Record of Genesee, Lapeer, and Tuscola Counties, Michigan," pp. 1012, 1013. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VIII. Menzo Swart, son of Martin and Sarah (Smith) Swart, was born at Shelby, Orleans County, New York, September 5, 1840, and died at Turner, Michigan, June 1, 1904. Menzo Swart, a resident of Flint, Michigan, operated a farm in Clayton Township and



Sally (Wiggins) Stuart



Lieutenant Menzo Stuart

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engaged in lumbering. He continued in business until the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1861 he enlisted in the 2d Regiment, Michigan Militia. It was reorganized and he joined the 16th Infantry as sergeant, Company C, and served until April 27, 1863, when he was commissioned second lieutenant. Being wounded at Cold Harbor, Virginia, he was upon recovery promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. He was in the battles of Gettysburg and the Wilderness, and acted as recruiting officer for the regiment during the winter of 1862-1863. Following his honorable discharge he returned to his farm at Montrose, Michigan. After his marriage he engaged in lumbering in the counties of Midland and Isabella, and also entered into many real estate transactions. In 1872 he went to Brunswick, Georgia, and continued his lumbering business. He returned to Michigan in 1878 and was appointed by Governor Croswell as Trespass Agent, with headquarters at the State House. He held this position under four different governors, and the appointment took him into all the timber lands of northern Michigan. He also took charge of the mining interests of Mrs. Swart's brother, in Colorado, upon his demise. Mr. Swart was a Blue Lodge Mason, a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of the Loyal Legion.

Menzo Swart married, June 26, 1866, Sally or Sallie Wiggins. (Wiggins III.) Children: 1. Arza Marvin, died at the age of fifteen. 2. Viola Estella, of whom further. 3. Jennie Amanda, died at the age of three years.

(Records in possession of the family.)

IX. Viola Estella Swart, daughter of Menzo and Sally (Sallie) (Wiggins) Swart, was born March 5, 1873, at Flushing, Michigan. She is a graduate of the Flint High School and was a student at Olivet College.

Viola Estella Swart married, January 8, 1902, Everett Lewis Bray. (Bray VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Wiggins Line)

Wiggins, as a surname, is of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of Wigand," and Wigand became Wiggins, the "s" being genitive.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

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I. William Wiggins, son of William Wiggins, was born about 1791 and lived in Tompkins County, New York. It is thought that he died between 1820 and 1830.

A search of the census records of Tompkins County for 1820 has revealed the name of but one William Wiggins, and it is reasonable to assume that he is the William Wiggins of our interest. He and his family are found as follows:

William Wiggins, head of family.
four males aged under 10,
one " " between 10-16,
one " " " 16-26,
one " " " 26-45 (himself),
two females under 10,
one " between 10-16,
one " " 16-26.

William Wiggins married Sally, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Lydia, born December 10, 1808. 2. William S., born March 16, 1811. 3. Samuel, born January 20, 1813. 4. Margaret, born November 1, 1814. 5. Elijah, of whom further. 6. John, born September 25, 1818. 7. Lorenzo D., born February 17, 1821. 8. Nelson A., born March 15, 1824.

(Census Records for 1820, Tompkins County, New York. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Elijah Wiggins, son of William and Sally Wiggins, according to records in possession of descendants of the family, was born November 10, 1819, probably in Tompkins County, New York, but according to the census records of 1850 he was born in 1818, giving his age as "32." He appears with his family as follows:

William Wiggins,	aged	81,	born	New Jersey,	estate	\$3100
Samuel	"	"	36,	born	New Jersey,	carpenter
Elijah	"	"	32,	born	New York,	blacksmith
Hannah	"	"	27,	born	New York	
Sally	"	"	5,	born	New York	
William	"	"	3,	born	New York	

Elijah Wiggins removed from Tompkins County, New York, soon after the census of 1850, since he died at Montrose, Michigan, November 16, 1852.

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William Wiggins, who appears in the above record, could not have been identical with the William Wiggins in the census of 1820, as he was born in 1769, but it is thought that he was the father of the William Wiggins who was the father of Elijah Wiggins, and that he had come to reside with his grandchildren in his old age. Noting that William and Samuel Wiggins of the census record of 1850 were born in New Jersey, it is probable that William, father of Elijah, was born in that State and that he removed to New York State between 1810 and 1820.

Elijah Wiggins married Hannah Crippen, born August 5, 1822, at Hector, Schuyler County (Schuyler County was formed from part of Tompkins County in 1854), New York, and died September 21, 1884, at Flint, Michigan. Children: 1. Sally or Sallie, of whom further. 2. William, married (first) Latitia Garner; the name of his second wife is not known. He had a son, Merritt, by the first marriage, and another son by the second union. 3. Samuel, died at Ouray, Colorado; unmarried.

("Census of 1850, Hector Township, Tompkins County, New York," p. 823. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. Sally or Sallie Wiggins, daughter of Elijah and Hannah (Crippen) Wiggins, was born June 9, 1845, at Hector, Tompkins (now Schuyler) County, New York, and died November 10, 1905, at Flint, Michigan. She married Menzo Swart. (First Swart Line VIII.)

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Smith Line)

Smith is a surname of occupational origin, derived from "the smith," or a worker in metal.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. James Smith, emigrant ancestor of the line, died in 1687. He was living at Berwick, Maine, in 1668 and had a grant of fifty acres of land in that year.

James Smith married Martha Wills, born at Bristol, England, January 18, 1653, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Wadel) Wills, of Exeter, England. Martha (Wills) Smith married (second) Christopher Grant, and with her son, John Smith, was taken captive by the

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Indians on November 18, 1690, and taken to Montreal, Canada, where they were both baptized May 3, 1693. Children of James and Martha (Wills) Smith: 1. James, married Martha Bragdon and settled at York, Maine. 2. Mary. 3. Elizabeth. 4. John (1), of whom further.

(G. T. Little: "Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine," Vol. I, p. 353. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. John (1) Smith, son of James and Martha (Wills) Smith, was born July 26, 1685. He was captured by the Indians and taken with his mother to Montreal, Canada, where he was baptized May 3, 1693. Later he returned and settled at Berwick, Maine.

John (1) Smith married Elizabeth, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born April 13, 1708; married, January 28, 1724, Caleb Maddox. 2. Martha, born September 18, 1710. 3. Experience, born December 8, 1712. 4. John (2), of whom further. 5. Mary, born June 8, 1717. 6. Abigail, born September 18, 1719; married Thomas Thompson. 7. Joshua, born February 15, 1721. 8. Ichabod, born March 25, 1724; married Sarah Chadbourne. 9. Ruth, probably died young. 10. Jane, baptized November 12, 1727. 11. Dorcas, born July 25, 1732; married Philip Yeaton.

(*Ibid.*)

III. John (2) Smith, son of John (1) and Elizabeth Smith, was born January 8, 1714. He settled at Berwick, Maine, and married, at Portsmouth, November 26, 1733, Elizabeth Libby. Children: 1. Mary, born March 3, 1736. 2. James, born February 13, 1738; married Sarah Lord. 3. Martha, born February 20, 1740. 4. Elizabeth, born March 25, 1742. 5. John (3) (twin), of whom further. 6. Anna (twin), born December 12, 1744, died young. 7. Sarah, born November 7, 1750. 8. Ichabod, born July 14, 1751. 9. Dorcas, born August 27, 1753. 10. Anna, born July 14, 1755. 11. Daniel, born June 12, 1757. 12. Joshua, born June 8, 1759.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Captain John (3) Smith, son of John (2) and Elizabeth (Libby) Smith, was born at Kittery, Maine, December 12, 1744. He was the first settler of the town of Waterborough, York County,

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Maine, making his home from 1768 until his death at what is known as Waterborough Old Corner. Within two years several other families joined him. He owned mills in the town in 1787. He was first deer-reeve and moose-reeve, surveyor of lumber and surveyor of highways, and for many years constable. The name of his wife is not known. Child: 1. Peter, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Peter Smith, son of Captain John (3) Smith, was born in August, 1768, probably at Waterborough, Maine. While very young he ran away from home and enlisted as a drummer boy in the Revolutionary War. He later settled at Waterborough on a farm and engaged in the lumber business at Kennebunk, Maine. In 1816 or 1818 he moved his family to Orleans County, New York, where he purchased a fine farm and resided for several years, when he removed to Milan, Michigan. He spent the last six years of his life with his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Swart, in Montrose, where he died in his ninetyeth year on January 5, 1858.

Peter Smith married Susanna Strawe. They were the parents of five children, one of whom was Sarah, of whom further.

(G. T. Little: "Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine," Vol. I, p. 353. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Sarah Smith, daughter of Peter and Susanna (Strawe) Smith, was born at Waterborough, Maine, February 16, 1811, and died at Montrose, Michigan, February 5, 1890. She married Martin Swart. (First Swart Line VII.)

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Second Swart Line)

Arms—Gules, a chevron or.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

(For Introduction and Generations I and II see First Swart Line.)

III. Jacobus Swart, son of Esaias or Jesaias and Eva (Van Woert) Swart, was baptized at the Reformed Church of Schenectady, New York, April 19, 1707, the sponsors being Teunis Van der Volgen and Antje Peeck, and died about 1767. He removed to Schoharie, New York, and later to Albany, New York, where he lived the balance

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of his life. Letters of administration were granted to his widow, April 4, 1767.

Jacobus Swart married, June 8, 1745, Engeltje Zielie. (Zielie II, Child 6, iii.) Children, baptized at Schoharie, New York: 1. Josias, baptized April 7, 1746. 2. Peter, of whom further.

(W. K. Griffin: "Some Notes on the Descendants of Teunis Cornelisze Swart," pp. 14, 32.)

IV. Judge Peter Swart, son of Jacob and Engeltje (Zielie) Swart, was baptized at the Reformed Church of Schoharie, New York, July 5, 1752, and died November 3, 1829, "aged 77 years 4 mo. 20 d." From Jephtha R. Simms' "Frontiersmen of New York" is taken this autobiography of Peter Swart, which was obtained with other old papers from General Jacob Hager:

I was enrolled in the militia at sixteen years of age; served as private for six months; then I was appointed a corporal—served in that capacity about one year; then I was appointed ensign in said company in the room of John J. Lawyer; 1786, I was promoted to first major of the regiment; 1788, I was promoted to lieutenant colonel; 1789, I was appointed to justice of the peace without my knowledge; 1796, I was appointed one of the judges of the County, which office I have resigned, 1818; 1798, I was elected a member of the assembly. The next election I was solicited to stand again as a candidate, which I utterly refused; 1806, I was elected a member of Congress. I was afterwards again requested to stand as a candidate for Congress, which I refused; when John Gebhard, Judge Shepard and Boyd were candidates for Congress, Gebhard and Shepard met with their friends at the Court House for one of them to give way; no arrangement could be made; they both signed a written declaration to give way in case I would accept a nomination, which I also refused. 1816, I was elected a Senator. At the expiration of my time I was again requested to stand as a candidate for Senate, which I also refused. I never craved or requested an office.

I was one of the first that signed the compact and association. 1776, I turned out to Stone Arabia to check the progress of the enemy and tories. In the fall of the same year, turned out to Albany from thence to Fort Edward, from thence to Johnstown to check the enemy. In 1777, in the spring I turned out to Harpersfield, from thence to Delaware to take disaffected, from thence home. Three days home, I went down the Hellabergh to take tories. After we had together about twenty-five of them, went to Albany, and delivered them in jail.

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A few days afterward, went to Harpersfield; from thence to Charlotte river to take McDonald and send him to jail. In August, 1777, I was one of the thirty-two that made a stand to oppose McDonald and his party. I was one of the two that risked our lives to crowd through the tory guns to go to Albany for assistance; was taken prisoner by the Indians and the tories; the same evening I made my escape. I was one of the six councillors that went from the stone house across Schoharie creek into the woods in a cave to consult what measures to adopt—secrecy, at that time was the best policy. Did not McDonald and his party come down as far as my house and there encamp until the next day and destroy everything? I had left home. The same day McDonald and his party were defeated and fled into the woods and went to Canada and about twenty-six from Braka-been went with him. What would have been the result if our small party had made no resistance and had tamely submitted? McDonald would have marched through Schoharie and in all probability reached Albany.

Judge Peter Swart and his wife lie buried in the cemetery of the old stone fort of Schoharie. His will, dated May 22, 1829, was proved January 18, 1830, and names his wife, Cornelia; grandchildren, Peter, Jacob, Martinus, and Ann, children of son Jacob; son John; Gertrude, widow of Peter P., and their children, John P., Cornelia, and Catherine; daughters, Maria, wife of Peter I. Hoes; Ann, wife of Jacob A. Hager, and Nancy, wife of David Swart; grandson Martinus, son of son Martinus; Ann, wife of grandson Martinus; grandson Peter M., son of son Martinus.

Peter Swart married Cornelia Becker, daughter of John Becker. According to Simms, "The last wedding which seventy-two hours were required to complete is believed to have been that of the late Judge Swart and took place in April 1775." This was due to the Revolution, which thereafter necessitated economy. Children: 1. Jacob P., baptized February 25, 1776. 2. John. 3. Nancy, of whom further. 4. Martinus, born in 1782. 5. Marytje or Maria, born January 20, 1787; married Peter I. Hoes. 6. Engeltje or Ann, born May 3, 1791; married (first) Jacob A. Hager; (second) Nicholas Russell. 7. Peter P., born May 9, 1793; married Gertrude, surname not known. 8. Adam, born September 19, 1796, baptized in the Lutheran Church at Schoharie, New York.

(*Ibid.*, p. 84. F. D. Andrews: "Burials in Old Stone Fort Cemetery, Schoharie." Jephtha R. Simms: "Frontiersmen of New York,"

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Vol. I, pp. 544, 545. "Schoharie County Wills," Surrogate's Court, Schoharie, New York, Liber F, p. 1. Records of the Reformed Church, Schoharie, New York. Records of the Lutheran Church, Schoharie, New York.)

V. *Nancy Swart*, daughter of Peter and Cornelia (Becker) Swart, was born at Schoharie, New York, January 20, 1780, and died at Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 26, 1854. She was saved from capture by the Indians during the Revolution, being rescued by Abraham Vrooman. The story of the rescue follows:

Abraham Vrooman who happened to be in Vrooman's Land with his wagon, having a hayrack on it was driving down through the valley when the alarm was given that the Indians were coming and picked up several of the citizens. On arriving at the residence of Judge Swart, who lived in the lower end of the settlement, he reined up and called to Swart's wife, then at an oven a little distance from the house: "Cornelia, jump into my wagon, the Indians are upon us!" She ran into the house snatched up her infant child from the cradle, returned and with her husband, bounded into the wagon, which started forward just before the enemy, tomahawk in hand, reached their dwelling. Vrooman had a powerful team and did not stop to open the gates which obstructed the highway, but drove directly against them, forcing them open. He was injured by an appletree, but drove to Middle Fort which was feebly garrisoned. The child thus seasonably rescued is (Nancy) now the wife of David Swart, of Shelby, Orleans Co., New York. Nine dwellings were burned and ninety good horses were taken. Among the plunder was a noble stud-horse belonging to Judge Swart and as the Indians were afraid of him, he was given to young Tunis Vrooman to ride who rode him all the way to Canada. He having cared for the horse caused the enemy to treat him kindly and he was not compelled to run the gauntlet.

Nancy Swart is named in her father's will as the wife of David Swart. (First Swart Line VI.)

(*Ibid.* Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Zielie Line)

I. *David Uzille*, as the name was originally spelled, the first member of the family to be of record, was a Huguenot of Calais, France, and in the 1650s was at Mannheim, on the Rhine, in the German Palatinate, with the family of Philip Cassier. He arrived in New

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York in June, 1660, in the ship "Gilded Otter," and for a time was a resident of Harlem (New York City), but had removed from that place by March 19, 1663. It is probable that he established himself on Staten Island, since his son, Peter, was living there April 6, 1686.

David Uzille married Marie Cassier. (Cassier II.) Children: 1. Peter, of whom further. 2. Maria-Magdalen, born at Harlem in 1662; married Jonas Le Roy, of Esopus.

(James Riker: "Revised History of Harlem (New York City)," p. 200.)

II. Peter Zielie, son of David and Marie (Cassier) Uzille, was born at Mannheim, in the German Palatinate, in 1659, and came to this country in the ship "Gilded Otter," with his parents and grandparents, in 1660. He was of Staten Island, New York, April 6, 1686, when he married Cornelia Damen, of the Wallabout, sister of Mrs. Jean Cassier. He later removed to Bushwick, near his brother-in-law, Michael Parmentier, but they both ultimately removed to Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, New York, where Peter Zielie was living in 1714. Children of Peter and Cornelia (Damen) Zielie: 1. John, born in 1688. 2. Sophia, born in 1691; married, in 1712, Storm Bratt, of Albany, New York. 3. Cornelia, born in 1693; married, in 1714, John Becker. 4. Helena, born in 1696; married, in 1716, William Hooghteeling. 5. Elizabeth, born in 1701. 6. Peter, born in 1703. He settled at Schoharie, New York, and left a will made on his sick-bed, February 9, 1747; married, in 1724, Anna Ackerson; children: i. Cornelia. ii. Elizabeth. iii. Engeltie or Engeltje, married Jacobus Swart. (Second Swart Line III.) iv. Maria. v. Annetie. vi. Janneke. vii. Catherine. 7. David, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. David Zielie, son of Peter and Cornelia (Damen) Zielie, was born in 1708 and removed to Albany, New York. He married Engeltje Vrooman. Children: 1. Peter, of whom further. 2. Cornelia, born in 1734. 3. Gertrude, born in 1736. 4. Adam, born in 1738.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Zielie, son of David and Engeltje (Vrooman) Zielie, was born in 1733. During the Revolutionary

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War he was lieutenant-colonel of the 15th Regiment of the Albany County Militia. He was the father of Annatje, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

V. *Annatje Zielie*, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Zielie, was born April 25, 1754, and died October 17, 1825. She married Teunis Swart. (First Swart Line V.)

(*Ibid.* W. K. Griffin: "Some Notes on the Descendants of Teunis Cornelisze Swart," p. 70.)

(The First Cassier Line)

I. *Philippe* or *Philip Cassier*, as the name later appears, was originally of Calais, France, and died at Harlem (New York City) prior to April 23, 1663, when his place in the magistracy was filled by the appointment of Michiel J. Muyden. In the 1650s he was of Mannheim, on the Rhine, within the German Palatinate, which was a place of refuge for the persecuted with which Europe was teeming at the time. He was a husbandman and something of a traveler, having lived several years on the island of Martinique, to which he had gone with other colonists under the auspices of the French West India Company. Becoming tired of the rough pioneer life and the anarchy which reigned in the islands, he returned to Europe and tarried awhile at Sluis, Flanders, before removing up the Rhine.

However, he was not content at Mannheim, and visioning a better future and life in America, whence his wife's brother, Isaac Taine, had gone some years previous, and had been made a burgher at New Amsterdam, he decided to make the journey. Returning to Holland, he and his family set sail directly for the Mannhattans in the ship "Gilded Otter," which left the Texel April 27, 1660, and arrived in June, 1660. Upon his arrival he engaged in "timber sawing." On March 14, 1662, he and others made requests for land, Philip for twenty-four morgen. In the same year he purchased of Jena Gervoe lot No. 11 on Van Keulen's Hook, with house and lot and meadow. This land adjoined his own, lot No. 10. He became prominent in the affairs of Harlem, and on April 28, 1662, he and Lubbert Gerritsen were appointed guardians for Carsten and Griete Sneden, whose parents were the first to die in the new settlement. October 2, 1662, he and his wife were united with the church. With Jan La Montagne

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and Derrick Claessen, November 16, 1662, he was appointed Schepen, and one of their first acts was to "provide for the more careful placing of houses and fences." January 11, 1663, he sold land on Van Keulen's Hook to Jacob Eldertsen.

Philip Cassier married Marie Taine. After his death his widow sold her lands to Joost Van Oblinus and bought a house in the Markvelt-steegie, in New York, and lived there for some years with her sons, Jean and Jacques, who were bakers. In 1671 (banns posted April 7, 1671) she married Jean le Roy, of "New Haerlem, widower of Louise de Lancaster," and went with him to Staten Island. Children of Philip and Marie (Taine) Cassier: 1. Marie, of whom further. 2. Jacques, a baker and member of Captain Steenwyck's troop in 1673, but apparently died soon after. 3. Jean, born on the island of Martinique; a member of Captain Steenwyck's troop in 1673; went with his mother to Staten Island in 1676 and in that year obtained a grant of eighty acres of land on Long Neck; married Elizabeth Damen, daughter of John Damen, of Brooklyn. In 1701 he sent his name to England and was naturalized by Act of Parliament. 4. Sarah, born at Harlem in 1662; married, in 1680, Jacques Guion, a merchant of St. Martin, France.

(James Riker: "Revised History of Harlem (New York City)," pp. 103-04, 190, 194, 195, 198, 272.)

II. Marie Cassier, daughter of Philip and Marie (Taine) Cassier, married David Uzille. (Zielie I.)

(*Ibid.*, pp. 104, 200.)

(The Vrooman Line)

Arms—Per fess the upper part divided per pale; 1st, or chevronny gules, 2d, or fretty gules a fess purpure; the lower part barry of three purpure, or fretty gules and gules; in chief a heart inverted proper surmounted by a crescent sable.

Crest—Issuant from a mount vert charged with five bezants, two pine cones proper.

(L. Pierson: "First Settlers of Schenectady," opposite p. 276 (uncolored picture).)

The original name of the Vrooman family is said to have been Egmont. An early member of the family, noted for his piety, was called the vrooman or "pious man," which became the family surname. Tradition says the family traces back to Count Lamoral Egmont of Brussels, that popular hero of the Netherlands, who was beheaded by the Duke of Alba.

(Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. IV, p. 20.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Hendrick Meese Vrooman was the son of Bartholomeus Vrooman and grandson of Cornelius Hendrick Vrooman, who was born in Holland in 1556. Hendrick Vrooman came from Holland with his brothers, Peter Meese and Jacob Meese. In 1670 Hendrick was living "behind Kinderhook." The same year he leased, for six years, a farm of Robert Sanders, at Steenraby, now Lansingburg, a suburb of Troy. In 1677 he moved to Schenectady and settled on a plot which is the present site of the New York Central Railroad Depot. His "bouwlandt" was a portion of Van Curler's land. In 1678 he mortgaged his house and barn. With his son, Bartel or Bartholomew, and two slaves, he was killed in the Indian massacre of 1690.

Hendrick Meese Vrooman married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Adam, of whom further. 2. Jan or John. 3. Bartel or Bartholomew.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 90, 91. "Collections on the History of Albany," Vol. IV, p. 184. J. Pearson: "Contributions for the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady," pp. 276-80.)

II. Adam Vrooman, son of Hendrick Meese Vrooman, was born in Holland in 1649 and died at Schoharie, New York, and at his request was buried in his private burying ground at No. 35 Front Street, Schenectady, New York. His will, dated September 12, 1729, was proved June 13, 1730. In 1670, with his father's consent, he was bound for two years to Cornelius Vanden Burgh to learn the trade of millwright, and in 1683 he built a mill where the Brandywine mills later stood. In 1688 he purchased land of the Mohawk Sachem at Fort Hunt. Adam Vrooman was later of Schenectady, New York, being naturalized in the Province of New York in 1717. His first wife and infant child were killed and his sons, Wouter and Barent, taken captive by the French and Indians in 1690, while he, by the brave defense of his house, gained the admiration of the French, who spared his life. In 1714 he obtained a patent for land in Schoharie County and settled there in 1715. In 1726 he obtained an additional patent for his son, Pieter, for 1,400 acres of land. Adam Vrooman was a lieutenant of foot at Schenectady in 1690, and again in 1700.

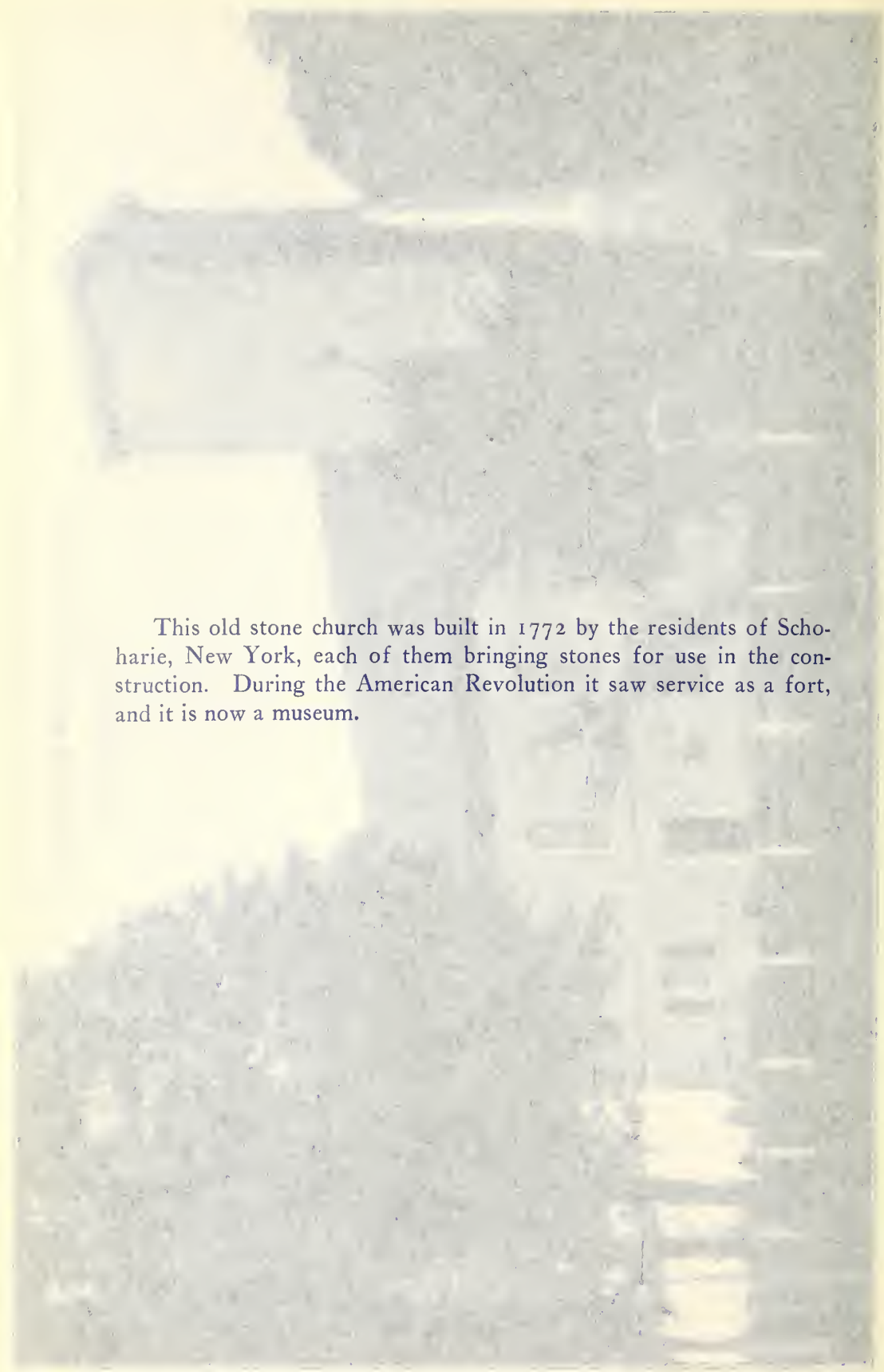
Adam Vrooman married (first), in 1677, Engeltje Bloom, born in 1652, daughter of Barent Jensen Blom or Bloom. He was born at

OLD STONE FORT BUILT 1772

SCHOHARIE N. Y.



OLD STONE CHURCH USED AS FORT IN AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
SHOWING COL. VROOMAN MONUMENT.



This old stone church was built in 1772 by the residents of Schoharie, New York, each of them bringing stones for use in the construction. During the American Revolution it saw service as a fort, and it is now a museum.

OLD STONE CHURCH BUILT 1772 BY THE RESIDENTS OF SCHOHARIE, N. Y. IT WAS USED AS A FORT DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. IT IS NOW A MUSEUM.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Ockholm, a town in Schleswig, then belonging to Denmark, in 1611 and died June 5, 1665. In 1641 he married Styntie Pieters. In 1691, after the massacre of his first wife, Adam Vrooman married (second) Grietje Ryckman, widow of Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck. He married (third), January 13, 1697, Grietje Takelse Heemstraat. Children of first marriage: 1. Barent, baptized in 1679; married, June 18, 1699, Tryntje Heemstraat. 2. Wouter, baptized in 1680, died in 1756; married, in 1707, Marytje, daughter of Isaac Caspree Hal-lenbeck. 3. Pieter, born May 4, 1684; married, February 2, 1706, at Albany, New York, Grietje Van Alstyne. 4. Christina, of whom further. 5. Captain Hendrick, baptized in 1687; married (first) Geertruy; (second) Maria Wemp. Child of second marriage: 6. Johannes or Jan, baptized May 30, 1697, at Albany, New York. Children of third marriage: 7. Maria, baptized September 1, 1699; married Douw Fonda. 8. Bartholomeus, baptized December 22, 1700; married, October 20, 1738, Catherina Slingerland, widow of Hendrick Van Slyck. 9. Timotheus, baptized November 8, 1702. 10. Seth, baptized January 7, 1705; married (first) Geertruy Van Petten; (second), January 25, 1745-46, Eva de Graaf. 11. Jacob Meese, baptized July 3, 1707, at Albany, New York; married, October 30, 1742, Sara Myndertse. 12. Eva, married Joachim Ketelhuyn. 13. Jannetie, married Harmen Van Slyck.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 90. Pearson: "History of Schenectady Patent," pp. 213, 214. "An Index of Ancestors and Roll of Members of the Society of Colonial Wars," published by authority of the General Assembly of New York, p. 501.)

III. *Christina Vrooman*, daughter of Adam and Engeltje (Bloom) Vrooman, was baptized October 18, 1685. She married, October 30, 1710, Teunis Swart. (First Swart Line III.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 184.)

(The First Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from Charlemagne)

I. *Charlemagne*, son of Pepin III or Pepin the Short and Bertha of Laon and Generation VI of the Carlovingian Kings of France, married (second) Hildegarde of Swabia.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. Pepin, son of Charlemagne and Hildegard of Swabia and Generation I of the Counts of Vermandois, married a lady whose name is not known.

III. Bernard, son of Pepin, left a son Pepin, of whom further.

IV. Pepin II, son of Bernard, was Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin, a region soon after this called Vermandois. The name of his wife is not known.

V. Heribert I, Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin, and Count of Vermandois, son of Pepin II, married, but the name of his wife is not known.

VI. Heribert II, Count of Vermandois, Troyes and Meaux, son of Heribert I, married Hildebrante, daughter of Robert, Duke of France.

VII. Albert I, son of Heribert II and Hildebrante, succeeded his father as Count of Vermandois.

VIII. Heribert III, Count of Vermandois, son of Albert I, died about 1015. He succeeded his father.

IX. Othon, Otho or Otto, Count of Vermandois, son of Heribert III, succeeded his father. He died about 1043.

X. Heribert IV. Count of Vermandois, son of Othon, Otho or Otto, received the countship of Valois in right of his wife, in 1077. A daughter was Adelaide, of whom further.

XI. Adelaide, daughter of Heribert IV, married Hugh Magnus, son of Henry I, King of France, and Anne of Russia. (House of Capet VI, Child 2.) Through his marriage he became Count of Vermandois.

XII. Elizabeth, also called *Isabel*, of Vermandois, daughter of Hugh Magnus and Adelaide of Vermandois, married (first) Robert (1) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan. (de Beaumont IV.) She married (second) William (4) de Warenne, second Earl of Warren and Surrey. (de Warenne VIII.)

XIII. Robert (2) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, son of Robert (1) de Beaumont and Elizabeth or Isabel of Vermandois, married Amice de Gael. (de Gael IV.)



Charlemagne

CHART OF DESCENT FROM CHARLEMAGNE

fixum K S Eucil stolonum psvr



Hildegarde

39 CHARLEMAGNE, b. Apr. 2, 742-3; d. Jan. 28, 814; crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Dec. 25, 800 A.D. by Pope Leo III at Rome; m. 2nd, 771, Hildegarde, d. of Godfrey, D. of Swabia

38 Pepin, King of Italy, b. 777; d. July 8, 810; anointed King of Lombardy by Pope Adrian 781

37 Bernard, crowned King of Italy 810 by Archbishop of Milan; revolted against Louis the Pious, his uncle but was defeated, deprived of his eyesight, & died in April, 818

36 Pepin, Seigneur of Peronne & St. Quentin, a region afterwards called Vermandois

35 Heribert I., Seigneur of Peronne & St. Quentin, & Count of Vermandois, killed 902

34 Heribert II., Count of Vermandois, Troyes & Meaux, d. 943; warred with Count of Flanders 902-915; m. Hildebrante, daughter of Robert, Duke of France



33 Albert I., C. of Vermandois, m. Gerberge, d. of Louis d'Outremer

32 Heribert III., C. of Vermandois, d. abt. 1000; m. Hermengarde

31 Otto, Count of Vermandois, d. May 25, 1045; m. Pavie

30 Heribert IV., C. of Vermandois, d. 1080; m. Adele, d. of Raoul III, C. of Valois

29 Adele or Adelaide, Countess of Vermandois & Valois, m. 1st Hugh Magnus, d. 1102 at Tarsus on 1st Crusade, son of Henry I, K. of France



28 Elizabeth, also called Isabel, of Vermandois, m. 1st, 1096, Robert de Beaumont, C. of Meulan, Seigneur of Beaumont, Pont-Audemer, Brionne & Vatteville in Normandy, b. abt. 1046; d. June 5, 1118; accompanied William I to England

27 Robert de Beaumont, C. of Meulan & E. of Leicester, b. 1104; d. Apr. 5, 1168; m. Amice de Gael

26 Margaret de Beaumont m. 1st, after 1155, Ralph de Tony, founder of Westacre Abbey

25 Roger de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, d. 1216, was famed for his military prowess; m. abt. 1162, Constance de Beaumont, d. of Richard, 2nd Vicomte de Beaumont & Seignr de Montrevault

24 Ralph de Tony, Ld. of Flamstead, d. 1239 on way to Holy Land; m. after 1232, Petronilla de Lacy

23 Roger de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston, Helston & Carnanton, d. 1265 or 1277; m. 1st Alice, also called Ela, de Bohun, d. of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford

22 Ralph de Tony or de Tosny, Lord of Bliston, Helston & Carnanton, b. abt. 1255; m. Clarissa

21 Alice de Tony, d. bfr Feb. 15, 1324-5; m. 3rd William la Zouche, Lord Zouche de Mortimer

20 Joyce la Zouche, living May 4, 1372; m. (as 2nd wife) John, Lord Botetourt, d. 1385

19 Joyce de Botetourt, d. 1420; m. 1388, Sir Adam de Peshall, Knight, d. 1419

18 Margaret de Peshall, d. Aug. 5, 1420; m. Sir Richard Mytton, Knight, d. bfr Oct. 26, 1419

17 William Mytton, Esq. of Weston, living 1485; m. Margaret Corbet, d. of Thos. Corbet of Lee

16 John Mytton, Esq. of Weston, d. February, 1500; sheriff of Staffordshire 1495 & 1496; m. 2nd Joan Middlemore, d. July 26, 1475; d. of Richard Middlemore, Esq.

15 Margaret Mytton m. Robert Fulwood of Clay Hall

14 Robert Fulwood m. Maria Hunter or Hunt, d. of Thomas Hunter of Studley

13 Anne Fulwood m. May 20, 1566, Richard Gunne of Saintbury, Co. Gloucester, England

12 Ellen Gunne, d. bfr Aug. 3, 1601; m. 2nd John Tomes of Long Marston, Co. Gloucester, England



11 Alice Tomes, d. abt. 1646; m. soon after July 5, 1615, Gov. Thos. Welles, b. in Eng. abt. 1598; d. in Conn. Jan. 14, 1659-60; treasurer of Connecticut Colony 1639-41, 1648-52; elected Governor of Conn. Colony 1655 & 1658

10 Samuel Welles, b. abt. 1630; d. July 15, 1675; m. 1659, Eliz. Hollister

9 Sarah Welles, b. Sept. 29, 1664; m. Dec. 4, 1683, Ephraim Hawley, d. 1690

8 Daniel Hawley, b. Sept. 20, 1684; d. July 28, 1750; m. Mar. 6, 1706-7, Elizabeth Brinsmade, b. abt. 1684; d. January 6, 1763

7 Oliver Hawley, b. Jan. 31, 1708; will dated Feb. 15, 1776; m. Bethia

6 Ichabod Hawley, b. Oct. 3, 1731; d. after 1791; m. Jan. 3, 1751, Eunice Curtis

5 Bette Hawley, b. 1753; d. after Mar. 11, 1806; m. Israel Seeley, d. 1776

4 Lewis Seeley, b. abt. 1772; d. Apr. 12, 1841; m. Anna Beardsley, d. 1868



3 Daniel Hawley Seeley, b. Apr. 13, 1805; d. June 28, 1892; m. Sept. 2, 1829, Julia Ann Taylor, d. 1895

2 Bertha Julia Seeley, b. 1831; d. Aug. 1879; m. 2nd Alexander Ramsey Bray, b. 1834; d. Feb. 1917

1 Everett Lewis Bray, b. May 18, 1864; d. Sept. 24, 1935; m. Jan. 8, 1902, **VIOLA ESTELLA SWART**

I Bertha Beatrice Bray m. William L. Richards

i Sally Richards

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XIV. Margaret de Beaumont, daughter of Robert (2) and Amice (de Gael) de Beaumont, married Ralph (5) de Tony. (de Tony VIII.)

XV. Roger (3) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, son of Ralph (5) and Margaret (de Beaumont) de Tony, married Constance de Beaumont, daughter of Richard, second Vicomte de Beaumont.

XVI. Ralph (6) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, son of Roger (3) and Constance (de Beaumont) de Tony, married Petronilla de Lacy, daughter of Walter de Lacy.

XVII. Roger (4) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Ralph (6) and Petronilla (de Lacy) de Tony, married Alice or Ela de Bohun. (de Bohun VII.) (Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland XV.)

XVIII. Ralph (7) de Tony or de Tosny, Lord of Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Roger (4) and Alice or Ela (de Bohun) de Tony, married Clarissa, whose surname is not known.

XIX. Alice de Tony, daughter of Ralph and Clarissa de Tony or de Tosny, married (third) William la Zouche of Mortimer, Lord Zouche. (de Mortimer V.)

XX. Joyce la Zouche, daughter of William and Alice (de Tony) la Zouche, married John de Botetourt, Lord Botetourt. (de Botetourt III.)

XXI. Joyce de Botetourt, daughter of John and Joyce (la Zouche) de Botetourt, died in 1420. She married (second) Sir Adam (3) de Peshall. (de Peshall VIII.)

XXII. Margaret de Peshall, daughter of Sir Adam (3) and Joyce (de Botetourt-Freville) de Peshall, married Sir Richard Mytton. (Mytton I.)

XXIII. William Mytton, son of Sir Richard and Margaret (de Peshall) Mytton, married Margaret Corbet, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Lee.

XXIV. John Mytton, son of William and Margaret (Corbet) Mytton, married (second) Joan Middlemore.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXV. *Margaret Mytton*, daughter of John and Joan (Middlemore) Mytton, married Robert (1) Fulwood. (Fulwood X.)

XXVI. *Robert (2) Fulwood*, son of Robert (1) and Margaret (Mytton) Fulwood, married Maria Hunter or Hunt.

XXVII. *Anne Fulwood*, daughter of Robert (2) and Maria (Hunter or Hunt) Fulwood, married Richard (2) Gunne. (Gunne II.)

XXVIII. *Ellen Gunne*, daughter of Richard (2) and Anne (Fulwood) Gunne, married (second) John (2) Tomes. (Tomes III.)

XXIX. *Alice Tomes*, daughter of John (2) and Ellen (Gunne) Tomes, married Governor Thomas Welles, of Connecticut. (Welles—American Line—I.)

XXX. *Captain Samuel Welles*, son of Governor Thomas and Alice (Tomes) Welles, married Elizabeth Hollister.

XXXI. *Sarah Welles*, daughter of Captain Samuel and Elizabeth (Hollister) Welles, married (first) Ephraim Hawley. (First Hawley Line II.)

XXXII. *Daniel Hawley*, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Welles) Hawley, married Elizabeth Brinsmade.

XXXIII. *Oliver Hawley*, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Brinsmade) Hawley, married Bethia, whose surname is not known.

XXXIV. *Ichabod Hawley*, son of Oliver and Bethia Hawley, married Eunice Curtis. (Curtis VI.)

XXXV. *Bette Hawley*, daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley, married Israel Seeley. (Seeley V.)

XXXVI. *Lewis Seeley*, son of Israel and Bette (Hawley) Seeley, married Anna Beardsley.

XXXVII. *Daniel Hawley Seeley*, son of Lewis and Anna (Beardsley) Seeley, married Julia Ann Taylor.

XXXVIII. *Bertha Julia Seeley*, daughter of Daniel Hawley and Julia Ann (Taylor) Seeley, married (second) Alexander Ramsey Bray. (Bray V.)

XXXIX. *Everett Lewis Bray*, son of Alexander Ramsey and Bertha Julia (Seeley-Miles) Bray, married Viola Estella Swart. (First Swart Line IX.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XL. Bertha Beatrice Bray, daughter of Everett Lewis and Viola Estella (Swart) Bray, married William L. Richards, and she has a daughter, Sally Richards.

(The Second Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from Charlemagne)

I. Charlemagne, son of Pepin III or Pepin the Short and Bertha of Laon and Generation VI of the Carlovingian Kings of France, married (second) Hildegarde of Swabia.

II. Pepin, son of Charlemagne and Hildegarde of Swabia and Generation I of the Counts of Vermandois, married a lady whose name is not known.

III. Bernard, son of Pepin, left a son Pepin, of whom further.

IV. Pepin II, son of Bernard, was Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin, a region soon after this called Vermandois. The name of his wife is not known.

V. Heribert I, Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin, and Count of Vermandois, son of Pepin II, married, but the name of his wife is not known. He was the father of Beatrix, who married Robert I, King of the Franks, and son of Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou and Blois, the founder of the Capetian Line of Kings of France. (House of Capet II.)

VI. Hugh the Great, also called Hugh le Blanc, Duke of the Franks, Count of Paris and Orleans, son of Robert I and Beatrix of Vermandois, married Hedwiga. (Dukes of Saxony IV.)

VII. Hugh Capet, King of France, son of Hugh the Great and Hedwiga, married Adelais or Adelaide, daughter of William III, Duke of Aquitaine. (Dukes of Aquitaine VI.)

VIII. Robert II, surnamed the Pious, King of France, son of Hugh Capet and Adelaide of Aquitaine, married (third) Constance. (Counts of Toulouse VII.)

IX. Henry I, King of France, son of Robert the Pious and Constance of Toulouse, married (second) Princess Anne of Russia, daughter of Yaroslav (Iaroslaf) I, Grand Duke of Kiev.

X. Hugh Magnus, son of Henry I, King of France, and Princess Anne of Russia, married Adele or Adelaide, Countess of Vermandois and Valois. (Counts of Vermandois X.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XI. Elizabeth, also called *Isabel*, of Vermandois, daughter of Hugh Magnus, Count of Vermandois, and Adelaide of Vermandois, married (first) Robert (1) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan. (de Beaumont IV.)

XII. Robert (2) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, son of Robert (1) de Beaumont and Elizabeth or Isabel of Vermandois, married Amice de Gael. (de Gael IV.)

XIII. Margaret de Beaumont, daughter of Robert (2) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, and Amice (de Gael) de Beaumont, married Ralph (5) de Tony. (de Tony VIII.)

XIV. Roger (3) de Tony, Lord Flamstead, son of Ralph (5) and Margaret (de Beaumont) de Tony, married Constance de Beaumont, daughter of Richard, second Vicomte de Beaumont.

XV. Ralph (6) de Tony, Lord Flamstead, son of Roger (3) and Constance (de Beaumont) de Tony, married Petronilla de Lacy, daughter of Walter de Lacy.

XVI. Roger (4) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Ralph (6) and Petronilla (de Lacy) de Tony, married Alice or Ela de Bohun. (de Bohun VII.)

XVII. Ralph (7) de Tony or *de Tosny*, Lord of Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Roger (4) and Alice or Ela (de Bohun) de Tony, married Clarissa, whose surname is not known.

XVIII. Alice de Tony, daughter of Ralph (7) and Clarissa de Tony or de Tosny, married (third) William la Zouche of Mortimer, Lord Zouche. (de Mortimer V.)

XIX. Joyce la Zouche, daughter of William and Alice (de Tony) la Zouche, married John de Botetourt, Lord Botetourt. (de Botetourt III.)

XX. Joyce de Botetourt, daughter of John and Joyce (la Zouche) de Botetourt, died in 1420. She married (second) Sir Adam (3) de Peshall. (de Peshall VIII.)

XXI. Margaret de Peshall, daughter of Sir Adam (3) and Joyce (de Botetourt) de Peshall, married Sir Richard Mytton. (Mytton I.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXII. *William Mytton*, son of Sir Richard and Margaret (de Peshall) Mytton, married Margaret Corbet, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Lee.

XXIII. *John Mytton*, son of William and Margaret (Corbet) Mytton, married (second) Joan Middlemore.

XXIV. *Margaret Mytton*, daughter of John and Joan (Middlemore) Mytton, married Robert (1) Fulwood. (Fulwood X.)

XXV. *Robert (2) Fulwood*, son of Robert (1) and Margaret (Mytton) Fulwood, married Maria Hunter or Hunt.

XXVI. *Anne Fulwood*, daughter of Robert (2) and Maria (Hunter or Hunt) Fulwood, married Richard (2) Gunne. (Gunne II.)

XXVII. *Ellen Gunne*, daughter of Richard (2) and Anne (Fulwood) Gunne, married (second) John (2) Tomes. (Tomes III.)

XXVIII. *Alice Tomes*, daughter of John (2) and Ellen (Gunne) Tomes, married Governor Thomas Welles, of Connecticut. (Welles—American Line—I.)

XXIX. *Captain Samuel Welles*, son of Governor Thomas and Alice (Tomes) Welles, married Elizabeth Hollister.

XXX. *Sarah Welles*, daughter of Captain Samuel and Elizabeth (Hollister) Welles, married Ephraim Hawley. (First Hawley Line II.)

XXXI. *Daniel Hawley*, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Welles) Hawley, married Elizabeth Brinsmade.

XXXII. *Oliver Hawley*, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Brinsmade) Hawley, married Bethia, whose surname is not known.

XXXIII. *Ichabod Hawley*, son of Oliver and Bethia Hawley, married Eunice Curtis. (Curtis VI.)

XXXIV. *Bette Hawley*, daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley, married Israel Seeley. (Seeley V.)

XXXV. *Lewis Seeley*, son of Israel and Bette (Hawley) Seeley, married Anna Beardsley.

XXXVI. *Daniel Hawley Seeley*, son of Lewis and Anna (Beardsley) Seeley, married Julia Ann Taylor.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXXVII. *Bertha Julia Seeley*, daughter of Daniel Hawley and Julia Ann (Taylor) Seeley, married (second) Alexander Ramsey Bray. (Bray V.)

XXXVIII. *Everett Lewis Bray*, son of Alexander Ramsey and Bertha Julia (Seeley-Miles) Bray, married Viola Estella Swart. (First Swart Line IX.)

XXXIX. *Bertha Beatrice Bray*, daughter of Everett Lewis and Viola Estella (Swart) Bray, married William L. Richards, and she has a daughter, Sally Richards.

(The Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland)

I. *Kenneth I MacAlpin*, King of the Scots, son of Alpin, King of Dalriad Scots, died in 860. He married the daughter of Donald of the Isles.

II. *Constantine I*, King of Scotland or Alba, son of Kenneth I MacAlpin, was killed in battle in 877. The name of his wife is not known.

III. *Donald*, son of Constantine I, died about 900. The name of his wife is not given.

IV. *Malcolm I*, King of Scotland, son of Donald, was slain in 954. The name of his wife is not known.

V. *Kenneth II*, King of Scotland, son of Malcolm I, died in 995. The name of his wife is not given.

VI. *Malcolm II*, King of Scotland, son of Kenneth II, died November 25, 1034. The name of his wife is not known.

VII. *Bethoc*, daughter of Malcolm II, married Crinan the Thane, hereditary Lay Abbot of Dunkeld and Seneschal of the Isles.

VIII. *Duncan I*, King of Scotland, son of Crinan and Bethoc, married a cousin of Siward, Earl of Northumberland.

IX. *Malcolm III*, called Canmore, King of Scotland, son of Duncan I, was slain November 13, 1093. He married (second) Margaret of England. (Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England X.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

X. David I, King of Scotland, youngest son of Malcolm III and Margaret of England, was born in 1084 and died May 24, 1153. He married Matilda, the widow of Simon de Senlis or St. Liz, and daughter and heir of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon.

XI. Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon, son of David I and Matilda of Huntingdon, died June 12, 1152. He married Adeline or Ada de Warenne. (de Warenne VIII, Child 5.)

XII. Margaret of Huntingdon, daughter of Henry of Huntingdon and Adeline or Ada de Warenne, married (second) Humphrey (4) de Bohun, Constable of England. (de Bohun IV.)

XIII. Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Humphrey (4) de Bohun and Margaret of Huntingdon, married Maud de Mandeville. (First de Mandeville Line VI.)

XIV. Humphrey (5) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Henry and Maud (de Mandeville) de Bohun, married (first) Maud de Lusignan. (de Lusignan X.)

XV. Alice or Ela de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey (5) and Maud (de Lusignan) de Bohun, married Roger (4) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston, Helston and Carnanton. (de Tony XI.) (First Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from Charlemagne XVII.)

XVI. Ralph (7) de Tony or de Tosny, Lord of Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Roger (4) and Alice or Ela (de Bohun) de Tony, married Clarissa, whose surname is not known.

XVII. Alice de Tony, daughter of Ralph (7) and Clarissa de Tony or de Tosny, married (third) William la Zouche, of Mortimer, Lord Zouche. (de Mortimer V.)

XVIII. Joyce la Zouche, daughter of William and Alice (de Tony) la Zouche, married John de Botetourt, Lord Botetourt. (de Botetourt III.)

XIX. Joyce de Botetourt, daughter of John and Joyce (la Zouche) de Botetourt, died in 1420. She married (second) Sir Adam (3) de Peshall. (de Peshall VIII.)

XX. Margaret de Peshall, daughter of Sir Adam (3) and Joyce (de Botetourt-Freville) de Peshall, married Sir Richard Mytton. (Mytton I.)

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XXI. *William Mytton*, son of Sir Richard and Margaret (de Peshall) Mytton, married Margaret Corbet, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Lee.

XXII. *John Mytton*, son of William and Margaret (Corbet) Mytton, married (second) Joan Middlemore.

XXIII. *Margaret Mytton*, daughter of John and Joan (Middlemore) Mytton, married Robert (1) Fulwood. (Fulwood X.)

XXIV. *Robert (2) Fulwood*, son of Robert (1) and Margaret (Mytton) Fulwood, married Maria Hunter or Hunt.

XXV. *Anne Fulwood*, daughter of Robert (2) and Maria (Hunter or Hunt) Fulwood, married Richard (2) Gunne. (Gunne II.)

XXVI. *Ellen Gunne*, daughter of Richard (2) and Anne (Fulwood) Gunne, married (second) John (2) Tomes. (Tomes III.)

XXVII. *Alice Tomes*, daughter of John (2) and Ellen (Gunne) Tomes, married Governor Thomas Welles, of Connecticut. (Welles—American Line—I.)

XXVIII. *Captain Samuel Welles*, son of Governor Thomas and Alice (Tomes) Welles, married Elizabeth Hollister.

XXIX. *Sarah Welles*, daughter of Captain Samuel and Elizabeth (Hollister) Welles, married (first) Ephraim Hawley. (First Hawley Line II.)

XXX. *Daniel Hawley*, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Welles) Hawley, married Elizabeth Brinsmade.

XXXI. *Oliver Hawley*, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Brinsmade) Hawley, married Bethia, whose surname is not known.

XXXII. *Ichabod Hawley*, son of Oliver and Bethia Hawley, married Eunice Curtis. (Curtis VI.)

XXXIII. *Bette Hawley*, daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley, married Israel Seeley. (Seeley V.)

XXXIV. *Lewis Seeley*, son of Israel and Bette (Hawley) Seeley, married Anna Beardsley.

XXXV. *Daniel Hawley Seeley*, son of Lewis and Anna (Beardsley) Seeley, married Julia Ann Taylor.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXXVI. *Bertha Julia Seeley*, daughter of Daniel Hawley and Julia Ann (Taylor) Seeley, married (second) Alexander Ramsey Bray. (Bray V.)

XXXVII. *Everett Lewis Bray*, son of Alexander Ramsey and Bertha Julia (Seeley-Miles) Bray, married Viola Estella Swart. (First Swart Line IX.)

XXXVIII. *Bertha Beatrice Bray*, daughter of Everett Lewis and Viola Estella (Swart) Bray, married William L. Richards, and she has a daughter, Sally Richards.

(The Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England)

I. *Egbert* or *Ecgeberht*, King of the West Saxons, son of Ealhmund, an under-king of the Kingdom of Kent, died in 839.

II. *Ethelwulf* or *Aethelwulf*, King of the West Saxons and Kentishmen, son of Egbert, died June 13, 858. He married Osburh or Osburga, daughter of Oslac, the royal cupbearer.

III. *Alfred* or *Aelfred*, surnamed the Great, King of the West Saxons, youngest son of Ethelwulf, was born in 849 and died October 28, 901. He married Ealhswith, daughter of Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Gainas.

IV. *Edward* or *Eadward*, surnamed the Elder, King of the Angles and Saxons, son of Alfred the Great, died in 924. He married (third) Eadgifu or Eadgyfu.

V. *Edmund* or *Eadmund*, son of Edward the Elder and Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, became King on the death of his half-brother. He married Aelfgifu.

VI. *Edgar* or *Eadgar*, surnamed the Peaceful, King of the English, son of Edmund and Aelgifu, was born in 944 and died July 8, 975. He married (second) Aelfthryth, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devon.

VII. *Aethelred*, surnamed the Unready, King of the English, son of Edgar the Peaceful and Aelfthryth, was born in 969 and died April 22, 1016. He married (first) Aelfgifu.

VIII. *Edmund* or *Eadmund*, surnamed Ironside, King of the English, son of Aethelred the Unready and Aelfgifu, was born in 989 and

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died in 1016. He married Ealdgyth, the widow of a Danish Earl named Sigferth.

IX. Edward or Eadward, called the Exile, son of Edmund Ironside and Ealdgyth, died in 1057. He married Agatha, usually described as a kinswoman of Gisela, Queen of Hungary and sister of the Emperor Henry II.

X. Margaret, called St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Edward the Exile and Agatha, died in 1093. She married, as his second wife, Malcolm III, surnamed Canmore, King of Scotland. (Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland IX.)

XI. David I, King of Scotland, youngest son of Malcolm III and Margaret of England, was born in 1084 and died May 24, 1153. He married Matilda, the widow of Simon de Senlis or St. Liz, and daughter and heir of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon.

XII. Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon, son of David I and Matilda, died June 12, 1152. He married Adeline or Ada de Warenne. (de Warenne VIII, Child 5.)

XIII. Margaret of Huntingdon, daughter of Henry of Huntingdon and Adeline or Ada de Warenne, married (second) Humphrey (4) de Bohun, Constable of England. (de Bohun IV.)

XIV. Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Humphrey (4) de Bohun and Margaret of Huntingdon, married Maud de Mandeville. (First de Mandeville Line VI.)

XV. Humphrey (5) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Henry and Maud (de Mandeville) de Bohun, married (first) Maud de Lusignan. (de Lusignan X.)

XVI. Alice or Ela de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey (5) and Maud (de Lusignan) de Bohun, married Roger (4) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston, Helston and Carnanton. (de Tony XI.) (First Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from Charlemagne XVII.)

XVII. Ralph (7) de Tony or Tosny, Lord of Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Roger (4) and Alice or Ela (de Bohun) de Tony, married Clarissa, whose surname is not known.

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XVIII. Alice de Tony, daughter of Ralph (7) and Clarissa de Tony or de Tosny, married (third) William la Zouche, of Mortimer, Lord Zouche. (de Mortimer V.)

XIX. Joyce la Zouche, daughter of William and Alice (de Tony) la Zouche, married John de Botetourt, Lord Botetourt. (de Botetourt III.)

XX. Joyce de Botetourt, daughter of John and Joyce (la Zouche) de Botetourt, died in 1420. She married (second) Sir Adam (3) de Peshall. (de Peshall VIII.)

XXI. Margaret de Peshall, daughter of Sir Adam (3) and Joyce (de Botetourt-Freville) de Peshall, married Sir Richard Mytton. (Mytton I.)

XXII. William Mytton, son of Sir Richard and Margaret (de Peshall) Mytton, married Margaret Corbet, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Lee.

XXIII. John Mytton, son of William and Margaret (Corbet) Mytton, married (second) Joan Middlemore.

XXIV. Margaret Mytton, daughter of John and Joan (Middlemore) Mytton, married Robert (1) Fulwood. (Fulwood X.)

XXV. Robert (2) Fulwood, son of Robert (1) and Margaret (Mytton) Fulwood, married Maria Hunter or Hunt.

XXVI. Anne Fulwood, daughter of Robert (2) and Maria (Hunter or Hunt) Fulwood, married Richard (2) Gunne. (Gunne II.)

XXVII. Ellen Gunne, daughter of Richard (2) and Anne (Fulwood) Gunne, married (second) John (2) Tomes. (Tomes III.)

XXVIII. Alice Tomes, daughter of John (2) and Ellen (Gunne) Tomes, married Governor Thomas Welles, of Connecticut. (Welles—American Line—I.)

XXIX. Captain Samuel Welles, son of Governor Thomas and Alice (Tomes) Welles, married Elizabeth Hollister.

XXX. Sarah Welles, daughter of Captain Samuel and Elizabeth (Hollister) Welles, married Ephraim Hawley. (First Hawley Line II.)

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XXXI. *Daniel Hawley*, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Welles) Hawley, married Elizabeth Brinsmade.

XXXII. *Oliver Hawley*, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Brinsmade) Hawley, married Bethia, whose surname is not known.

XXXIII. *Ichabod Hawley*, son of Oliver and Bethia Hawley, married Eunice Curtis. (Curtis VI.)

XXXIV. *Bette Hawley*, daughter of Ichabod and Eunice (Curtis) Hawley, married Israel Seeley. (Seeley V.)

XXXV. *Lewis Seeley*, son of Israel and Bette (Hawley) Seeley, married Anna Beardsley.

XXXVI. *Daniel Hawley Seeley*, son of Lewis and Anna (Beardsley) Seeley, married Julia Ann Taylor.

XXXVII. *Bertha Julia Seeley*, daughter of Daniel Hawley and Julia Ann (Taylor) Seeley, married (second) Alexander Ramsey Bray. (Bray V.)

XXXVIII. *Everett Lewis Bray*, son of Alexander Ramsey and Bertha Julia (Seeley-Miles) Bray, married Viola Estella Swart. (First Swart Line IX.)

XXXIX. *Bertha Beatrice Bray*, daughter of Everett Lewis and Viola Estella (Swart) Bray, married William L. Richards, and she has a daughter, Sally Richards.

(The de Botetourt Line)

Arms—Or, a saltire engrailed sable.

Crest—Out of a mural coronet six spears in saltire proper.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Botetourt, Bottetourt, Boutetourt, Buteturt and Butteturt are various spellings of the surname of a family seated in Worcestershire, and Lords of the Castle of Weobly, Weoly, Weley or Wiley in that county. De Botetourt occurs in the list of William the Conqueror's companions who came from Normandy.

(P. Morant: "History and Antiquities of the County of Essex," Vol. II, p. 332.)

I. *John de Botetourt*, Lord Botetourt, who died November 25, 1324, was of unknown parentage. He was a distinguished soldier,

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Governor of St. Briavel's Castle, County Gloucester, in 1291, and Admiral of the Fleet for the Northern Seas from 1293 to 1297, and again in 1315. He was one of the barons who signed the letter to the Pope in 1301, and was summoned to Parliament from July 13, 1305, to September 13, 1324, by writs directed *Johanni Botetourt*, whereby he may be held to have become Lord Botetourt. In 1314 he was appointed Governor of Framlingham Castle, and joined in the rebellion of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, fighting at Boroughbridge, March 16, 1321-22, for which he was fined £1,000 and was pardoned October 8, 1322.

John de Botetourt married, probably soon after July 1, 1285, when she was a minor, and certainly before June, 1292, Maud, sister and heiress of Otes Fitz Thomas and daughter of Thomas Fitz Otes of Mendlesham, Suffolk, and his wife, Beatrice de Beauchamp, daughter of William de Beauchamp, feudal Lord of Bedford. She brought to her husband the great estate of Mendlesham, and was living May 28, 1329. Children: 1. John, died young, without issue. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. John (again), of Guestlingthorp or Grestingthorp and Belchamp-Otes, Essex, died in 1339; married Margaret. 4. Otho or Otes, of Mendlesham, died in 1345-46; married Sibilla. 5. Robert. 6. William, married Emma. 7. Joane, married, or was contracted to be married to Robert, son of Robert, Baron FitzWalter. 8. Elizabeth, married (first) William, Lord Latimer; (second) Robert Ufford. 9. Agnes. 10. Emma, married William de Horkesle, of Essex.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. II, pp. 233-35. P. Morant: "History and Antiquities of the County of Essex," Vol. II, pp. 305-06, 330-32. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. IV, pp. 276-77. T. Blore: "History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland," pp. 90, 209. W. Segar and J. Edmondson: "Baronagium Genealogicum," Vol. IV, p. 360. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. II, pedigree opposite p. 54. T. C. Banks: "Baronia anglica concentrata," Vol. I, p. 131.)

II. *Thomas de Botetourt* of Weobly Castle, Worcestershire, son of John and Maud de Botetourt, died in 1322, during the lifetime of his father, seized jointly with Joane his wife of the manors of Bradley in Suffolk and Copton in Norfolk.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Thomas de Botetourt married Joane de Somery, daughter of Roger de Somery and coheiress to the considerable estates of her brother, John, Lord Somery. She died, a widow, in 1338-39, seized of the manors of Newport Pagnell and Lynford in Buckinghamshire, of Enhale in Cambridgeshire, and of Bordsley in Warwickshire. Son: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *John de Botetourt*, Lord Botetourt, of Weobly Castle, son of Thomas and Joane (de Somery) de Botetourt, was aged four in August, 1322, seven in December, 1324, died in 1385, and was buried at Halesowen. Though a minor, he had livery of his mother's lands on July 16, 1338, and succeeded to his grandfather's estate in 1341. He fought in the French wars and was summoned to Parliament as a Baron from February 25, 1342, to February 3, 1385.

John de Botetourt married (first) Maud de Grey, daughter of John de Grey, first Lord Grey of Rotherfield. He married (second), before May 31, 1347, Joyce la Zouche. (de Mortimer VI.) Children of second marriage: 1. Elizabeth, contracted to be married to Sir Baldwin Freville, of Tamworth Castle, but died before the arrangements were completed. 2. Joyce, of whom further. 3. John, died in 1369 in his father's lifetime, leaving a daughter, Joyce, *suo jure* Baroness Botetourt; married, as her first husband, Maud de Grey, daughter of John de Grey, second Lord Grey of Rotherfield. 4. Maud, Abbess, of Polesworth. 5. Agnes, a nun at Elnstow, Bedfordshire. 6. Catherine, married Maurice Berkeley of Stoke Gifford, Gloucestershire, who died in 1361. 7. Alice, married John Kyriel, of Eynesford, Knight.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. II, pp. 234-35. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. IV, pp. 276-77. T. Blore: "History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland," pp. 90, 209. W. Segar and J. Edmondson: "Baronagium Genealogicum," Vol. IV, p. 360. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. II, pedigree opposite p. 54. T. C. Banks: "Baronia anglica concentrata," Vol. I, p. 131.)

IV. *Joyce de Botetourt*, daughter of John and Joyce (la Zouche) de Botetourt, was aged forty in 1407-08, and died in 1420. She mar-

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ried (first) Sir Baldwin Freville of Tamworth Castle, who died in 1387-88, and by whom she had a son, Sir Baldwin Freville of Tamworth. She married (second) Sir Adam (3) de Peshall. (de Peshall VIII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The de Mortimer Line)

The Barons Zouche de Mortimer, whose surname appears as Zouche(e), la Zouch(e), le Zouch(e), de la Zouch(e), and Souch, descended from Robert de Mortimer of Essex. Very little can be said of his antecedents, for it is not always possible to distinguish him from his son, Robert de Mortimer of Richard's Castle, Herefordshire, or from his contemporary, Robert de Mortimer, who held Attleborough, Scoulton, Buckenham and other places in County Norfolk under Earl Warenne, and land in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire under the Earl of Huntingdon. Many genealogists, following Dugdale, have made Robert de Mortimer of Richard's Castle the son or brother of Hugh de Mortimer, Baron of Wigmore, but this is a false identification. That there was a close connection between the families of Attleborough and Richard's Castle is suggested by heraldic evidence, by the recurrence in both families of the names Robert and William, and by the few details known about an heiress called Pernel de Mortimer, who seems to have belonged to both families. An order of September 28, 1201, to assign to Robert de Mortimer reasonable exchange for what he had in Cossey, either in the honor of Peverel or elsewhere, throws some light on the problem of distinguishing or identifying Robert de Mortimer of Essex, and Robert de Mortimer of Attleborough. If from this order the inference may be drawn that the Robert de Mortimer who at intervals held Cossey in Norfolk at fee farm from the Crown, as of the honor of Richmond or Brittany, was the same Robert de Mortimer who held Woodham and Amberden of the honor of Peverel of London, then there seems a distinct cleavage between his career and that of Robert de Mortimer of Attleborough. No proof has been found of any blood relationship between the Mortimers of Wigmore and either those of Attleborough or of Richard's Castle.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 243, 259-60, and footnotes. R. W. Eyton: "Antiquities of Shropshire," Vol. IV, pp. 312-14.)

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I. Robert (1) de Mortimer, of Essex, earliest known ancestor of the family, died at an unknown date. On his marriage, which presumably took place in or before 1168, when he was pardoned a debt in the account of the sheriff of Essex, he received Little Woodham (Woodham Mortimer) in Essex from King Henry II by the service of one-half fee, and probably Amberden in Debden as another one-half fee. It is not easy to distinguish him from his son at a time when either might have been the tenant of Woodham, but it was probably Robert of Essex who confirmed a grant in Amberden to Walden Abbey. There is the strong possibility that Robert de Mortimer of Essex witnessed, at Valoignes, the later version of the Treaty of Falaise, sometime in the early months of 1174, as a member of the train of Henry II, and witnessed at Le Mans a charter of Henry II in 1177. Either Robert de Mortimer of Essex or his son took part in the Third Crusade, perhaps in personal attendance on Richard I, since a Robert de Mortimer was among the knights of the honor of Peverel who set out for Jerusalem in 1190 and were pardoned certain debts at Michaelmas of that year. In 1190-91 he or his son was assessed to the scutage of Wales for one knight's fee of the honor of Peverel in London in Essex.

Robert (1) de Mortimer married, but the name of his wife is not known. A son was: 1. Robert (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

II. Robert (2) de Mortimer, of Richard's Castle, son of Robert (1) de Mortimer of Essex, died before July 5, 1219. As previously noted, he may have been the Robert de Mortimer who took part in the Third Crusade in 1190. From 1200 onward he appears to have been frequently at court, for he attested charters of King John at Brix and Cherbourg in September, 1200; at Windsor in April, 1205; at Parthenay in May, 1214; at Roche-aux-Moines in June, 1215, and at Hereford in July, 1216. In 1203 he was excused scutage on Woodham and Amberden, probably in consideration of personal service, and in May, 1206, he had a grant of land in East Ham, Essex. From the time of his marriage, in 1210, by which he acquired the barony of Burford and Richard's Castle, he was active in all the duties of a Lord Marcher, and in that year was in the King's service in Ireland.

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In 1213 he made an offer to serve the King with ten knights, himself to be one, if the King would acquit him of a fine held against him. That same year he was one of the commissioners to inquire in Herefordshire as to the losses sustained by the clergy owing to the King's quarrel with the church. In 1214 and 1215 he was again abroad with the King, to whom he remained loyal throughout the difficulties with the barons, and was at Hereford with King John in July, 1216. He took part in the council called at Bristol within a month of the King's death, and was active in assisting the return of the "perverse" to their allegiance in the early days of Henry III. In the following months he obtained grants of a market on Thursdays and of a fair on August twenty-fourth (St. Owen's Day) at his manor of Castle Richard, and of the forfeited lands of the rebels in his fees in Counties Warwick and Worcester and other escheats. As Robert de Mortimer, son of Robert de Mortimer, he confirmed to Lanthony Abbey, for his soul and the soul of his wife, Margaret de Say, daughter of Hugh de Say, the gift of Roger de Alreton in Bilbury, which had been granted to Roger by Hugh de Say, Lord of Castle Richard, and his gift of two shillings rent to find a lamp to burn in the Abbey Church of Tiltey was confirmed by his son Hugh de Mortimer.

The last order issued to Robert (2) de Mortimer, of which there is record, was on January 26, 1218-19, when he was required to assist the sheriff of Hereford in taking the castle of Grosmont and others from Reynold de Braose. In Easter term, 1219, he pledged himself to discharge the scutage due on Richard's Castle.

Robert (2) de Mortimer married, in 1210, Margaret (de Say) de Ferrières, widow of Hugh de Ferrières and daughter of Hugh and Mabel (Marmion) de Say. She brought to her husband the lordship of Burford, Shropshire, with Richard's Castle as its *caput*, the castle alleged to have been built and named by Richard FitzScrub, a Norman favorite of Edward the Confessor and ancestor of the de Says. She married (third) William de Stuteville, and died before the autumn of 1242. Children of Robert (2) and Margaret (de Say-de Ferrières) de Mortimer: 1. William, witness to his brother's charter in 1261. 2. Hugh, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 256-61 and footnotes. R. W. Eyton: "Antiquities of Shropshire,"

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Vol. IV, pp. 312-14. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 415. T. R. Nash. "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," 2d edition, Vol. I, p. 241. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, pp. 379-80.)

III. Hugh de Mortimer, son of Robert (2) and Margaret (de Say-de Ferrières) de Mortimer, was an infant at his father's death. He is said to have been forty years of age in 1259, and died November 18, 1274. In 1230 his custody was granted to Henry de Trublevill and in 1239 he was summoned for a debt due to William de Stuteville. In 1242 he sued William de Stuteville for waste of his woods in Worcestershire. He obtained a grant of free warren in Amberden in Essex, Ham in Worcestershire, and Rochford in Herefordshire, in 1254. He did homage on June 12, 1259, the relief being £100, and in 1261, as Hugh de Mortimer, son and heir of Robert de Mortimer and Margaret de Say his wife, he confirmed certain lands to Worcester, the first witness being his brother, William de Mortimer, Knight. In 1262 his men and those of Roger de Mortimer adhered to Llewelyn. He had protection in February, 1262-63, on going to the Welsh wars, and in the autumn of 1264 he surrendered Richard's Castle to Montfort. Like the other Lords Marchers he appears to have taken the King's side in 1264 and 1265, and was consequently rewarded. On August 9, 1265, just after the battle of Evesham, he received custody of the manor and forest of Feckenham, Worcestershire, and in November, 1266, a charter for a market and fair at Burford and free warren at Wichbold, and at about the same time a charter to make Burford a free borough. In 1272 respite of pleas was allowed him in Herefordshire while he came to the King's Parliament at Westminster. He is sometimes said to have been sheriff of Shropshire, but this results from confusing him with Hugh de Mortimer of Chelmarsh, who held that office.

Hugh de Mortimer married, but the name of his wife is not known. Sons: 1. Robert (3), of whom further. 2. William, of Ham in Worcestershire, died in 1308. 3. (Possibly) Hugh.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 261, 262-63. R. W. Eyton: "Antiquities of Shropshire," Vol. IV, pp. 316-18. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of

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Northampton," Vol. I, p. 415. T. R. Nash: "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," 2d edition, Vol. I, p. 241. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 380.)

IV. Robert (3) de Mortimer, son of Hugh de Mortimer, died April 7, 1287, and was buried the next day in Worcester Cathedral, before the altar of SS. Simon and Jude. He is said to have been aged twenty-two or more years at his father's death, but was probably older, as his younger brother, William, died in 1308 at the age of sixty. He had livery of his inheritance in December, 1274, and in 1275 sold the advowson of Dodderhill to Worcester. In 1277 he was summoned for military service in Wales, which service he performed himself (for three knights' fees) with five *servientes*, including William and Hugh de Mortimer, possibly his brothers. In 1282 and 1283 he was again summoned to serve in person. After the death of Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore, Robert (3) de Mortimer, as one of the Lords Marchers, was directed to put himself under the orders of Roger Le Strange. He is said to have been one of those who slew Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, in a chance encounter at Builth in December, 1282. In June, 1283, he was summoned to the Assembly at Shrewsbury, and in the same year, in reward for his good services in the expedition to Wales, his debts to the Crown were remitted. He had license to hunt the fox, hare, badger, and wildcat in the forests of Essex.

Robert (3) de Mortimer married Joyce la Zouche, daughter of Sir William la Zouche, who had Norton in Northamptonshire and other manors, and his wife Maud. She was assigned dower as a widow in November, 1287, and was buried near her husband on March 13, 1289-90. Children: 1. Isabel, who as Isabel, daughter of Robert de Mortimer, complained in 1290 that the escheator had taken the manor of Huntbere, Devonshire, into the King's hands because Robert's heir was under age, but that she had been enfeoffed of it by Joyce, widow of Robert, and therefore should not be disturbed. 2. Hugh, Lord Mortimer, a minor at his father's death, died without male issue on July 20, 1304, and was buried August 15 in Worcester Cathedral; married Maud, niece of William le Marshal. 3. William, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 263-65. R. W. Eyton: "Antiquities of Shropshire," Vol. IV, pp.

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318-19. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 415. T. R. Nash: "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," 2d edition, Vol. I, p. 241. T. C. Banks: "The Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 380.)

V. William de Mortimer or la Zouche, Lord Zouche de Mortimer, son of Robert (3) and Joyce (la Zouche) de Mortimer, died February 28, 1336-37, and was buried at Tewkesbury Abbey. Having inherited from his mother some of the estates of her family and acquired others, including probably that of Ashby de la Zouche in Leicestershire, which last he undoubtedly possessed in 1327 after the death of Alan, Lord la Zouche, he took the name of la Zouche and was summoned to Parliament as a Baron from December 26, 1323, to January 14, 1336-37. The first and second writs were directed to William, Lord Zouche or Lord la Zouche, that for October 10, 1325, to William Lord Zouche de Richard's Castle, and those from June 15, 1328, to his last summons, to William, Lord Zouche de Mortimer. As son of Robert de Mortimer, and probably having a younger brother's portion in Rochford, he confirmed his ancestors' grants of Rochford Mill to Haughmond Abbey. In 1327 he had a grant of the custody of the lands of Glamorgan and Morgannoc, and the following year was made Justice of all the Forests South of Trent and Constable of the Tower of London.

William de Mortimer married (first), after August, 1315, Alice (de Tony-de Leyburn) de Beauchamp. (de Tony XIII.) He married (second), after February 5, 1327-28, Alianore (de Clare) le Despenser, who was born in October, 1292, at Caerphilly Castle, Glamorganshire, and died June 30, 1337, widow of Sir Hugh le Despenser and daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and the Princess Joan of Acre. She was committed to the Tower on November 14, 1326, because of the offences of her husband, Lord Despenser, subsequently released and abducted from Hanley Castle in January, 1328-29, by William de Mortimer, Lord Zouche. After their marriage, orders for their arrest were issued in February, 1328-29, and she was imprisoned in the Tower and then in Devizes Castle, being finally released after January 6, 1329-30. Children of first marriage: 1. Alan Lord Zouche de Mortimer, aged about nineteen when he succeeded his father in 1336, died about All

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Saints' Day, November 1, 1346; married Eleanor. 2. Robert, Lord Zouche de Mortimer, aged fifty in 1368 when he succeeded his nephew, Hugh, in the title, died without issue before 1399. 3. Joyce, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IV, pp. 269-71; Vol. IX, footnote, p. 264; old edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 228-29. R. W. Eyton: "Antiquities of Shropshire," Vol. IV, p. 319. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 415. T. R. Nash: "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," 2d edition, Vol. I, p. 241. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. II, pp. 619-20.)

VI. Joyce la Zouche, daughter of William and Alice (de Tony-de Leyburn-de Beauchamp) la Zouche, was living May 4, 1372. She married, as his second wife, John de Botetourt, Lord Botetourt. (de Botetourt III.)

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. II, p. 235. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. II, p. 620. T. R. Nash: "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," 2d edition, Vol. I, p. 241.)

(The de Tony Line)

Arms—Argent, a maunch gules.

(J. Maclean: "Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, p. 64.)

The surname of this family appears in a multitude of spellings, such as de Toni, de Tosny, de Töeni, de Toeni, de Thony, de Thoney, de Tany, de Thornai, de Todenî and de Todesni. Its derivation is extremely doubtful, but is believed to belong to the village of Tosny on the left bank of the Seine River in the canton of Gaillon, France, near the celebrated Château-Gaillard. The town itself has been called Töeni, Totteneium, Todiniacum, Thony and Tony, but is now fixed as Tosny. With its surrounding meadows, it belonged to the archbishopric of Rouen in the tenth century. Early genealogists who traced the family's lineage from Thor, believed that the surname meant "descendant of Thor." Others have connected it with "thorn" or "thorny," and some substance is lent to this derivation by the fact that the family of Thorne (De Spineto in the Latin) is almost certainly a related branch. Yet recent investigations have revealed the possibility that the house of Töeni, Lords of Conches, and that called de Tany or de Todenî,

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were entirely separate families whose records are now so hopelessly confused that neither the etymology of their surname or the true identity of their ancestors can be ascertained.

Ancient pedigrees of the Lords of Conches begin with Ivar, Jarl or independent Prince of the Uplanders of Norway, son of Haldane the Old. His son, Eysten Glumra, is said to have been the father of Haldric or Malahultis and Rögnavd, Jarl of Möre, father of Rollo and ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy. Malahultis accompanied his nephew Rollo on his expedition to Normandy and assisted in establishing the power of the Northmen in that country, receiving extensive possessions as a reward. Hugh de Cavalcamp or Calvacamp, with whom the connected lineage begins, is said to have been the son of Malahultis, but examination of dates show that at least one generation must have intervened between them.

("Notes and Queries," second series, Vol. XI, p. 154; Vol. XII, p. 131. J. P. Yeatman: "The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel," pp. 71-73. F. Madan: "The Gresleys of Drake-lowe," pp. 1-4. A. L. Browne: "Robert de Toden and His Heirs," in "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society," Vol. LII, p. 103. J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, pp. 62, 64.)

I. Hugh de Cavalcamp or Calvacamp, probable descendant of Malahultis, is the earliest established ancestor of the family. The exact location of Cavalcamp or Calvacamp is disputed, but it is described as near Dieppe. He was the father of: 1. Ralph (1) or Rodulphus, of whom further. 2. Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen from 942 to 989 by appointment of William Longsword.

(J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, pp. 62-63, 64. "Notes and Queries," second series, Vol. XI, p. 154. F. Madan: "The Gresleys of Drakelowe," pp. 3-4, 5-6. J. P. Yeatman: "The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel," p. 73.)

II. Ralph (1) or Rodulphus, surnamed de Töeni, son of Hugh de Cavalcamp or Calvacamp, had a gift from his brother Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, of the fief of Todiniacum or Töeni, alienated from the patrimony of the see about 975. His son was: 1. Ralph (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

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III. Ralph (2) de Töeni, son of Ralph (1) or Rodulphus de Töeni, may have been the "Rodulphus Todiensis" who was one of forty Normans who went to try their fortunes in Italy and are mentioned as at Capua in 1012. In 1020 Richard II, Duke of Normandy, placed Ralph de Töeni, his son Roger, Nigel de Coutances and others in charge of the castle of Tillières, to hold it against Odo of Chartres, the Duke's brother-in-law, who had revolted. Ralph (2) de Töeni was the father of 1. Roger (1), of whom further. 2. Hugh, said to have been the ancestor of the Lindsays of England.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Roger (1) de Töeni, son of Ralph (2) de Töeni, died in May of some year between 1040 and 1051, and was buried May thirtieth in the Abbey of Conches. He was hereditary Standard-Bearer of Normandy and Lord of Conches, Aquitaine and Töeni. At a place now called Vieux-Conches, about a mile west of the present town of Conches, he built a fortress, the remains of which are to be seen today, and there the family resided until 1204. In 1035 he founded the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Chantillon, and that of Conches. Between 1031 and 1035 he was sent by Henry I of France, in the company of other Normans, to the aid of Ferdinand, King of Castile and Leon. On his return to France he became indignant at the accession of the illegitimate William to the dukedom of Normandy, and rebelled. In the resulting battle with Roger de Beaumont, Roger (1) de Töeni and two of his sons were slain.

Roger (1) de Töeni married, as her first husband, Godhilda or Godehildis, daughter of Raymond Borrell, Count of Barcelona, and his wife, Ermensenda. She married (second) Richard, Count of Evreux. Children: 1. Helbert, slain with his father. 2. Elinance or Helinantius, slain with his father. 3. Ralph (3), of whom further. 4. Robert, who received Stafford Castle from William the Conqueror and became the ancestor of the Stafford family. 5. Alice or Adeliza, buried at Lire; married William FitzOsborne, Steward of Normandy.

(J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, pp. 63, 64. "Notes and Queries," second series, Vol. XI, p. 154. J. P. Yeatman: "The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel," p. 75. F. Madan: "The

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Gresleys of Drakelow," pp. 6-9, 232. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 420. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, p. 354.)

V. Ralph (3) de Töeni or de Conches, son of Roger (1) de Töeni and Godhilda of Barcelona, was born about 1037, died March 24, 1101-02, and was buried at Conches. He was the most prominent member of his house, and is first recorded as fighting in the battle of Mortemer in 1054, after which he was selected by Duke William to report to the King the defeat of the royal army at William's hands. Later he quarreled with the Duke and, in 1063, was deprived of his possessions and driven from Normandy, but had evidently made peace with William by the time of the Norman invasion of England. At the battle of Hastings it was his office to bear the standard of the Duchy of Normandy, but according to legend he claimed quittance of this service in order to take a full share in the fighting, and as Walter Giffard made the same request, the standard was borne by Turstin fitz Rollo le Blanc. Rewarded by the Conqueror with many lordships in England, he held Flamstead in Hertfordshire, Alton in Worcestershire, and Caldecote in Norfolk, and Domesday Book shows him the owner also of manors in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Berkshire. At a date usually placed in 1075, and certainly not earlier than 1066, he made a journey to Spain and before setting out promised that if he returned in safety he would give to the monastery of St. Evroul at Ouche part of his lands at Conches and Töeni, an agreement which he kept.

Ralph (3) de Töeni or de Conches married Elizabeth de Montfort, called Isabel in Latin records, daughter of Simon de Montfort l'Amauri. Children: 1. Roger, died unmarried in 1090. 2. Ralph (4), of whom further. 3. (Possibly) Robert de Toden, builder of Belvoir Castle, County Rutland. 4. Godchild or Godehildis, married (first) Roger or Robert de Newburgh; (second) Baldwin, son of Eustace, Count of Boulogne.

(J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, pp. 63, 64. J. P. Yeatman: "The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel," p. 76. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 421. F. Madan: "The Gresleys of Drakelow," pp. 9-13, 223. R. Clut-

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terbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, p. 354.)

VI. Ralph (4) de Töeni or de Conches, Lord of Flamstead, son of Ralph (3) and Elizabeth or Isabel (de Montfort) de Töeni or de Conches, died in 1126 and was buried at Conches. He is said to have been at Hastings with his father, but if so he must have been very young at the time. In 1103 he raided a part of Normandy.

Ralph (4) de Töeni or de Conches married, as her first husband, in 1103, Judith or Adeliza or Alice, daughter of the Saxon Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, and his wife Judith, half-sister of William the Conqueror. She brought him in marriage the manor of Walthamstow, and after his death married (second) Robert, son of Richard of Toulouse. Children: 1. Hugh, died young, buried in Holy Trinity Church at London. 2. Roger (2), of whom further. 3. Simon. 4. Isabel. 5. Ralph. 6. Margaret, married Walter, son of Richard fitz Pons, and received from her father the castle of Clifford.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Roger (2) de Töeni or Tony, also called de Conches, Lord of Flamstead, son of Ralph (4) and Judith or Adeliza or Alice de Töeni or de Conches, succeeded his father and died in 1165. He was continually involved in petty warfare in Normandy and was twice imprisoned in Normandy. In September, 1138, he became reconciled to King Stephen, against whom he had revolted. He founded the nunnery of St. Giles-in-the-Wood.

Roger (2) de Töeni or Tony married Gertrude of Hainault. (Counts of Hainault IX.) Children: 1. Ralph (5), of whom further. 2. Roger. 3. Baldwin, lived in Hainault and died in 1170. 4. Geoffrey, a clerk.

(J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, pp. 64-65. F. Madan: "The Gresleys of Drakelow," pp. 13, 223. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 421. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, p. 354.)

VIII. Ralph (5) de Tony, son of Roger (2) de Töeni or Tony and Gertrude of Hainault, died soon after his father, and for this reason is omitted from some pedigrees, his marriage being assigned

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to his father as a second alliance. He was the founder of Westacre Abbey in Norfolk.

Ralph (5) de Tony married, after 1155, as her first husband, Margaret de Beaumont. (de Beaumont VI.) Son: 1. Roger (3), of whom further.

(*Ibid.* G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VII, p. 530. E. T. Beaumont: "The Beaumonts in History, 850-1850," p. 26.)

IX. *Roger (3) de Tony*, Lord of Flamstead, son of Ralph (5) and Margaret (de Beaumont) de Tony, died in 1216. He was famed for his military prowess, and was frequently a witness to the charters of King John, to whom he faithfully adhered. In the struggle with Philip of France he lost all of his continental possessions.

Roger (3) de Tony married, about 1162, Constance de Beaumont, daughter of Richard, second Vicomte de Beaumont and Seigneur de Montrevaut. She was the granddaughter of Richard de Beaumont, first Vicomte and his wife, Constance, natural daughter of Henry I, King of England, her great-grandmother being Isabel or Elizabeth de Beaumont, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, Seigneur de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, and his wife, Isabel or Elizabeth of Vermandois. Constance de Beaumont brought to her husband the manor of South Tawton and other lands in Devonshire. Children: 1. Ralph (6), of whom further. 2. Roger, died in 1228, near Reading; received a grant dated in the fourth year of the reign of Henry III for hunting and killing venison in the royal forest of Dartmoor. 3. Richard, a priest, died in 1252; treasurer of Anjou in 1228.

(J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, p. 65. T. C. Banks: "The Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 421. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, p. 354. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VII, p. 526. E. T. Beaumont: "The Beaumonts in History, 850-1850," pp. 19, 59, 60.)

X. *Ralph (6) de Tony*, Lord of Flamstead, son of Roger (3) and Constance (de Beaumont) de Tony, died at sea while on his way to the Holy Land in 1239. He received from Richard, Earl of Corn-

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wall, a grant of the lordship of Bliston and of the manors of Carnanton and Helston in Trigg, afterwards called Helston-Tony.

Ralph (6) de Tony married, after 1232, as her first husband, Petronilla de Lacy, daughter of Walter de Lacy. She brought to her husband the manors of Brentford in Wiltshire and Jackhull in Herefordshire. After his death she had a grant to farm the manors of Flamstead, Netherton in Norfolk, South Tawton in Devonshire, and Kertlinges in Cambridgeshire, during the minority of the heir of her late husband, paying certain rents to the Queen for the privilege. She married (second) William de St. Omer. Son of Ralph (6) and Petronilla (de Lacy) de Tony: 1. Roger (4), of whom further.

(J. Maclean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, p. 65. T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 421. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, p. 354.)

XI. Roger (4) de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, son of Ralph (6) and Petronilla (de Lacy) de Tony, did homage for his lands as being of full age in 1256 and died either in 1265 or 1277. He was summoned to Hereford in 1253 to oppose the hostile attacks of the Welsh, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Lewes.

Roger (4) de Tony married (first) Alice, also called Ela de Bohun. (de Bohun VII.) He married (second), Isabella, whose parentage is not known. Son of first marriage: 1. Ralph (7), of whom further.

(*Ibid.* T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 421. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, p. 354. F. Madan: "The Gresleys of Drakelow," pp. 13, 223.)

XII. Ralph (7) de Tony or de Tosny, Lord of Bliston, Helston and Carnanton and, according to Cokayne, of Castle Maud in Radnorshire, son of Roger (4) and Alice or Ela (de Bohun) de Tony, was born about 1255 and died in Gascony while on the King's service.

Ralph (7) de Tony or de Tosny married Clarissa, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Robert, Lord of Wallingford, Bliston, Helston and Carnanton, Lord Tosny, died without issue in 1309-10; summoned to Parliament from April 10, 1299, to June 16, 1311, but

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died before the expiration of his term; married Mathilda, daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathern. 2. Alice, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VII, p. 638.)

XIII. Alice de Tony, daughter of Ralph (7) and Clarissa de Tony or de Tosny, aged twenty-four to twenty-seven or more in December, 1309-10, died before February 15, 1324-25. In 1308, at a cost of one hundred shillings, she made an agreement for the possession of the manor of Leybourne, and the next year became the heiress of her brother.

Alice de Tony married (first) Thomas de Leyburn, son of William and Juliane (de Sandwich) de Leyburn, of Leybourne in Kent; he died without issue before May 30, 1307. She married (second) Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. She married (third) William le Zouche, of Mortimer, Lord Zouche. (de Mortimer V.)

(*Ibid.* G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," old edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 56, 229.)

(The de Bohun Line)

de Bohun, as a surname, is derived from the place in France where the family resided before coming to England. It is located in the arrondissement of St. Lo in the Cotentin, a peninsula in Normandy. The communes of St. André-de-Bohon and St. Georges-de-Bohon are still found there. The honor of Bohon, as it was then spelled, was in the possession of the family at the time of the Norman Conquest.

(J. R. Planché: "Earls of Hereford," in "Journal of British Archæological Association," Vol. XXVII, p. 138. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VI, p. 446.)

I. Humphrey (1) de Bohun, called "Humphrey with the Beard," was the first of the line to appear in English records. He came to England with William the Conqueror, and is believed to have been his kinsman. The charter by which he gave the Church of St. Georges-de-Bohon to the Abbey of Marmoutier or Marmountier was confirmed by "William King of the English," "Queen Matheldis," his sons Robert and William, and his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. An earlier grant of a garden to the nuns of St. Amand at Rouen, for the health of himself and three wives, is also witnessed by William.

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Humphrey (1) de Bohun is named in Domesday Book as lord of the manor of Taterford, County Norfolk. Sons: 1. Humphrey (2), of whom further. 2. Robert. 3. William.

(*Ibid.* T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 354-55. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. II, pp. 769-70.)

II. Humphrey (2) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (1) de Bohun, married Matilda of Salisbury, daughter of Edward de Evreux. Children: 1. Maud. 2. Humphrey (3), of whom further.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, p. 355. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. II, pp. 769-70. "Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk," Vol. II, p. 184.)

III. Humphrey (3) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (2) and Matilda of Salisbury, was born in 1109 and died April 6, 1187. He served as steward to King Henry I, and was one of the witnesses to laws drawn up early in the reign of King Stephen. In 1139, however, when the Empress Maud came to England, Humphrey (3) de Bohun, on the advice of his father-in-law, supported her against King Stephen. In 1141 he was taken prisoner by the King's forces. After the accession of Henry II, Humphrey (3) de Bohun was one of the barons summoned to the council held at Clarendon in January, 1164, by which the celebrated constitutions were framed. Nine years later he was faithful to the King during the rebellion of Prince Henry, and invaded Scotland to check William the Lion, who supported the Prince.

Humphrey (3) de Bohun married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England. Miles of Gloucester was hereditary sheriff of Gloucester, and was granted the earldom of Hereford, with the castle of Abergavenny, by the Empress Maud in 1141; he was the son of Walter of Gloucester, Domesday tenant in Hampshire and Gloucestershire, and his wife Bertha, who may have been related to Hamelin de Ballou, Lord of Abergavenny. Son of Humphrey (3) and Margaret de Bohun: 1. Humphrey (4), of whom further.

(W. Dugdale: "The Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 179. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. II, pp. 769-70. E. Foss:

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"The Judges of England," Vol. I, p. 125. J. R. Planché: "Earls of Hereford," in "Journal of British Archæological Association," Vol. XXVII, p. 183. "Victoria History of the Counties of England: Hereford," Vol. I, pp. 279-311. H. Ellis: "General Introduction to Domesday Book," Vol. I, p. 504. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VI, pp. 446, 451, 452.)

IV. Humphrey (4) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (3) and Margaret de Bohun, died in 1182. He held the hereditary office of Constable of England, in the right of his mother.

Humphrey (4) de Bohun married, as her second husband, Margaret of Huntingdon. (Kings of Scotland XII.) Son: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Humphrey (4) de Bohun and Margaret of Huntingdon, died June 1, 1220, and was buried in the chapter house of Llanthony Priory, near Gloucester. He was the first of his family to be called Earl of Hereford, inheriting that title from his grandmother, and was recognized as Earl on April 28, 1200. Siding with the barons in 1215, he was one of the twenty-five sureties of *Magna Charta* and was excommunicated by the Pope. After the death of King John he adhered to the party of Louis of France and fought in the battle of Lincoln in 1217. He started on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1220 as a thank offering for the removal of the interdict from England, but died before accomplishing his journey.

Henry de Bohun married, as her first husband, Maud, sister and heiress of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex. (First de Mandeville Line VI.) Children: 1. Humphrey (5), of whom further. 2. Henry, died in infancy. 3. Ralph, benefactor of the Abbey of Grendon; married Lora. 4. Robert, mentioned in the Book of Waldon.

The assumption of some early genealogists that Henry de Bohun was also the father of two daughters, Margaret and Maud, has been shown by later researches to have been incorrect, Margaret having been a sister rather than a daughter of Henry de Bohun and Maud having been apparently identical with Hawise, daughter of William Fleming.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VI, pp. 457, 459; Vol. VIII, p. 53. J. R. Planché: "Earls of Hereford,"

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in "Journal of British Archæological Association," Vol. XXVII, pp. 183, 184, 186. W. Dugdale: "Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 180. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte: "History of Dunster," Vol. I, pp. 29-30.)

VI. Humphrey (5) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Henry and Maud (de Mandeville) de Bohun, inherited his titles and estates about 1220 and died September 24, 1275. He became Earl of Essex in 1236 as heir of William de Mandeville, his maternal uncle. He was Marshal of the Household at the coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236, Constable of Dover Castle from 1239 to 1241, sheriff of Kent for three years, one of the councillors to draw up the Provisions of Oxford in 1258, commissioner to ratify the treaty between France and England in 1259 and to negotiate peace with Llewelyn of Wales in 1262, and plenipotentiary for the dictum of Kenilworth in 1265.

Humphrey (5) de Bohun married (first) Maud de Lusignan. (de Lusignan X.) He married (second) Maud de Avenbury. Children of first marriage: 1. Humphrey, died October 27, 1265; married (first) Eleanor de Braose; (second) Joan de Quincy. 2. Henry, died after June, 1306, probably without issue; overlord of Amersham, Buckinghamshire, in 1274. 3. Maud, married (first) Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and (second) Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. 4. Alice or Ela, of whom further. 5. A daughter, name not given. Child of second marriage: 6. John.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VI, pp. 259-62; Vol. VII, p. 638; old edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 56, 228. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 544. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," p. 354. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. III, p. 152. C. Moor: "The Knights of Edward I," Vol. LXXX of "Harleian Society Publications," p. 106.)

VII. Alice or Ela de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey (5) and Maud (de Lusignan) de Bohun, married Roger (4) de Tony. (de Tony XI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The de Lusignan Line)

Lusignan, a town in the French department of Vienne, situated on the River Vanne, near Poitiers, was the seat of the Seigneurs de Lusig-

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nan, who became sovereigns of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The name was sometimes written "de Lezignem," Lezignem being one of the largest divisions of the former French province of Poitou. Vestiges of the castle of Lusignan are still to be seen; according to a Poitevin myth, this castle was built by Mélusine, the tutelary fairy of the house of Lusignan, whose cries heralded the death of each member of the family.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XVII, p. 130; Vol. XVIII, p. 101. P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. III, p. 75. "Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World," p. 1073.)

I. Hugh I, Seigneur de Lusignan, was the founder of the second race of Counts of La Marche, according to Bessy's "Histoire des Comtes de Poitou." The name of his wife is not known. Child: 1. Hugh II, of whom further.

(P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. III, p. 75.)

II. Hugh II, Seigneur de Lusignan, built the château of that name. The name of his wife is not given. Child: 1. Hugh III, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Hugh III, Seigneur de Lusignan, was living in 967. He married Arsendis. Child: 1. Hugh IV, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Hugh IV, Seigneur de Lusignan, son of Hugh III and Arsendis, fought against the Saracens in Spain in 1020. He married Aldearde, daughter of Raoul I, Vicomte de Thouars. Children: 1. Hugh V, of whom further. 2. Rorgues. 3. Renaud.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Hugh V, Seigneur de Lusignan, son of Hugh IV and Aldearde de Thouars, died in 1060, while fighting Guy Geoffrey, called William VIII, Duke of Guyenne.

He married Amodis or Adelmodie, daughter of Bernard I, Count of La Marche. Child: 1. Hugh VI, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 76.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VI. Hugh VI, Seigneur de Lusignan, son of Hugh V and Amodis of La Marche, died in 1102. He claimed the county of La Marche after the death of his cousin, Boson III. In 1101 he went to the Holy Land and celebrated Easter at Jerusalem with King Baldwin I. He married Ildegarde, daughter of Aimery IV, Vicomte de Thouars. Child: 1. Hugh VII, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Hugh VII, Seigneur de Lusignan, called le Brun, son of Hugh VI and Ildegarde de Thouars, is mentioned in various charters of gifts to religious orders. In 1147 he accompanied King Louis on a journey to the Holy Land.

He married Sarazene, who died in 1144. Children: 1. Hugh VIII, of whom further. 2. William, Seigneur d'Angles. 3. Rorgues, Bishop of Poitiers. 4. Simon, Sire de Lezay. 5. Valeran. 6. Aimee, married William, Vicomte de Thouars.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Hugh VIII, Seigneur de Lusignan, called le Brun, son of Hugh VII and Sarazene, went on a crusade to the Holy Land and, with Josselin de Courtenay and others, was taken prisoner at the battle of Harenc in 1165.

He married Bourgogne, daughter of Geoffrey de Rancon, Seigneur de Taillebourg. Children: 1. Hugh IX, Seigneur de Lusignan and Count of La Marche, died in 1208; married Matilda, of Angoulême. 2. Geoffrey, sire of Vouvant and Mairevant; took part in the siege of Antioch in 1191. 3. Amaury, King of Cyprus and founder of a dynasty of kings there. 4. Guy, King of Jerusalem. 5. Raoul, of whom further. 6. Pierre. 7. William.

(*Ibid.*, p. 77.)

IX. Raoul de Lusignan, son of Hugh VIII and Bourgogne de Rancon, married, in 1191, Alice, Countess of Eu. (Counts of Eu VII.) In her right he became Count of Eu.

(*Ibid.* G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. V, p. 160.)

X. Maud de Lusignan, daughter of Raoul de Lusignan and Alice, Countess of Eu, died August 14, 1241. She married Humphrey

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(5) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England. (de Bohun VI.)

(*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 462.)

(The Counts of Eu Line)

Eu, a town of northwestern France in the department of Seine-Inférieure, was in existence in the time of the Romans, who called it *Augusta*. It has three celebrated buildings: the beautiful St. Laurent Gothic church, the chapel of the Jesuit College, containing the tombs of Henry, third Duke of Guise, and his wife Katherine of Cleves, and the château, built to replace the earlier structure burned by Louis XI in 1475 to prevent its capture by the English. Written also Ew and Ewe, the town was well known in ancient times for its powerful line of counts.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. IX, p. 865. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. William I, first Count of Eu, was a natural son of Richard I, Duke of Normandy. He rebelled against his half-brother Richard II in 1047 and was imprisoned at Rouen. After escaping he submitted to the Duke and was pardoned.

William I married Lesceline de Turqueville, daughter of Turketil, Seigneur de Turqueville. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. William. 3. Hugh, Bishop of Lisieux.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. V, p. 151. N. V. de Saint-Allais, ed.: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, p. 330.)

II. Robert, Count of Eu, son of William I and Lesceline de Turqueville, died September 8, 1093. He was one of the Norman commanders who aided William the Conqueror in the invasion of England, receiving the honor of Hastings as a reward.

Robert, Count of Eu, married Beatrice. Son: 1. William II, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. William II, Count of Eu and Lord of Hastings, son of Robert and Beatrice, took part in the rebellion against William Rufus in favor of Duke Robert in 1088, and invaded Gloucestershire. Rufus

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

won him over by bribes and favors, but in 1095 he participated in Mowbray's plot to place the Count of Aumale on the throne. At the Council of Salisbury he was charged with treason and condemned to be blinded. There is no further record regarding him.

William II married (first) Beatrice, sister of Roger de Bully, Lord Tickhill. He married (second) Helisende, daughter of Richard Fitz Toustain Goz, Vicomte d'Avranches. Children of first marriage: 1. Henry I, of whom further. 2. William.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. V, p. 154. N. V. de Saint-Allais, ed.: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, p. 330.)

IV. Henry I, Count of Eu and Lord of Hastings, son of William II and Beatrice, died July 12, 1140. When King Henry I visited Normandy in 1104, Count Henry supported him against Duke Robert.

Henry I married (first), in 1109, Maud. He married (second) Hermentrude. He married (third) Margaret, daughter of William of Champagne and niece of King Stephen. Children of third marriage: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Enguerand. 3. Hugh, Bishop of Exeter. 4. William. 5. Beatrice. 6. Matilda.

(*Ibid.*)

V. John, Count of Eu and Lord of Hastings, son of Henry I and Margaret of Champagne, died June 26, 1170. King Stephen gave him the custody of the castle of Tickhill, but when he was taken prisoner in 1140-41 at the battle of Lincoln, the castle was seized and he did not recover it when his other property was restored.

John, Count of Eu, married Alice de Albini. Children: 1. Henry II, of whom further. 2. Raoul. 3. William. 4. Robert.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. V, pp. 158-60. N. V. de Saint-Allais, ed.: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, p. 332.)

VI. Henry II, Count of Eu and Lord of Hastings, son of John and Alice de Albini, died March 16, 1183. He was one of the adherents to the younger Henry in the rebellion of 1173.

Henry II married Maud de Warenne. (de Warenne XI.) Children: 1. Raoul, Count of Eu, died in 1186. 2. Alice, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VII. Alice, Countess of Eu, daughter of Henry II and Maud de Warenne, died May 15, 1246, at La Mothe-Saint Héray in Poitou. She was heiress to her brother Raoul, last of his line of counts. She married Raoul de Lusignan, who became Count of Eu. (de Lusignan IX.)

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. V, p. 160.)

(The de Warenne Line)

The name de Warenne has a long and interesting history. In France the name was Garenne, derived from the name of a town in Normandy, which, in its turn, derived its name from a river running by it. Today the town of Garenne in Normandy is still standing on its ancient site and two of the castles of the Earls of Warenne or Garenne are preserved in their original forms. The word Garenne is a corruption of the medieval Latin *Varenne*, meaning "to guard" or "ward off." After William, Earl of Warenne or Garenne, came to England with William the Conqueror, the family name eventually was Anglicized to Warren.

("La grande encyclopédie," Vol. XVIII, pp. 529-30. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXVIII, p. 331.)

I. Rollo, founder of the line of Dukes of Normandy, was a Scandinavian knight who invaded that part of France called Normandy some time during the eighth century. He had a son, William (1), of whom further.

(Rev. T. Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family," pp. 2-6. J. Watson: "Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey," Vol. I, pp. 2-31.)

II. William (1), surnamed *Longue Epée* (long sword), son of Rollo, was the father of the following children: 1. Gunnora. 2. Herfastus, of whom further. 3. Wevia. 4. Werina. 5. Duvelina. 6. Sainfria.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Herfastus, son of William (1), was the father of two children: 1. Osborn de Crespon. 2. A daughter, whose name is not recorded, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. The daughter of Herfastus married Walter de St. Martin, and they were the parents of a son: 1. William (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. William (2), son of Walter de St. Martin and the daughter of Herfastus, was Earl of Warenne in Normandy. He married a daughter of Ralph de Torta, a noble Dane, protector of Normandy during the minority of Richard I, Duke of Normandy. Child: 1. Ralph, also called Rodolphus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Ralph, also called Rodolphus, son of William (2) de Warenne and the daughter of Ralph de Torta, was known as Sire de Garenne or Warenne. He married (first) Beatrice; (second) Emma. Children: 1. Ralph, died without issue. 2. William (3), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. William (3) de Warenne, son of Ralph or Rodolphus and Emma, died June 24, 1088. He is frequently called Earl of Warenne in Normandy, where he held large tracts of land. He accompanied William the Conqueror on his victorious expedition to England. He served with distinction in the battle of Hastings and when William the Conqueror returned to Normandy in 1067, he appointed William to assist the two viceroys in England. During the Conqueror's second absence in 1075 William was appointed Chief Justiciar. He also took, in the same year, a leading part in suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk. In 1077 he founded the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, in Sussex, the first house of the Cluniac order in England. William made large grants to this priory, which also received a charter from the Conqueror. In the rebellion of 1088 William remained faithful to the English King, William Rufus. The position of his castle at Lewes rendered his loyalty especially useful to the King. For this service King Rufus gave William the earldom of Surrey in 1088. It was from this grant that William received the title of Earl, though he is also called "first Earl of Warren and Surrey." The assertion of some genealogists that William held a Norman earldom, however, is contrary to an invariable Norman usage.

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

This is substantiated by the records of the Conqueror in which William's name occurs, but does not carry the title "earl," nor is William called by the title of Earl in Domesday Book.

For his services in the battle of Hastings he received large grants of land and he is mentioned in Domesday Book as holding land in the counties of Sussex, Hants, Berks, Buckingham, Oxford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, York and Lincoln. His lands in Sussex included the borough of Lewes. The priory of Lewes, which William (3) de Warenne founded and in which he was buried, was long connected with the history of his descendants. The monks of St. Pancras, who had that priory, are mentioned among the many tenants of William (3) de Warenne in that county. In addition to Lewes, he held over forty other manors in Sussex.

William (3) de Warenne married Gundred, who was buried beside him in the priory of Lewes and who was the daughter or step-daughter of William the Conqueror. Children: 1. William (4), of whom further. 2. Rainald, also called Reginald, fought on the side of Duke Robert in 1090 and was later pardoned by Henry I. 3. Edith.

(Rev. T. Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family," pp. 7-11. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XX, pp. 829-30. J. H. Round: "Studies in Peerage and Family History," Vol. VII, p. 322. J. Watson: "Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey," Vol. I, pp. 20-58.)

VIII. William (4) de Warenne, second Earl of Warren and Surrey, elder son of William (3) de Warenne and Gundred, died May 10, 1138. He succeeded his father in 1088 and in 1093 he sought to marry Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland, who eventually married King Henry I. This marriage may have been at the bottom of the Earl's hatred of Henry I. In 1101 he shared in inviting Duke Robert of Normandy to invade England and because of this act the King deprived William (4) de Warenne of his estates. A few years later King Henry restored him to his former position and from that time on he was the King's faithful supporter and trusted friend. He fought two battles at the side of the King and was with him when he died in 1135. In 1136 he attended King Stephen's court at Westminster and attested the King's charter of liberties at Oxford.

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William (4) de Warenne married, as her second husband, Elizabeth, also called Isabel, of Vermandois. (Counts of Vermandois XI.) Children: 1. William (5), of whom further. 2. Reginald. 3. Ralph. 4. Gundrada. 5. Adeline or Ada, married Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon. (Everett Lewis Bray Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland XI.)

(J. Watson: "Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey," Vol. I, pp. 88-117. J. H. Round: "Geoffrey de Mandeville," pp. 262-63, 321. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XX, pp. 831-32.)

IX. William (5) de Warenne, third Earl of Warren and Surrey, son of William (4) de Warenne and Elizabeth or Isabel of Vermandois, died in 1148. He succeeded his father in 1138 and took a prominent part in the disturbances that broke out between the King's Norman and Flemish followers. During the civil strife that reigned in England, William (5) de Warenne remained faithful to the King and Queen and assisted in capturing Geoffrey de Mandeville, one of the King's opponents. In 1147 he started out on a crusade to the Holy Land with Louis VII of France. On March 31, 1148, he was taken captive by the Turks and died in prison.

William (5) de Warenne married Ella, also called Adela, daughter of William Talvas, Count of Ponthieu. Child: 1. Isabel, of whom further.

(Rev. T. Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family," p. 13. J. Watson: "Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey," Vol. I, pp. 117-44.)

X. Isabel de Warenne, daughter of William (5) de Warenne and Ella or Adela of Ponthieu, died in 1199. She was the only heir to her father. Isabel de Warenne married (first) William of Blois, youngest son of King Stephen, who became in consequence fourth Earl of Warren and Surrey and sometimes was designated as "William Warren." He accompanied King Henry II on his expedition against the town of Toulouse and died there, without issue, in 1160. She married (second), in 1163, Hameline Plantagenet. He became by right of his wife, fifth Earl of Warren and Surrey and assumed the arms and surname of Warren. Children of second marriage: 1. William,

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Earl of Warren and Surrey, died May 27, 1240; married (first) Matilda, daughter of William de Albini, Earl of Sussex and Arundel; (second), as her second husband, Maud or Matilda (Mareschall or Marshall) Bigod. 2. Adela. 3. Maud, of whom further. 4. Isabel, married Roger Bigod. 5. Margaret. 6. A daughter, whose name is not recorded.

(Rev. T. Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family," p. 15. J. Watson: "Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey," Vol. I, pp. 154-66.)

XI. Maud de Warenne, daughter of Hameline Plantagenet and Isabel de Warenne, married Henry II, Count of Eu and Lord Hastings. (Counts of Eu VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Counts of Vermandois Line)

The county of Vermandois in northeastern France takes its name from the Vermandins, who inhabited it in the time of Julius Cæsar, and who were a people of the province which he called *Belgica*. The Counts of Vermandois begin with Heribert I, a grandson of Bernard of Italy, of the Carolingian line, who was a grandson of Charlemagne.

("La grande encyclopédie." George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," 5th edition, Nos. XII, XXV.)

I. Pepin, son of Charlemagne and his second wife, Hildegarde of Swabia, was born in 777 and died July 8, 810. When he was baptized in Rome in 781, he was named Carloman, but Pope Adrian changed this name the same year at Easter, when he anointed him King of Lombardy. He is also described as King of Italy. He conquered the Avarois in 799, later made himself master of Venice and sent his fleet to ravage the coast of Dalmatia.

The name of his wife is not known. He was the father of Bernard, of whom further, and of several daughters. One of the latter married Lambert, father of Guy, Duke of Spoleto, who was chosen King of Italy in 888 and had himself crowned Emperor by Pope Formosus in 892.

(P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," p. 48.)

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II. Bernard, son of Pepin, succeeded his father as King of Italy at the age of twelve or thirteen years, being crowned by the Archbishop of Milan in 810. He repulsed the Saracens who attempted to occupy Italy, but later revolted against his uncle, Louis the Pious. He was defeated, deprived of his eyesight and died three days later, in April, 818.

The name of his wife is not known. He left one son, Pepin, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Pepin II, son of Bernard, was Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin, a region soon after this called Vermandois. The name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Bernard, died without issue, although some German authorities regard him as the ancestor of the House of Bavaria. 2. Heribert I, of whom further. 3. Pepin, ancestor of the Counts of Valois.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Heribert I, son of Pepin II, was Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin. He was killed in 902 by men serving Baldwin II of Flanders. By ceaseless energy he achieved his ambition to become Count of Vermandois, a title destined to grow in lustre through many generations. The territory included, in addition to the place from which the title was derived, the cities and territories of Reims, Soissons, Meaux and Senlis.

Heribert I married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Heribert II, of whom further. 2. A daughter, who married Uddon, brother of Herman, Duke of Swabia. 3. Beatrix, married Robert, King of the Franks. (House of Capet II.)

(*Ibid.*)

V. Heribert II, Count of Vermandois, Troyes and Meaux, died in 943 and was buried at St. Quentin. From 902 to 915 he carried on a war with the Count of Flanders, later aided Robert, Duke of France, against Charles the Simple and fought in the battle of Soissons in which Robert was killed. He next helped Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, gain the throne and after entertaining Charles the Simple to a sumptuous banquet took him prisoner. Raoul did not reward him

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sufficiently and Heribert set Charles free. During the reign of Louis d'Outremer, Heribert joined Hugh of Burgundy in opposing him.

Heribert II married Hildebrante, daughter of Robert, Duke of France. Children: 1. Albert I, of whom further. 2. Heribert, Count of Troyes and Meaux. 3. Robert, Count of Troyes, married Adelais, daughter of Gilbert, Count of Autun and Duke of Burgundy; their daughter, Adelais, married Geoffrey I, Count of Anjou. (Counts of Anjou V.) 4. Eudes. 5. Hugues, Archbishop of Reims. 6. Alix or Adela, married Arnulf I, Count of Flanders. 7. Leutgarde, married (first), as his second wife, William I, Duke of Normandy; she married (second) Thibaut I, Count of Blois, Chartres and Tours.

(*Ibid.*, p. 49. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. III, p. 238.)

VI. Albert I, Count of Vermandois, son of Heribert II and Hildebrante of France, died September 9, 987. He succeeded his father as a result of the settlement by his cousin, Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, of the dispute between the sons of Heribert II over the division of their father's estate. Soon after the settlement Raoul, Count of Cambrai, invaded Vermandois with the encouragement of Louis d'Outremer, but was defeated by Albert, who subsequently became reconciled with Louis and continued in his service. Albert gave his support to Lothair, son of Louis, and after Lothair's death took the side of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, the Carolingian heir to the French throne, in his struggle with Hugh Capet. When Charles was defeated, Albert made peace with Hugh.

Albert I married Gerberge, daughter of Louis IV, d'Outremer, (Carlovingian Kings of France XII.) Children: 1. Heribert III, of whom further. 2. Ludolfe, Bishop of Noyon. 3. Guy, Chancellor of Noyon. 4. Otto. 5. Gisele.

(N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, part 2, p. 240.)

VII. Heribert III, Count of Vermandois, son of Albert I and Gerberge, died August 20, about 1000. He is mentioned in a charter of the Abbey of St. Crepin of Soissons.

Heribert III married Hermengarde. Children: 1. Albert II, Count of Vermandois, who died without issue. 2. Otto, of whom

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further. 3. Guy, Count of Soissons. 4. Landulfe, who, like his uncle, was Bishop of Noyon.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 240, 241.)

VIII. Otto, Count of Vermandois, son of Heribert III and Hermengarde, died May 25, 1045. He succeeded to the title when his brother, Albert II, retired to a monastery about 1010. Albert later returned and claimed his inheritance, but Otto succeeded a second time about 1021. He is mentioned as the donor of gifts to various religious organizations, especially the Abbey of Saint Prix.

Otto married Pavie. Child: 1. Heribert IV, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Heribert IV, Count of Vermandois, son of Otto and Pavie, died in 1080. In 1047 he entertained King Henry I of France and in 1059 assisted at the coronation of Philip I. He was attacked in 1071 by his father-in-law, Raoul III, Count of Crepi and Valois, and in 1077 succeeded his brother-in-law as Count of Valois.

He married Adele, also called Hildebrante, daughter and heiress of Raoul III, Count of Valois, and his first wife, Adele, daughter of Nocher, Count of Bar-sur-Aube. Children: 1. Eudes. 2. Adele or Adelaide, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 242.)

X. Adele or Adelaide, Countess of Vermandois and Valois, daughter and sole heiress of Heribert IV and Adele of Valois, married (first) Hugh Magnus of France. (House of Capet VII.) Through this marriage he became Count of Vermandois. Child: 1. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 243.)

XI. Elizabeth, also called Isabel, of Vermandois, daughter of Hugh Magnus, Count of Vermandois, and Adele or Adelaide of Vermandois, married (first) Robert (1) de Beaumont. (de Beaumont IV.) She married (second) William (4) de Warenne. (de Warenne VIII.)

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, pp. 523-26.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The House of Capet Line)

Arms—Azure, semée-de-lis or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Capet is the name of a family to which, for nearly nine centuries, the Kings of France and many of the rulers of the most powerful fiefs in that country belonged and which mingled with several of the other royal houses of Europe. The original significance of the name remains in dispute, but the first of the family to whom it was applied was Hugh, who was elected King of the Franks in 987. The real founder of the house, however, was Robert the Strong, who received from Charles the Bald, Carolingian King of the Franks, the countships of Anjou and Blois and who is sometimes called Duke, as he exercised some military authority in the district between the Seine and the Loire. According to Aimoin of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and the chronicler, Richer, he was a Saxon, but historians question this statement.

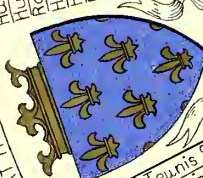
("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XIII, p. 858.)

I. Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou and Blois, son of Witichin, was slain in 867. He was rector of the Abbey of Marmoutiers in 853 and was also missus, or governor, of the counties of Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Corbonnais. In 856 he took part in the revolt of Louis the German against Charles the Bald of France and in 864 participated in the Royal Council of Pitres, where he received the county of Atun from the French King. He is the founder of the Capetian Line of Kings of France. Children: 1. Eudes. 2. Robert I, of whom further.

("La grande encyclopédie," Vol. XXVIII, pp. 738-39.)

II. Robert I, King of Franks, son of Robert the Strong, was born in 865 and was killed in battle, near Soissons, June 15, 923.

Robert I came to the throne of France during a period of disorder and confusion. His first step toward the kingship was to receive command of the Carolingian troops in 888. With this armed support behind him Robert I had no opposition when he set himself up as King. He was also lay abbot of Marmoutiers, St. Martin de Tours, and a number of other monasteries. He directed many expeditions against the Normans in the Province of Loire, and managed to recapture the important town of Chartres. In 922 Robert I con-



CHURCHILL died his father at age of 12 on 12 July 1898

... & Blois. founder of the CAPETIAN...
...; d. April...
... 810...
... Pe...

C. of Anjou & ... Spin II, 818
C. of the Franks, m. Beatrix d. of Herib...
T. K. of the Franks, m. Beatrix d. of Herib...

Robert the Great, D. of the Franks, C. of Paris & Orleans
Hugh the Great, C. of France m. Adelaide
The STRUNG

Hugh Cape, n. of France, m. 3rd. 1000.
Hugh Cape, n. of France, m. 3rd. 1000.
Hugh Cape, n. of France, m. 3rd. 1000.

Robert I. K. of France, d. Aug. 4, 1060; m. Princess Henry I. K. of Anjou, 1043; Constantine, 1061; m. Agnes, 1061.

Hugh Magnus m. Anne, Countess of Vermandois
 Henry Magnus m. Anne, Countess of Vermandois

Elizabeth Beaumont, C. of Meland E. of Beaumont
 Port de Beaumont, C. of Meland E. of Beaumont

Margaret de Beaumont m. Ralph de Meill

Roger de lony, Lord Flamstead, m. Constance d'Alban
 Roger de lony, Lord Flamstead, m. Constance d'Alban
 Roger de lony, Lord Flamstead, m. Constance d'Alban

Ralph de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston etc.

Ralph de Long, Lord & Co. Bilston, Helston & Carnant
Ralph de Long, m. Wm. g. Zouche of M.
Ralph de Long, m. Wm. g. Zouche of M.

Alice de l'abbaye de Montimer; Idem
Le m. John de Botetourt. Idem

a Zouché
a Botetourt, d. 1420; m. 2nd Sir Adm.
Botetourt, d. 1420; m. 2nd Sir Adm.

Joyce de Bussan, m. Sir Richard Mytton.
Margaret, d. of F. de Bussan, m. Sir Richard Mytton.

Mytton m. 2nd Joan Middle

John Mykton m. Robert Fulwider
Margaret m. Maria H.

Robert Fullwood m. Richard C. Fullwood

Robert Gunne m. 2nd John Tam
Annel Gunne m. 2nd John Tam

Am
Ellen m. Gov. Thomas Welles of Connecticut
James m. Elizabeth Welles of Connecticut

Rev. M. J. Hollister

Rev.	Elizabeth Brinsford
Ent.	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford
Ziel.	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford
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d. M.	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford
George P.	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford
William B.	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford
Vil.	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford
Roxbury	Hawley m. Elizabeth Brinsford

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Sally - b. Aug. 3, 1902

William L. Richards

Sally Richards

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ducted a war against Charles the Simple. Robert I was victorious and at Rheims, June 29, 922, he was proclaimed King of the Franks.

Robert I married Beatrix, daughter of Heribert I, Count of Vermandois. (Counts of Vermandois IV, Child 3.) Children: 1. Hugh the Great, of whom further. 2. A daughter, married Raoul, Duke of Bourgogne. 3. Eudes-Henri.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 737. George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," 5th edition, No. XII.)

III. Hugh the Great, also called Hugh le Blanc, Duke of the Franks, Count of Paris and Orleans, son of Robert I and Beatrix of Vermandois, died June 16 or 17, 956. He took the title of his father, King of the Franks, but allowed the title to pass into temporary disuse. His reign is marked with a series of wars with the sons of Charles the Simple and the Emperor of Germany, Otto I.

Hugh the Great married, in 936, Hedwiga. (Dukes of Saxony IV.) Children: 1. Otto, married a daughter of Giselbert, Duke of Burgundy. 2. Hugh Capet, of whom further.

("La grande encyclopédie," Vol. XX, p. 369. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XIII, pp. 857-58.)

IV. Hugh Capet, King of France, son of Hugh the Great and Hedwiga, was born about 938 and died at Paris, October 24, 996. He succeeded to his father's numerous fiefs in 956 and thus became one of the most powerful feudatories of France. Hugh Capet supported his cousin Lothair in a war against Otto II of Germany. When the son of Lothair, Louis V, died, Hugh Capet was proclaimed King of France in 987. His kingdom included all of the present-day France except Brittany and Aquitaine. He was a devoted son of the church, was interested in clerical reform and was fond of participating in church ceremonies.

Hugh Capet married Adelais or Adelaide, daughter of William III, Duke of Aquitaine. (Dukes of Aquitaine VI.) Children: 1. Robert II, of whom further. 2. Hedwige, married (first) Rainier or Reginar IV, Count of Hainault. (Counts of Hainault IV.) She married (second) Hugh III, Count of Dagsburg.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 364-66. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XIII, p. 858.)

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V. Robert II, surnamed the Pious, King of France, son of Hugh Capet and Adalais or Adelaide of Aquitaine, was born at Orleans about 970 and died about 1031. He won his surname, the Pious, for his humility and charity, but despite these qualities he was a good statesman and soldier.

Robert II married (first), in 988, Rosala or Susanna, widow of Arnulf II, Count of Flanders. This lady was much older than Robert II and in 989 he repudiated her. He married (second) Bertha, daughter of Conrad the Peaceful, King of Burgundy or Arles. Pope Gregory V excommunicated him for this marriage because Bertha was related to Robert II, and Robert II was forced to give up Bertha. He married (third), in 1003, Constance of Toulouse. (Counts of Toulouse VII.) Children of third marriage: 1. Hugh, died in 1025. 2. Henry I, of whom further. 3. Robert. 4. Eudes. 5. Adela, married (first) Richard III, Duke of Normandy; (second) Baldwin V, Count of Flanders.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 738-39. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXIII, p. 399. George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," 5th edition, No. XXII.)

VI. Henry I, King of France, son of Robert II the Pious and Constance of Toulouse, was born May 15, 1008, and died August 4, 1060. He was anointed King at Reims in 1027 at the suggestion of his father, in order to assure his succession. This aroused the jealousy of Robert, younger brother of Henry, and led to civil war. Robert was appeased by being given the Dukedom of Burgundy, and thus he became the founder of the great Capetian collateral line which was to rival the Kings of France for three centuries. The reign of Henry I, who was at war with William the Conqueror over the latter's lands in Normandy, marks the height of feudalism in France.

Henry I married (first) Maud, niece of the Emperor Henry III. He married (second) Princess Anne of Russia, daughter of Yaroslav (Iaroslaf) I, Grand Duke of Kiev. Children of second marriage: 1. Philip I, King of France, succeeded his father. 2. Hugh Magnus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1106-08. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 290-91. George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," 5th edition, No. XXII.)

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VII. Hugh Magnus, son of Henry I and Princess Anne of Russia, died in 1102 at Tarsus in Cilicia. He was one of the leaders of the first crusade. He married Adele or Adelaide, Countess of Vermandois and Valois. (Counts of Vermandois X.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Counts of Toulouse Line)

Toulouse was the town of Tolosa in Aquitaine, under the Roman Empire, capital of a duchy in 570 A. D. and reorganized in 771 as a county, the ruler of which had the title of Duke. Of the dukes, Guillaume Courterez, called "de Gellons," reigned from 790 to 806; Beranger died in 835; Acfrid or Ecfrid, successor to Beranger, was deposed in 844; and Fredelon or Fridolo, successor of Acfrid, ruled from 845 to 852 and was succeeded by his brother, Raimond I, of whom further.

("La grande encyclopédie," Vol. XXXI, pp. 212-14.)

I. Fulgaud, mentioned in the foundation of the Abbey of Vabres, married Senegonde. Children: 1. Fredelon. 2. Raimond I, of whom further.

(P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. II, pp. 681-83. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, pp. 69-70.)

II. Raimond I, Count of Toulouse, son of Fulgaud and Senegonde, is mentioned in 855 and died about 864.

He married Bertha, daughter of Seigneur de Remy. Children: 1. Bernard, Count of Toulouse, died in 875. 2. Fulgaud. 3. Odon or Eudes, of whom further. 4. Benoit.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Odon or Eudes, son of Raimond I and Bertha, succeeded his brother, Bernard, as Count of Toulouse in 875 and died in 919.

He married Garsinde, daughter of Ermengaud of Albi. Children: 1. Raimond II, of whom further. 2. Ermengaud.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Raimond II, Count of Toulouse, son of Odon or Eudes and Garsinde, died in 924. He is thought to have been the Raimond mentioned by Flodoard as having fought in the war against the Normans in 923.

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He married Guidinilde. Child: 1. Raimond III, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Raimond III, Count of Toulouse, son of Raimond II, was sur-named "Pons" on account of his devotion to St. Pons, the martyr. Raimond III died in 950. He defeated the Huns in 924.

He married (first) Garsinde; (second) Bertha, daughter of Boson, Marquise of Tuscany and widow of Eosin, Count of Arles and Provence. Children of second marriage: 1. Raimond IV, Count of Toulouse, died without issue. 2. Pons II, Count of Toulouse. 3. William I, of whom further. 4. Hughes.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. William I, son of Raimond III and Bertha, is sometimes described as second son. He died in 1037. He became Count of Arles through his mother, who was the widow of the last Count of Arles. He is described in one record as Count of Toulouse, although the countship descended through his brother Pons to William III. The earlier Williams, bearing this title, belonged to another house.

He married Adele of Anjou. (Counts of Anjou VI.) Children: 1. William III, Count of Arles. 2. Constance, of whom further. 3. Almodis, married Audibert, Count of Perigord.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Constance, daughter of William I and Adele of Anjou, was born in 985 and died in 1032. She married Robert II, King of France. (House of Capet V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Counts of Anjou Line)

The region known as Anjou, the old name of a French territory, takes its name from its inhabitants, called *Andes* by Julius Cæsar and *Andecavi* by Tacitus. It occupied the greater part of what is now the Department of Maine-et-Loire. It was early divided into two counties by the River Maine. One side of the river belonged to the Carolingian kings, while on the other it was governed by Robert the Strong, Duke of France and his son Eudes, Count of Paris and later

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King. The portion belonging to the Carolingians was given by Louis II to the second of the line which follows.

(P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. VI, p. 3.)

I. Tertulle, a Breton, resided in the Diocese of Rennes. For his service to Charles II, King of France and Emperor, he was made Seneschal of Gastinois.

He married Petronille, described as daughter of Conrad, Count of Paris, and also described as daughter of a Duke of Burgundy and as granddaughter of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy. Child: 1. Ingelger, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

II. Ingelger, son of Tertulle and Petronille, was rewarded for his services to Louis II, he being made Vicomte of Orleans and later Count of Anjou, a portion of the country remaining in possession of Eudes, Count of Paris and King. He defended his county against the attacks of the Normans and returned the body of St. Martin to Tours, after it had been taken to Auxerre for safety and that town had refused to return it. He died at Chateaufort in 888.

Ingelger married Aelinde, niece of Adalard, Archbishop of Tours. Child: 1. Fulk I, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 4.)

III. Fulk I, called the Red, Count of Anjou, son of Ingelger and Aelinde, added to his domain the portion of the county in possession of Eudes, Count of Paris, but authorities differ as to how he secured it. Some say it was on account of his mother being related to Eudes. He fought both the Britons and the Normans and died in 938.

Fulk I married Roscille, Lady of Loches, Villenstras and la Haye, daughter of Garnier. Children: 1. Ingelger, died as a young man, fighting the Normans. 2. Guy, Bishop of Soissons. 3. Fulk II, of whom further. 4. Roscille, married Alain, Count of Brittany.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.)

IV. Fulk II, Count of Anjou, son of Fulk I and Roscille, surnamed the Good, died in 958. He was devoted to the Church of St. Martin of Tours, and renowned for virtue and piety. He composed a hymn

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used there for several centuries and it is said that he loved literature. Fulk II married Gerberge. Children: 1. Geoffrey I, of whom further. 2. Guy, Abbot of Gormery. 3. Drogon, Bishop of Puy. 4. Adelaide, married Etienne, Count of Gevaudam.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.)

V. Geoffrey I, called Grisgonelle, Count of Anjou, son of Fulk II and Gerberge, died July 21, 987. He was the first Seneschal of France known to history. This office was one of the most important in the kingdom and included among its duties that of administering royal revenues and commanding the army. It was long held by the Counts of Anjou. He fought the Normans and the Germans and engaged in a policy of expansion.

Geoffrey I married, as her second husband, Adelais of Vermandois. (Counts of Vermandois V, Child 3.) Children: 1. Fulk III. 2. Maurice. 3. Ermengarde, married, in 970, Conon I, Count of Brittany and Rennes. 4. Adele, of whom further. 5. Gerberge, married William II, Count of Angoulême.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.)

VI. Adele, daughter of Geoffrey I and Adelais of Vermandois, married William I, Count of Arles. (Counts of Toulouse VI.)

(*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.)

(The Dukes of Aquitaine Line)

Aquitaine was an ancient province of France, whose boundaries differed considerably at various times. First a Roman province, it was later ruled by the Franks and the Merovingian kings. In the seventh century a line of independent dukes came into power, but they were forced to ask the protection of Charles Martel, and Aquitaine then became a kingdom in the Carolingian succession. Charles the Bald and Pepin or Pippin II disputed its possession, but eventually concluded a treaty in 845 by which they bestowed the districts of Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois upon Raynulf I, Count of Poitiers, son of Gerard, Count of Poitiers and Auvergne. Somewhat before this the title of Duke of the Aquitanians had been revived and was now assumed by Raynulf, although it was also claimed by the Counts of Toulouse. The new duchy of Aquitaine thus passed into the hands of the Counts of

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Poitiers, and it remained in the possession of their descendants, until the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry II of England transferred the province, then comprising Guyenne and Gascony, to the English crown.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. II, pp. 252-53; Vol. XXI, p. 898. *Ibid.*, 14th edition, Vol. II, p. 167.)

I. Bernard I, Count of Poitiers, sometimes called son of Renaud I, Count of Herbage, Poitiers and Nantes, but considered by modern authorities to be son of Adeline, also called Adaleme, and nephew of St. William of Gellone, was killed in war with the Bretons in 844. He was in some way related to the family of Charlemagne. The first of his line to bear the title, he became Count in 815, after sharing authority with Ricuin, who also was Count.

Bernard I married Bilichilde, daughter of Roricon I, Count of Anjou and Mons. Children: 1. Ranulfe. 2. Bernard II, of whom further. 3. Emenon. 4. Gauzbert.

(C. A. Auber: "Histoire générale civile, religieuse et littéraire du Poitou," Vol. IX, pp. 130, 215-19, 501. L. de Mas-Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1662. P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. II, p. 511.)

II. Bernard II, Count of Poitiers and Marquis of Gothia or Septimanie, son of Bernard I and Bilichilde of Anjou and Mons, became Count in 865, succeeding to his father's title following the rule of Raynulf I, Count of Poitiers, who according to some authorities was his brother, but according to others was son of Gerard, Count of Poitiers and Auvergne. Raynulf I was the first Duke of Aquitaine in the ducal succession of this period. Child of Bernard II: 1. Raynulf, of whom further.

(C. A. Auber: "Histoire générale civile, religieuse et littéraire du Poitou," Vol. IV, pp. 201, 343.)

III. Raynulf II, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers, son of Bernard II, but sometimes wrongly described as son of Raynulf I, succeeded his father. He was poisoned in 893 by order of King Charles III the Simple.

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Raynulf II married Adelaide, sometimes said to be a daughter of Louis II, King of France, but whose parentage is not definitely known. He was the father of Ebles, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 230, 332, 343, 368, 442, and note on p. 489. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, pp. 726, 749. L. de Mas-Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1662. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. II, p. 252. P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. II, p. 513.)

IV. Ebles, son of Raynulf II, died in 932 or 935 as Duke of Aquitaine. His inheritance was in the hands of enemies during much of his lifetime. King Charles III, who had ordered the murder of Ebles' father, bestowed the Duchy of Aquitaine on William the Pious, Count of Auvergne, who founded the Abbey of Cluny. From him it passed to his nephew, Count William II, son of Acfred, Count of Carcassone, who died in 926. At length Ebles was returned to power for a few years. His descendants retained the title of Aquitaine and bore the hereditary name of William.

Ebles married (first) Aremburge; (second) Emiliane; (third) Adele, daughter of Edward the Elder of England. Children of third marriage: 1. William III, of whom further. 2. Ebles, Bishop of Limoges.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXI, p. 898. *Ibid.*, 14th edition, Vol. II, p. 167. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," pp. 726-50. L. de Mas-Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1662. C. A. Auber: "Histoire générale civile, religieuse et littéraire du Poitou," Vol. VI, pp. 31, 61.)

V. William III, Duke of Aquitaine, Count of Poitiers and Count of Auvergne, son of Ebles and Adele of England, abdicated and died in 963. In some records he is called Duke of Guyenne. He married Gerloc or Heloys, also called Adele or Adelaide, daughter of Rollo, Duke of Normandy. Children: 1. William, abdicated in 990; married Emma or Emmeline, daughter of Thibaut, Count of Blois. 2. Adelais or Adelaide, of whom further.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. II, p. 252; Vol. XXI, p. 898. *Ibid.*, 14th edition, Vol. II, p. 167. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, pp. 726, 749, 750. L. de

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Mas-Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1662. "Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études—sciences historiques et philologiques," Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 358-61; Vol. CXLVII, p. 201.)

VI. Adelais or Adelaide, daughter of William III and Gerloc or Heloys, of Normandy, married Hugh Capet. (House of Capet IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Dukes of Saxony Line)

Prior to the eighth century nothing is known regarding the history of the Saxons in Germany. No trace of royalty is found among the Saxons. The country was divided into a certain number of districts, in which noble families, holding the title of Count or Cantonal Judge, held all the power. They preserved their independence until the time of Charlemagne and were governed by the Franks until the middle of the ninth century.

I. Ludolf, whose family held large possessions in the country, established the first basis of a duchy and was given the title of Duke of East Saxony. He died in 866. Children: 1. Bruno, succeeded his father and was killed fighting the Normans in 880. 2. Otto, of whom further.

(A. M. H. J. Stokvis: "Manuel d'histoire de généalogie et de chronologie de tous les états du globe," Vol. III, p. 250. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 268; 14th edition, Vol. XX, p. 33.)

II. Otto, the Illustrious, Duke of Saxony, son of Ludolf, died in 912. He was recognized as Duke of Saxony by King Conrad I and on the death of Burkhard, Margrave of Thuringia, in 908, obtained authority over that country. He made himself practically independent in Saxony and played an important part in the affairs of the empire. He died in 912. Child: 1. Henry I, of whom further.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. XX, p. 33.)

III. Henry I, the Fowler, Duke of Saxony and King of Germany, son of Otto, was born about 876 and died in 936. On his father's death he became Duke of Saxony and defended the country against the Slavs. In 918 Conrad advised the nobles to make Henry his successor and the following year they met at Fritzlar and

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made him German King. His authority, except in Saxony, was nominal, but his sovereignty was recognized by the Bavarians and Swabians. Charles III of France recognized him as King of the East Franks and in 923 Lorraine came under his authority. He secured both sides of the Elbe for Saxony, subjugated the modern Brandenburg and in 933 gained a victory over the Huns. He laid more stress on his position as Duke of Saxony than as King of Germany and conferred great benefits on the duchy, founding its town life and creating its army.

Henry I married (first) Hatburg, daughter of Irwin, Count of Merseburg; (second), in 909, Matilda, daughter of a Saxon Count named Thiederich, reputed descendant of the hero Widukind. Children of second marriage: 1. Otto, became Emperor Otto the Great. 2. Henry, Duke of Lorraine and Bavaria. 3. Brune, Archbishop of Cologne. 4. Gerberge, married Guelbut, Duke of Lorraine. 5. Hedwiga, of whom further.

(A. M. H. J. Stokvis: "Manuel d'histoire de généalogie et de chronologie de tous les états du globe," Vol. III, p. 251.)

IV. Hedwiga, daughter of Henry I and Matilda, married Hugh the Great, Duke of the Franks. (House of Capet III.)

(*Ibid.* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. XI, p. 442.)

(The Carolingian Kings of France Line)

The Carolingian Line, so called from its most illustrious member, Charlemagne, gained the throne of France in 751, when Pepin III, also called Pepin the Short, deposed the last ruler of the Merovingian dynasty and took the title of King. The Carolingian dynasty reigned in France from 751 to 987, when it was ousted by the Capetian dynasty.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. V, p. 381.)

I. St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, was born about 582 and died after 641. Children: 1. St. Chlodulf, Bishop of Metz. 2. Anschisus, of whom further.

(T. Hodgkin: "Italy and Her Invaders," Vol. VII, p. 24.)

II. Anschisus, son of St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, was born about 605. He was mayor of the palace of Austrasia from 632 to 638.

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He married Bega, daughter of Pepin of Landen (called Pepin I), mayor of the palace of the Merovingian King, Dagobert I of Austrasia. Child: 1. Pepin II, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Pepin II, son of Anschisus and Bega, called, although incorrectly, Pepin of Heristal or Herstal, died December 16, 714. About 678 he led the nobles of Austrasia against Ebroin, mayor of the palace and Neustria. His victory at the battle of Tertry in 687 marked the downfall of the Merovingians, although they still held the title of kings. He ruled under four of them. He fought the Frisians and after defeating their Duke, Radbod, brought them within the Christian Church. He likewise defended his frontiers against the Bavarians and Alamanni.

Pepin II married (first) Plectrude; (second) Alpaida or Chalpaida. Children of first marriage: 1. Drogo. 2. Grimwald. Children of second marriage. 3. Charles Martel, of whom further. 4. Childebrand.

(*Ibid.* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. IX, p. 612; Vol. XVII, p. 948.)

IV. Charles Martel, son of Pepin II and Alpaida or Chalpaida, was born about 688 and died October 22, 741. After the death of his father there was a period of anarchy. His nephews, grandchildren of Plectrude, were proclaimed rulers and Charles was thrown into prison. Austrasia (eastern portion of France) and Neustria (western France) were still separate. He escaped and defeated the Neustrians at Amblève in 716 and at Vincy the following year. He also took the title of mayor of the palace of Austrasia, thus uniting the northern part of the country. In 719 he forced Duke Odo of Aquitaine to recognize his suzerainty. He also became renowned for his victories over the Moors. They had conquered Spain in 711 and later crossed the Pyrenees and advanced on Gaul as far as Tours. His brilliant victory, in October, 732, over the Moors ended the last of the Arab invasion and led to his being called Martel (the Hammer). He then took the offensive against them in southern France. His victories over the Germans resulted in the annexation of Frisia, the end of the Duchy of Alemannia, intervention in Bavaria and the payment

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of tribute by the Saxons. Pope Gregory III attempted to gain his aid against the Lombards, but was unsuccessful. For a few years before his death there was no king of the Merovingian line and in 741 he divided the kingdom between his two sons as though he were master of the realm. Charles Martel married Chrotrudis. Children: 1. Carloman, succeeded his father in Austrasia and western Germany; abdicated in 747. 2. Pepin III, of whom further.

(“Encyclopædia Britannica,” 14th edition, Vol. V, p. 293.)

V. Pepin III, called Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel and Chrotrudis, succeeded his father in Neustria, the western part of the kingdom, while his brother, Carloman, held the eastern part. They both kept the title of mayor of the palace and were the actual rulers of the country. They appointed Childeric III, probably a Merovingian, as King, but presided over tribunals, convoked councils of the church, and made war themselves. Carloman abdicated and retired to a monastery in 747. Pepin was thus sole master of both Austrasia and Neustria and after consulting Pope Zacharias took the title of King. He was crowned by St. Boniface in 751 and was later crowned by Pope Stephen II, who also made him a Patrician of Rome. In return for these favors Pepin made two expeditions against the Lombards. He took the exarchate of Ravenna from them and conferred it on the Pope. This marked the beginning of the Papal States. After an eight-year war he occupied Aquitaine.

Pepin III married Bertha, daughter of Chiribert, Count of Laon. Children: 1. Charlemagne, of whom further. 2. Carloman.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 948.)

VI. Charlemagne, son of Pepin III or Pepin the Short and Bertha of Laon, was born April 2, 742-43, died January 28, 814, and was buried at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the early part of his reign he invaded northern Italy, putting an end to the Lombard kingdom. From 774 to 799 he was at war with the Saxons, at that time a heathen race east of the Rhine. In 785, Widukind, Saxon leader, submitted and was baptized a Christian, but resistance continued in the outlying portions of the region. Bavaria was next annexed and this brought Charlemagne in conflict with the Avars, whose Khan became a Christian in 805. Expeditions were also sent against the Arabs of north

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Spain. On December 25, 800, while in Rome, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III, thus reviving the Roman Empire. After a naval war in the Adriatic, in which he surrendered some disputed territory, Charlemagne was saluted by the Greek envoys as Basileus, the equality of the two empires being thus recognized. The reign of Charlemagne witnessed a revival of arts and letters, a revision of Frankish law, and the writing of the laws of the Saxons, Thuringians and Frisians.

Charlemagne married (first), in 770, Hermengarde or Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, King of Lombardy; (second), in 771, Hildegard, born in 757, died April 30, 782, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Swabia; (third), in 783, Fastrada, who died in 794, daughter of Rudolph, Count of Franconia; (fourth) Liutgarde, who died June 4, 800. Children of second marriage: 1. Charles, born in 772, died December 4, 811, was King of Germany; left no issue. 2. Rothrude or Rotrude, born in 773, died June 6, 810; married Roricon I, Count of Maine. 3. Adelside, Abbess of Fara, born in 775, died June 6, 810. 4. Pepin. See Counts of Vermandois I. 5. Louis I, of whom further. 6. Lothair, born in 779, died in 780. 7. Bertha, died in 853. 8. Gisele, born in 781. 9. Hildegard, born in 782, died in 822; Abbess of Argenteuil; married Eberhard I, Lord Beutelsbach. Children of third marriage: 10. Theodrade, Abbess of Argenteuil. 11. Hiltrude, Abbess of Faremontier. Child of fourth marriage: 12. Emma, died in 839; married Eginhard, Abbot.

(C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, pp. 325-26, 417. P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. I, pp. 28-29. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. V, pp. 256-59.)

VII. Louis I, surnamed the Pious, son of Charlemagne and Hildegard of Swabia, was born at Chasseneuil in Central France in 772 and died near Ingelheim, June 20, 840. As a child, in 781, he was crowned King of Aquitaine. His father planned to divide the empire among his three sons, but on account of the death of the other two, Louis became successor in the empire, his nephew Bernard, son of Pepin, becoming King of Italy. Louis was crowned Emperor by his father at Aachen in 813. Three years later he was crowned a second time by Pope Stephen IV at Reims. His tastes were ecclesiastical

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rather than military, and he earned the surname Pious through his liberality to the church and for his attempt to reform and purify monastic life. Soon after his coronation he arranged for a division of the empire among his three sons, but he later married a second time and included Charles, a son by the second marriage, in a new arrangement. The remainder of his reign was marked by a series of revolts on the part of the elder sons. At times they fought among themselves, at times against their father, and on two occasions practically deposed him. With the death of Pepin, the empire was divided among the other three, including Charles.

Louis I married (first), in 798, Ermengarde, daughter of Ingram, Duke of Hasbaigne. She died October 3, 818, and he married (second), in 819, Judith, who was born in 800 and died April 19, 843, daughter of Welfe or Guelph I, Count of Bavaria. Children of first marriage: 1. Lothair, born in 799, died in 855; Emperor. 2. Pepin, born in 803, died in 838; King of Aquitaine. 3. Louis, called the German, born in 805, died in 876; King of Bavaria. 4. Adelaide, married Conrad, Count of Auxerre. 5. Alpaïda, married Begon Conrad, Count of Paris. 6. Hildegard, died in 842; married Count Thierry. Children of second marriage: 7. Gisele, born in 820; married, in 843, Eberhard, Duke of Frioul. 8. Charles II, of whom further.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14 edition, Vol. XIV, p. 410. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, pp. 326-27.)

VIII. Charles II, surnamed the Bald, son of Louis I, the Pious, and Judith of Bavaria, was born in 823 and died October 5, 877. The death of Louis the Pious in 840 led to war between his three surviving sons, Charles allying himself with Louis in resisting the claims of Lothair as Emperor. Their victory led to the oaths of Strasbourg and the treaty of Verdun in 843, which definitely broke the unity of the empire. Charles secured the kingdom of the West Franks, corresponding largely to what is now France, while Louis secured the portions of the empire which were German. Lothair had the title of Emperor and received a region between France and Germany, including Italy and the valleys of the Rhone, Saone and Meuse. After a few quiet years, following this treaty, various attempts were made by each of the brothers to increase his dominions and it was at

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this time that Norman raiders reached northern France. Following the death of Emperor Louis II, Charles went to Italy, securing the imperial crown at Rome with the support of Pope John VIII. He made a second expedition to Italy to aid the Pope against the Saracens and died on his way back to France.

Charles II married (first), in 842, Hermentrude, who died October 6, 869, daughter of Eudes, Count of Orleans. He married (second), in 870, Richilde, daughter of Thierry I, Duke of Burgundy. Children of first marriage: 1. Judith, married (first) Aethelwulf or Ethelwulf, of England (Saxon Kings of England II.) She married (second) Aethelbald or Ethelbald. (Saxon Kings of England II, Child I.) She married (third) Baldwin I, Count of Flanders. 2. Carloman, born in 845, died in 877, Abbot of Esternach. 3. Louis II, of whom further. 4. Charles, born in 848, died in 866, King of Aquitaine. 5. Lothaire, died in 866, Abbot of St. German of Auxerre. 6. Ermentrude, Abbess.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. V, p. 259; Vol. IX, p. 613. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, p. 328.)

IX. Louis II, King of France, surnamed *le Bègue*, or the Stammerer, son of Charles II and Hermentrude of Orleans, was born November 1, 846, and died April 10, 879. In 877, he succeeded his father as King of France, but not as Emperor, and was crowned by Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, December 8 following. His reign lasted only eighteen months. During his reign, as well as that of his father and his successors, the feudal system gained in strength at the expense of the monarchy, the great nobles establishing strong principalities, such as Flanders, Aquitaine and Burgundy, with the King possessing little except the appearance of royalty.

Louis II married (first), in 863, Ansgard, daughter of Adelis, Count of Harduin; (second) Liutgarde, also called Adelaide, daughter of Ludolfe, Duke of Saxony. Children of first marriage: 1. Louis III, King of Neustria, called Louis III of France, died without issue. 2. Carloman, King of Aquitaine, called King of France, died without issue. Child of second marriage: 3. Charles III, of whom further.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. XIV, p. 414. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. I, p. 174.

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P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. I, pp. 34-35.)

X. *Charles III*, King of France, surnamed the Simple, son of Louis II and Liutgarde or Adelaide of Saxony, was born in 879 and died October 7, 929. After the death of his father, France came into possession of the German branch of the Carolingians and, with the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887, was ruled for a time by Odo, son of Robert the Strong. Charles gained the recognition of many notables as heir to the throne in 893, but secured possession of the whole kingdom only by the death of his rival five years later. The most important event of his reign was the treaty with the Normans in 911, by which they secured the territory later known as Normandy and their leader was baptized as a Christian. In 920 the barons, jealous of royal authority, rebelled and elected Robert, brother of Odo, as King. After defeating him, Charles was imprisoned at Château Thierry and Peronne, where he died.

Charles III was married three times. The name of his first wife is not known. He married (second), in 907, Frederona, sister of Bovo, Bishop of Chalon; (third) Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, daughter of Edward the Elder, King of England. (Saxons Kings of England IV, Child 7.) Child of first marriage: 1. Gisele (according to Anselme, of the first marriage, but according to Allstrom, of the third marriage), married Rollo, Duke of Normandy. Children of second marriage: 2. Ermentrude. 3. Frederune. 4. Hildegarde. 5. Rotrude. Child of third marriage: 6. Louis IV, of whom further.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. V, p. 274; Vol. IX, p. 614.)

XI. *Louis IV*, King of France, surnamed *d'Outremer*, son of Charles III and Eadgifu or Eadgyfu of England, was born in 921 and died September 10, 954. At the time his father was deposed and imprisoned, his mother fled with him to England and for this reason he was later given the name "d'Outremer" or "from overseas." After the death of Rudolph of Burgundy, who for a time was King of France, Hugh the Great and other French nobles chose Louis as King and he was consecrated at Laon in 936. His reign was marked by a series of rebellions on the part of the nobles who refused to recognize royal

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authority, although he was backed by the Pope and Otto the Great. In 937 the Hungarians invaded Burgundy and Aquitaine and they later made a second invasion of southern France.

Louis IV married, in 939, Gerberge, who was born in 912 and died in 969, daughter of Henry I, German or Holy Roman Emperor. Children: 1. Lothair, born in 941, died in 986; his son, Louis V, was the last Carolingian King of France and died without issue. 2. Carloman, born in 942, died in 947. 3. Mathilda, born in 943, died in 992; married Conrad, King of Burgundy. 4. Louis, born in 948, died in 954. 5. Gerberge, of whom further. 6. Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, born at Laon in 953, died in 991 or 994; married (first) Boune, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Ardennes; (second) Agnes, daughter of Heribert of Vermandois, Count of Troyes. 7. Alberade, married Renaud, Count of Rouci and Reims. 8. Hildegarde, married Thierry II, Count of Holland.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. XIV, p. 414.)

XII. *Gerberge*, daughter of Louis IV and Gerberge, married Albert I, Count of Vermandois. (Counts of Vermandois VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The First de Mandeville Line)

Mandeville, written also Manville and Manvell, is a Norman surname of locality origin, from Mandeville or Magneville near Valognes. Mandeville, near Louviers, and Mandeville in the arrondissement of Bayeux, were known as *Magna Villa* ("great estate") in the twelfth century, and the surname, corrupted from the Latin, appears De Mandavilla in medieval charters.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, listed in Domesday Book as Geoffrey de Magna Villa, was living in 1086, and is buried in Westminster Abbey. He was tenant-in-chief in many counties in England at the time of the Survey, being the recognized grantee of the vast but scattered estates of Ansgar (Esgar), who had owned large parts of Essex and other counties prior to the Conquest. Later he received the holdings of a thegn named Friebern, the lordships of Great and Little Rycott,

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and other lands. His estates in Essex were quite compact and included some twelve thousand acres in the heart of the county, centering at High Easter and Great Waltham. Those outside of Essex comprised lands in Berkshire, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Suffolk.

Geoffrey de Mandeville married (first) Athelaise. He married (second) Leceline. Children of first marriage: 1. William, of whom further. 2. A daughter, married Geoffrey de Boulogne, of Carshalton.

("Victoria History of the Counties of England: Essex," Vol. I, pp. 343, 504-13. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. V, pp. 113-16. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 544. F. Lee: "History of the Prebendal Church of St. Mary of Thame," p. 331. G. Lipscombe: "History of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 158.)

II. William de Mandeville, son of Geoffrey (1) and Athelaise de Mandeville, died about 1130. He founded the Monastery of Black Canons at Stoneley in Huntingdonshire. He is said to have married Margaret, daughter of Eudo de Rye or de Rie, Steward to the Duke of Normandy and Dapifer of Colchester, County Essex, but authorities disagree on this point. Children: 1. Geoffrey, of whom further. 2. Beatrice, Generation III of the Second de Mandeville Line.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. V, p. 116. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 544. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. IX, p. 781.)

III. Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, son of William de Mandeville, died in September, 1144. In 1140 he was created Earl of Essex and 1141 became Constable of the Tower. He founded the Abbey of Walden.

Geoffrey de Mandeville married Rohese de Ver, daughter of Aubrey de Ver, Chamberlain of England. Children: 1. Ernulf, died in 1178. 2. Maud, of whom further. 3. Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, died October 21, 1166. 4. William, died November 14, 1189. 5. Robert, died in 1189.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. V, p. 116.)

IV. Maud de Mandeville, daughter of Geoffrey (2) and Rohese (de Ver) de Mandeville, married (first) Piers de Lutegareshale.

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She married (second) Hugh de Boclande. Children of first marriage: 1. Robert, surnamed FitzPiers, of Cherill, died in 1186. 2. Geoffrey, of whom further. Son of second marriage: 3. William, married Maud de Say. (Second de Mandeville Line IV, Child I.)

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Geoffrey FitzPiers or de Mandeville*, Earl of Essex, son of Piers and Maud (de Mandeville) de Lutegareshale, died October 14, 1213. Through his first marriage he became heir to the earldom of Essex, and he and some of his descendants assumed the surname de Mandeville. He was a justice of the forest from 1185 to 1189, sheriff of Northamptonshire from 1184 to 1189, and sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire from 1190 to 1193. In 1198 he was appointed Justiciar of England and held this office until his death.

Geoffrey FitzPiers or de Mandeville married (first), in 1184, Beatrice de Say. (Second de Mandeville Line V.) He married (second), in 1205, Aveline de Clare, daughter of Roger, Earl of Clare. Children of first marriage: 1. Geoffrey, surnamed de Say, Earl of Essex and Gloucester, surety of *Magna Charta* in 1215; died without issue; married Isabel, Countess of Gloucester. 2. William, surnamed de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, died without issue in 1228; married Christine, daughter of Robert FitzWalter. 3. Henry, Dean of Wolverhampton. 4. Maud, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 5. John, surnamed FitzGeoffrey, died November 23, 1258; married Isabel Bigod, daughter of Hugh Bigod. 6. Hawise. 7. Cecily.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 122-24. F. Lee: "History of the Prebendal Church of St. Mary of Thame," p. 331.)

VI. *Maud de Mandeville*, daughter of Geoffrey FitzPiers or de Mandeville and Beatrice (de Say) de Mandeville, died August 27, 1236. She became heiress to the earldom of Essex after the death without issue of her brothers. She married (first) Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England. (de Bohun V.) She married (second) Roger de Dauntesey.

(G. Lipscomb: "History of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 158. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 544. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. V, pp. 122-24.)

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Second de Mandeville Line)

For Introduction and Generations I and II, see the First de Mandeville Line.

III. Beatrice de Mandeville, daughter of William de Mandeville, died April 19, 1197, and was buried at Walden Abbey. She became heiress to the Mandeville estates after the death of her nephew William, who, like his brother, was Earl of Essex and died without issue. She married (first) Hugh Talbot, of Normandy, whom she divorced. She married (second) William de Say, who died in August, 1144, at the siege of Burwell Castle, son of Engelram de Say and grandson of Picot de Say. Children of second marriage: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Geoffrey, died May 19, 1214.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. V, p. 120.)

IV. William de Say, son of William and Beatrice (de Mandeville) de Say, died August 1, 1177. Children: 1. Maud, married William de Boclande. (First de Mandeville Line IV, Child 3.) 2. Beatrice, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Beatrice de Say, daughter of William de Say, died before April 19, 1197, and was buried first at Chicksand, later at Shuldhham Priory. She married, as his first wife, Geoffrey FitzPiers or de Mandeville. (First de Mandeville Line V.)

(*Ibid.*, pp. 122-24, 433.)

(The Kings of Scotland Line)

Scotland at the beginning of recorded history was composed of the kingdom of the Picts in the north, with other warlike tribes of their vicinity; the kingdom of the Scots or Dalriada from Ireland in the west, later called Argyll; the Cymric or Welsh in the southwest, called the kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons, and the Angles in the southeast. The English domain included the part of Scotland called Lothian and the northern part of England which for many years was contested between the two countries. Gaelic was spoken by both the Picts and the Scots. Each of these regions was in constant warfare with the others, but with the union of the Picts and Dalriada Scots came a kingdom which absorbed the Welsh and English region south of it.



ALFRED
THE
GREAT

CHART OF DESCENT FROM SCOTTISH AND SAXON KINGS



EGBERT

37 Kenneth I MacAlpin, King of the Scots, d.860; m. the daughter of Donald of the Isles

36 Constantine I, King of Scotland or Alba, was killed in battle 877; reigned 863-877

35 Donald, d. abt. 900; r. 889-900

34 Malcolm I, King of Scotland, slain 954; reigned 943-954

33 Kenneth II, King of Scotland, d. 995; reigned 971-995

32 Malcolm II, King of Scotland, d. November 25, 1034; m. a daughter of the Duke of Normandy

31 Bethoc m. abt. 1000, Crinan the Thane, hereditary Lay Abbot of Dunkeld & Seneschal of the Isles

30 Duncan I, King of Scotland, slain by his cousin Macbeth, m. a cousin of Siward, E. of Northumberland

29 Malcolm III "Canmore" King of Scotland, 1054-1093; slain Nov. 13, 1093; m. 2nd

28 David I, called the Saint, King of Scotland, b. abt. 1080; d. May 24, 1153; m. about 1114, Matilda, widow of Simon de Senlis (St Liz) & d. & heir of Waltheof, E. of Huntingdon

27 Henry, Prince of Scotland & E. of Huntingdon, d. 1152; m. Adeline (Ada) de Warenne

26 Margaret of Huntingdon m. 2nd Humphrey de Bohun, hereditary Constable of England

25 Henry de Bohun, E. of Hereford & Constable of England, d. 1220; m. Maud de Mandeville

24 Humphrey de Bohun, E. of Hereford & Constable of England, d. Sept. 24, 1217; became Earl of Essex 1236; m. 1st Maud de Lusignan, d. of Raoul, Count of Eu

23 Alice or Ela de Bohun m. Roger de Tony, Lord of Flamstead, Bliston & Helston

22 Ralph de Tony, Lord of Bliston, Helston & Carnanton, b. abt. 1255; m. Clarissa

21 Alice de Tony, d. bfr. Feb. 15, 1324-5; m. 3rd. William la Zouche, Ld. Zouche de Mortimer

20 Joyce la Zouche, living May 4, 1372; m. (as 2nd wife) John, Lord Botetourt, d. 1385

19 Joyce de Botetourt, d. 1420; m. 2nd. 1388. Sir Adam de Peshall, Knight, d. 1419

18 Margaret de Peshall, d. Aug. 5, 1420, m. Sir Richard Mytton, Knight, d. bfr. Oct. 26, 1419

17 William Mytton, Esq., of Weston, living 1485; m. Margaret, d. of Thos. Corbet of Lee

16 John Mytton, Esq., of Weston, d. Feb. 1500; sheriff of Staffordshire 1495 & 1496. m. 2nd Joan Middlemore, d. July 26, 1475, d. of Richard Middlemore, Esq.

15 Margaret Mytton m. Robert Fulwood of Clay Hall

14 Robert Fulwood m. Maria Hunter or Hunt, d. of Thomas Hunter of Studley

13 Anne Fulwood m. May 20, 1566, Richard Gunne, of Saintbury, Co. Gloucester, Eng.

12 Ellen Gunne, d. bfr. Aug. 3, 1601; m. 2nd John Tomes of Long Marston, Co. Gloucester

11 Alice Tomes, d. abt. 1646; m. soon after July 5, 1615. Gov. Thomas Welles, b. in Eng. abt. 1598; d. in Conn. Jan. 14, 1659-60; treasurer of Conn. 1639-41 & 1648-52; elected Gov. 1655

10 Samuel Welles, b. Eng. abt. 1630; d. Conn. July 15, 1675; m. 1659, Elizabeth Hollister

9 Sarah Welles, b. Sept. 29, 1664; m. 1st, Dec. 4, 1683, Ephraim Hawley, b. 1659; d. Apr. 18, 1690

8 Daniel Hawley, b. Sept. 20, 1684; d. July 28, 1750; m. Mar. 6, 1706-7, Elizabeth Brinsmade, b. abt. 1684; d. Jan. 6, 1763; d. of Paul & Eliz. (Hawkins) Brinsmade

7 Oliver Hawley, b. Jan. 31, 1708; will dated February 15, 1776; m. Bethia

6 Ichabod Hawley, b. Oct. 3, 1731; d. after 1791; m. Jan. 3, 1751, Eunice Curtis, b. 1728

5 Bette Hawley, b. 1753; d. after Mar. 11, 1806; m. Israel Seeley, b. Sept. 9, 1744; d. 1776

4 Lewis Seeley, b. abt. 1772; d. April 12, 1841, m. Anna Beardsley, b. 1779, d. Jan. 18, 1868

3 Daniel Hawley Seeley, b. Apr. 13, 1805; d. June 28, 1892; m. Sept. 2, 1829, Julia Ann Taylor

2 Bertha Julia Seeley, b. 1831; c. Aug. 1870; m. 2nd Alexander Ramsey Bray, d. 1917

1 Everett Lewis Bray, b. May 18, 1864; d. 1935; m. Jan. 8, 1902, VIOLA ESTELLA SWART

I Bertha Beatrice Bray m. William L. Richards

i Sally Richards



SCOTLAND



HUNTINGDON



WARREN
(DE WARRENNE)



DE BOHUN

BRAY-SWART AND ALLIED FAMILIES

All early history of the Celtic Kings of Scotland is obscure. By the principle of tanistry, brothers as nearer in degree of kinship, invariably succeeded before the sons of the last chief. Less obscurity obtains since the union of Picts and Scots under a king of Scottish race, A. D. 850.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 430.)

I. Kenneth I MacAlpin, King of the Scots, son of Alpin, King of Dalriad Scots, died in 860. His father was slain in battle with the Picts, July 20, 834. Kenneth succeeded him at first in Galloway and seven years later defeated the Picts. This led to a united kingdom of the Scots and Picts known as Alban. His rule over the united kingdom lasted sixteen years, being succeeded by that of his brother Donald, who reigned for three years. Kenneth I moved the chief seat of the kingdom from Argyll and Dalriada to Scone, while the chief ecclesiastical center was at Dunkeld, where he built a church to which he removed the relics of St. Columba. From these centers the Scottish monarchy gradually expanded. He invaded Northumbria six times.

Kenneth I MacAlpin married the daughter of Donald of the Isles. Children: 1. Constantine I, of whom further. 2. Aedh, attempted to reign for a single year after his brother Constantine, but his descendants held the crown at various periods. 3. A daughter, married Cu or Run, a prince of the Strathclyde Britons. 4. A daughter, married Olaf the White, a Norse King of Dublin. 5. A daughter, married Aedh Finnliath, King of Ireland.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. X, pp. 1325-27. R. Rowland: "History of the Kings of Scotland," p. 51.)

II. Constantine I, King of Scotland or Alba, son of Kenneth I MacAlpin, was killed in battle in 877. Constantine began his reign in 863, succeeding his uncle Donald, brother of Kenneth I. The kingdom included the region north of the Forth and Clyde, which was the country that suffered from attacks by the Norsemen. Olaf the White, Norse King of Dublin, occupied what had been the country of the Picts in 865 and his son Thorstein attacked the northern districts. Further south, Halfdane ravaged the country and still other leaders took their place when they were defeated. Constantine was slain,

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while fighting them in the parish of Forgan in Fife. Child: 1. Donald, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 972-73.)

III. Donald, son of Constantine I, died about 900 while attempting to reduce highland robber tribes. He is described as Donald IV of Scotland in the "Dictionary of National Biography," but this includes early Kings of Dalriada, who ruled there prior to the union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth I. Dunbar, in his "Scottish Kings," seems more logical in describing him as Donald II, the first Donald being a brother of Kenneth I. After the death of Constantine I his brother Aedh attempted to reign for about a year, being succeeded by other descendants of Kenneth I. The reign of Donald, lasting from 889 to 900, was a period in which the Danes began to attempt settlements instead of ravaging the coasts. Chronicles and annals which treat of early Scottish history give little regarding his reign. Child: 1. Malcolm I, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 1113.)

IV. Malcolm I, King of Scotland, son of Donald, King of Scotland, was slain in 954. He did not begin his reign until 943. During the interval between the death of his father and the beginning of his own reign the kingdom was ruled by Constantine II, son of Aedh and cousin of Donald. Malcolm's reign began with the annexation of Moray which lay beyond Spey. About the same time Edmund, Saxon King of England, expelled the Danes from Northumbria and Cumberland, giving the region to Malcolm on condition that he be his fellow-worker both on land and sea. It is disputed whether this was an alliance or a relation of vassalage. About 950 Olaf Sitricson made an attempt to restore Danish power in Northumbria, but was defeated by the Saxons. Children: 1. Kenneth II, of whom further. 2. Duff, King of Scotland, 960-67.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 842.)

V. Kenneth II, King of Scotland, son of Malcolm I, died in 995, being killed by Fenella, whose son he had put to death. He began his reign in 971. After the death of his father the succession went to a son of Constantine II, Indulf, who reigned from 954 to 960. It then

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went to Duff, who was a son of Malcolm I and reigned until 967. The next king was Culen, who was a son of Indulf and reigned from 967 to 971, when Kenneth II succeeded.

Kenneth II continued the war with the Britons of Strathclyde which had been in progress under his predecessors and engaged in raids on Northumbria. It is believed that the "Pictish Chronicle," which, with that of Fordoun, is the oldest source of Scottish history, was composed during his reign. His relation with Eadgar, King of Wessex, was disputed, some English sources claiming that he and other leaders of the Scotch and Welsh rowed Eadgar on the River Dee as a sign of homage. A statement that he came to London and received Lothian on condition of rendering homage is believed to be an invention to conceal the conquest of that region by his son Malcolm II. During the reign of Kenneth II the chief trend was the consolidation of the central districts of the country from the Forth and Clyde to the Mounth. Child: 1. Malcolm II, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 1327-28.)

VI. Malcolm II, King of Scotland, son of Kenneth II, died November 25, 1034. He came to the throne after a reign by Constantine III, son of Culen and descendant of Aedh, son of Kenneth I. Constantine III was the last of his line to reign and was followed by Kenneth III, 997-1005, son of Duff, who was brother of Kenneth II. Malcolm II defeated Kenneth III in Perthshire in 1005. He began his reign by a raid on Northumbria in which he besieged Durham, but was defeated by Uchtred, who was rewarded by receiving two earldoms on the southeast border of Scotland. A portion of this territory was later held by his brother, who was defeated by Malcolm and Eugenius, King of the Strathclyde Britons. This led to the cession of Lothian to Scotland on condition that its local customs and laws should be retained. It was through this region that Anglo-Saxon and Norman civilization reached Scotland. About the same time the region known as Strathclyde became an appanage of the Scottish Kingdom under Duncan, grandson of Malcolm. It lay north of the Solway, while the English Kings ruled south of it. In spite of attempts on both sides to change it, this remained the boundary of the two kingdoms. With his death in 1034 ended the male line founded by Kenneth I MacAlpin.

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Malcolm II married a daughter of the Duke of Normandy. Children: 1. Bethoc, of whom further. 2. Donada, married Finnlaec, Mormaer of Moray; child: i. Macbeth, King of Scotland. 3. A daughter, married Sigurd Hlodverson, Earl of Orkney.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 843-44. A. H. Dunbar: "Scottish Kings," pp. 4-7. R. Rowland: "History of the Kings of Scotland," p. 62.)

VII. Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II, King of Scotland, married, about 1000, Crinan the Thane, hereditary Lay Abbot of Dunkeld and Seneschal of the Isles. He held lands at Athol and was slain in battle at Dunkeld in 1045. Children: 1. Duncan, of whom further. 2. Maldred, succeeded to Gumbria.

(A. H. Dunbar: "Scottish Kings," p. 4.)

VIII. Duncan I, King of Scotland, son of Crinan, Lay Abbot of Dunkeld, and Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II, King of Scotland, succeeded his grandfather as King in 1034. Prior to that he had been King of the Strathclyde Britons. It is probable that he ruled over the whole territory south of the Forth and Clyde. Between his region and north Scotland, known as Orkney and ruled by his cousin, was Moray, ruled by its own Celtic Mormaer. The latter was also a cousin, Macbeth, son of Finnlaec. Macbeth, in alliance with his cousin, Thorfinn of Orkney, challenged the authority of Duncan. After a desperate struggle Duncan was defeated and slain. As early as the twelfth century a tradition grew up that he was murdered, which forms the basis of Shakespeare's "Macbeth."

Duncan I married, in 1030, a cousin of Siward, Earl of Northumberland. Children: 1. Malcolm III, of whom further. 2. Donald Bane, succeeded his brother Malcolm III as King of Scotland, reigning in 1093-94, and was succeeded by Duncan II. 3. Melmare.

(*Ibid.*, p. 14. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 157-58.)

IX. Malcolm III, called Canmore, son of Duncan I, succeeded to the throne of Scotland by the defeat of Macbeth in 1054. During his reign he carried on almost constant warfare, most of which was successful. He gave support to his brother-in-law, Edgar Atheling, in fighting William the Conqueror in Northumbria. In 1072 Wil-

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liam invaded Scotland and succeeded in a temporary conquest of the country, returning to England after Malcolm did homage. Later, in 1091, Malcolm raided northern England, in return for which William Rufus invaded Scotland and once more Malcolm did homage. In 1092, when in Gloucester, England, he declined to do homage and returned to Scotland in anger. He invaded Northumberland in 1093, but was ambuscaded near the Castle of Alnwick and slain November 13, 1093.

Malcolm III married (first) Ingibjorg, daughter of Earl Finn Arnason and widow of Thorfinn Sigurdson, Earl of Orkney; (second) Margaret of England. (Saxon Kings of England X.) Children of first marriage: 1. Duncan II, King of Scotland from May to November, 1094. 2. Malcolm. 3. Donald. Children of second marriage: 4. Eadward, died in 1093. 5. Eadmund, became a monk. 6. Aethelred, Abbot of Dunkeld. 7. Eadgar, King of Scotland, October, 1097, to January, 1107. 8. Alexander, King of Scotland from January, 1107, to April, 1124. 9. David I, of whom further. 10. Matilda, married, as his first wife, Henry I, King of England. 11. Mary, married Eustace III, Count of Boulogne.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XII, pp. 844-45. A. H. Dunbar: "Scottish Kings," pp. 31-32.)

X. *David I*, called the Saint, King of Scotland, son of Malcolm III and Margaret of England, was born in 1084 and died May 24, 1153. On the death of Eadgar, King of Scotland, in 1107, the territories of the Scottish Crown were divided in accordance with the terms of his will between his two brothers, Alexander and David. Alexander, together with the crown, received Scotland north of the Forth and the Clyde, David the southern district with the title of Earl of Cumbria. The death of Alexander in 1124 gave David possession of the whole. In 1127 in the character of an English Baron he swore fealty to Matilda as heiress to her father Henry I, King of England, and when the usurper Stephen ousted her in 1135 David vindicated her cause in arms and invaded England. But Stephen marched north with a great army, whereupon David made peace. The peace, however, was not kept. After threatening an invasion in 1137, David marched into England in 1138, but sustained a crushing

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defeat on Cutton Moor in the engagement known as the battle of the Standard. In 1141 he joined Matilda in London and accompanied her to Winchester, but after a narrow escape from capture returned to Scotland. From that time on he remained in Scotland and devoted himself to the political and ecclesiastical reorganization of the kingdom. He was a devoted son of the church and founded five bishoprics and many monasteries.

David I married, about 1114, Matilda, widow of Simon de Senlis or St. Liz, and daughter and heiress of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon. Children: 1. Malcolm, strangled when a child by his great-uncle, Donald Bane. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Claricia, died unmarried. 4. Hodierna, died unmarried.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. VII, pp. 859-60. Burke: "Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage," p. 45.)

XI. *Henry*, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon, son of David I and Matilda of Huntingdon, died June 12, 1152. He married, about 1114, Adeline or Ada de Warenne. (de Warenne VIII, Child 5.) Children: 1. Malcolm, succeeded his grandfather. 2. William, surnamed "the Lion," King of Scotland. 3. David, Earl of Huntingdon, in England, died June 17, 1219; married, August 26, 1190, Maud de Kevelioc, daughter of Hugh de Kevelioc, Earl of Chester. 3. Ada, married, in 1161, Florent, Count of Holland, whose descendant, Florent, Count of Holland, was a competitor for the Crown in 1291-92. 4. Margaret, of whom further. 5. Matilda, died young.

(Burke: "Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage," p. 45.)

XII. *Margaret of Huntingdon*, daughter of Prince Henry of Scotland and Adeline or Ada de Warenne, married (first), in 1160, Conan de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, who died February 20, 1170-1171. She married (second) Humphrey (4) de Bohun. (de Bohun IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Saxon Kings of England)

The period in English history, usually called Anglo-Saxon, goes back to the early ninth century. It derives its name from Alfred the Great, who was the first of the Saxon Kings of England to sign his name "*rex Angul-Saxonum.*" The origin of this title is not quite clear. It



EGBERT

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is generally believed to have arisen from the final union of the various kingdoms under Alfred in 886. Bede, in his "Ecclesiastical History," states that the people of the more northern kingdoms, *i. e.*, East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, belonged to the Angles, while those of Essex, Sussex and Wessex were sprung from the Saxons. Other early writers, however, do not observe these distinctions. Neither in language nor in customs is there any evidence of any appreciable difference between the two groups of Angles and Saxons. There is no doubt, however, that the Angles and the Saxons were different nations originally and that they coalesced in very early times, before the invasion.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," 14th edition, Vol. I, p. 409. W. H. Stevenson: "Asser's Life of King Alfred," pp. 148-52.)

I. Egbert, Ecgberht or Ecgbert, King of the West Saxons, son of Ealhmund, an under-king of the kingdom of Kent, died in 839.

After about three years' exile in France, during which he resided with Charlemagne, King of the Franks, Egbert returned to England in 802 to ascend the West Saxon throne. Soon afterwards he held a "parliament" at Winchester, in which he ordered that the name of his kingdom should be changed to England.

Egbert spent a large part of his life in war. He conquered the West Welsh or the area known as Cornwall, subdued the people of Surrey, Sussex and Essex, and in 829 marched against Northumbria and Mercia. Though Egbert had succeeded in uniting a large part of England under his control, he was not King of England, for the idea of a territorial kingship belongs to a later period.

There are still extant coins struck by Egbert, though these are now rare. He was on friendly terms with the Archbishop of Canterbury and with other bishops of England. In 834 his dominions were invaded by Scandinavian pirates and in 837 he fought a fierce battle against them at Hengestdune. When he died in 839 after a reign of thirty-seven years, he was succeeded by his son, Aethelwulf or Ethelwulf, of whom further.

(W. Stubbs: "The Constitutional History of England," Vol. I, pp. 172, 235. W. Stubbs: "Egbert," in "Dictionary of Christian Biography," Vol. II, pp. 46, 49.)

II. Ethelwulf or Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons and Kentishmen, son of Egbert, Ecgberht or Ecgbert, died June 13, 858.

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It is said that Ethelwulf was Bishop of Winchester and it is known that he was educated there. In 825 his father sent him to gain the Kingdom of Kent by war, and Ethelwulf soon subdued this region and placed it under his father's rule. Like his father Ethelwulf had to fight off the invasion of the Scandinavians. His success against them was not as great as his father's for Ethelwulf lacked the power and energy to conduct long wars. When the Danes invaded London, in 842, Ethelwulf did little to stop them. The invasion of the Norsemen encouraged the Welsh to rise against their conqueror in 853, but they were soon defeated by Ethelwulf's trusted followers. Soon afterwards he defeated the Norsemen at Ockley. To celebrate this victory, Ethelwulf decided to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. In 855 he left England and at first went to the court of Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, who received him with many honors. At Rome Ethelwulf was received by Pope Leo IV. He made a large number of valuable offerings to the Pope and promised a yearly payment to the See of Rome, which is said to have been the origin of Peter's Pence. Returning to England by way of France, where he was married to his second wife by the famous bishop-historian, Hincmar of Reims, he died two years after his pilgrimage and was buried at Winchester.

Ethelwulf or Aethelwulf married (first) Osburh or Osburga, daughter of Oslac, the royal cupbearer. He married (second), in July, 856, Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, King of the Franks. (Carlovingian Kings of France VIII, Child 1.) Children of first marriage: 1. Aethelbald or Ethelbald, who received, at his father's death, the Kingdom of Kent; married, as her second husband, his stepmother, Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, King of the Franks. 2. Aethelstan or Ethelstan, said to have been the eldest son, died at an early age. 3. Aethelbert or Ethelbert. 4. Aethelred or Ethelred. 5. Alfred or Aelfred, of whom further.

(A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs: "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents of England and Ireland," Vol. III, pp. 636-48. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 904-06.)

III. Alfred or Aelfred, surnamed the Great, King of the West Saxons, youngest son of Ethelwulf or Aethelwulf and Osburh or Osburga, was born in 849 and died October 28, 901. He succeeded his



KING ALFRED

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three older brothers, Aethelbald, Aethelbert and Aethelred, whose successive reigns covered the period from 857 to 870. His own reign commenced in 871 and ended with his death in 901.

The name of Alfred the Great still lives in popular memory, and around his career a vast mass of legend has gathered. Popular belief has made him into a kind of embodiment of the national being; he has become the model English King of the model Englishman. But even the legendary reputation of Alfred is hardly too great for his real merits. He was at once a captain, lawgiver, saint and scholar and devoted himself with a single mind to the welfare of his people.

In 855 Alfred was sent to Rome by his father, where Pope Leo IV took him as his "Bishopson." When in 871 the English invaded Wessex, Alfred was the leading warrior on the English side and gained the great victory at Ashdown. Alfred won even greater fame in 878 against the Danes in the battle of Edington, as a result of which the Danish King was made to receive baptism. After this victory the English people began to look to Alfred and the West Saxons as their champions and deliverers from attacks of the Danes, and Alfred was now recognized by all as the overlord of England.

The general outward results of the reign of Alfred were twofold: He saved England from the invasions of the Scandinavians and made his own kingdom the center of union for the whole country. The laws which Alfred issued were designed to mold the people of England into one nation. He did much to wipe out the distinction between the Welsh, Britons and Jutes. Another characteristic of these laws was their intensely religious character and through them he did much to restore monastic life in England. The intellectual side of Alfred's character is as great as the ecclesiastical and military. He translated many works, intended for the instruction of his people, into the Teutonic dialect used by them. He did much to advance learning in England, and in this period Wessex won literary eminence. He also had compiled a history of the English nation, which is to this day our best source of knowledge of Alfred's times.

Alfred or Aelfred married, in 858, Ealhswith, daughter of Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Gainas. Children: 1. Edward or Eadward, of whom further. 2. Aethelward or Ethelward. 3. Aethelflaed or Ethelfled, married Ethelred of Mercia. 4. Aethelryth or Ethelryth,

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married Baldwin II, Count of Flanders. 5. Aethelgifu or Ethelgifu, Abbess of Shaftesbury.

(W. Stubbs: "The Constitutional History of England," Vol. I, pp. 99, 127, 191-97. W. H. Stevenson: "Asser's Life of King Alfred," pp. 20-96. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. I, pp. 152-61.)

IV. Edward or Eadward, surnamed the Elder, King of the Angles and Saxons, son of Alfred or Aelfred the Great, King of the West Saxons, and Ealhswith, died at Worcester in 924.

As a youth Edward distinguished himself in his father's wars against the Danes. He was as good a soldier as his father, but not as good a scholar. His reign is marked by the widening of his kingdom and the reduction of other princes to a condition of dependence. Edward still had to do much, despite his father's previous efforts, to keep the shores of England free from invasion. He erected a strong line of fortresses along the English shores to ward off the Danes. He extended the Saxon division of towns into shires in nearly all of England. In every way he advanced the dignity of the kingship and he did away with the old custom of clan chieftains. Thus he succeeded in creating a nation out of England, an accomplishment which his predecessors had vainly attempted. Edward also did much for the church by establishing some monasteries and endowing others. Because his reign was one marked with success, Edward has been called "the Unconquered King."

Edward the Elder married (first) Ecgwyn, a lady of high rank. He married (second), in 901, Aelflaed, daughter of Aethelhelm, one of his chieftains. He married (third) Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, daughter of Sigillin. Children of first marriage: 1. Aethelstan or Ethelstan. 2. Aelfred or Elfred. 3. Eadgyth, married Sihtric, Danish King of Northumbria. Children of second marriage: 4. Aelfweard. 5. Eadwine. 6. Aethelflaed, a nun. 7. Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, married, as his third wife, Charles III, King of France, surnamed the Simple. (Carlovingian Kings of France X.) 8. Aethelhild, a nun. 9. Eadhild, married Hugh the Great, Count of Paris. 10. Aelfgifu. 11. Eadgyth, married Otto, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Children of third marriage: 12. Edmund or Eadmund, of whom further. 13.

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Eadred. 14. Eadburh or Edburga, a nun. 15. Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, married Louis, King of Arles or Provence.

(J. R. Green: "The Conquest of England," pp. 189-215. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 419-23. W. Stubbs: "The Constitutional History of England," Vol. I, pp. 176, 183.)

V. Edmund or Eadmund, son of Edward the Elder and Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, became King on the death of his half-brother, Aethelstan or Ethelstan, on October 27, 940. He died in 946.

Edmund tried to conquer the north of England. At home his civil administration appears to have been marked by efforts to enforce order. His secular laws refer to his efforts to prevent robberies and contain provisions rendering a person guilty of murder responsible for his own act rather than holding his whole family responsible, as clan law had it. Edmund was slain in battle by a certain Liofa, who was himself slain by the King's men. After Edmund's death he was halowed as a saint and miracles were worked at his tomb.

Edmund married (first) Aelfgifu, who died in 944. It is said that he married (second) Aethelflaed, daughter of Aelfgar. Children of first marriage: 1. Eadwig or Edwy. 2. Edgar or Eadgar, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 401-02. J. R. Green: "The Conquest of England," pp. 268-81.)

VI. Edgar or Eadgar, surnamed the Peaceful, King of the English, son of Edmund or Eadmund and Aelfgifu, was born in 944 and died July 8, 975.

At the age of sixteen years he succeeded his brother Eadwig as King of the West Saxons. His reign was not eventful, though it was a period of national consolidation, peace and orderly government. Edgar did not interfere with the Danish districts in England, but granted them self-government in their districts. This conciliatory policy met with signal success, and the Danish population lived peacefully under his supremacy. He made alliances with Otto I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and received many gifts from him. His fame had spread abroad and he was respected by the rulers on the continent.

Edgar the Peaceful married (first) Aethelflaed, known for her beauty, as the "White Duck," daughter of Ordmaer. He married (second), in 964, Aelfthryth, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devon.

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Child of first marriage: 1. Eadward, called Edward the Martyr. Children of second marriage: 2. Eadmund, died in 972. 3. Aethelred, of whom further.

(J. R. Green: "The Conquest of England," pp. 281-312. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 365-70.)

VII. Aethelred, surnamed the Unready, King of England, son of Edgar the Peaceful and Aelfthryth, was born in 969 and died April 22, 1016. The fact that Aethelred was called "the Unready" does not imply that he lacked energy or resource, but that he lacked control. Indeed, throughout his reign he displayed considerable vigor, but it was generally misdirected. For he was impulsive, passionate, cruel, apt to lean on favorites and was guided by motives of temporary expediency. A worthless favorite, named Aethelsine, appears to have exercised considerable influence over the young King and to have led him to commit and sanction many acts of oppression. The invasions of the Danes became more pronounced during Aethelred's reign, and he was obliged to bribe the Danes. Aethelred also required that each shire in England should contribute to the fleet of the realm for the purpose of holding off the invaders. This act established a precedent among the English kings.

Aethelred married (first) Aelfgifu, said to have been a daughter of Thored, Earl of the Northumbrians; (second) Emma, daughter of Richard I, surnamed the Fearless, Duke of Normandy. Children of first marriage: 1. Aethelstan, died in 1016. 2. Ecgberht, died in 1005. 3. Edmund or Eadmund, of whom further. 4. Eadred. 5. Eadwig, slain by Cnut. 6. Eadgar. 7. Eadward. 8. Wulfhild, married the Ealdorman of East Anglia. 9. Eadgyth, married Eadric St. Reona. 10. Aelfgifu, married Earl Uhtred. 11. Edward, called the Confessor, born in 1004, died January 5, 1066; King of England. 1042-66, founder of Westminster Abbey, London; married, January 23, 1045, Edith or Eadgyth, daughter of Godwine, Earl of Wessex, and sister of Harold, King of England, January-October, 1066, who fell at the battle of Hastings, while resisting William the Conqueror's invasion of England. 12. Aelfred, slain in 1036. 13. Godgifu, married Drogo, Count of Mantes.

(E. A. Freeman: "The Norman Conquest of England," Vol. I, pp. 285-417. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 425-431, 891-97.)

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VIII. Edmund or Eadmund, called Ironside, King of the English, son of Aethelred the Unready and Aelfgifu, was born in 989, died at London, November 30, 1016, and was buried at Glastonbury. When the Danish King Canute invaded England in 1015, Edmund formed an army to meet him, joining forces with Eadric, Earl of Mercia, but a quarrel broke out between them and the Earl, after attempting to slay Edmund, went over to the side of Canute. After this desertion Edmund was unable to defend Mercia in 1016, for his levies declared they would not fight except under the King's leadership. Edmund sent for his father, who tried to assist him, but could accomplish nothing. Edmund then retired into Northumbria, joined Earl Uhtred, and harried Staffordshire and other parts of Eastern Mercia, which had submitted to Canute. King Aethelred's death in 1016 was followed by a double election to the English Crown. The citizens of London and those members of the Witan who were present in the city chose Edmund, while the rest of the Witan meeting at Southampton elected Canute. This resulted in further warfare, and Canute besieged London, whose inhabitants repulsed the attack. Edmund marched through Wessex and the western shires, receiving their submission and raising an army with which he defeated the Danes at Pen in Somersetshire. When Canute heard that Edmund had received the submission of the west, he lifted the siege of London and marched after him. Edmund was now able to raise another and larger force, and shortly after midsummer he met Canute's army at Sherston, in Wiltshire. The battle lasted two days and was indecisive, but Canute withdrew his forces, marched back and resumed the siege of London, thus leaving Edmund in undisputed possession of Wessex. Edmund followed Canute to London in order to relieve that city, then defeated the Danes at Brentford and Oxford and drove them into Sheppy. He was now joined by Eadric, and together they pursued the Danes into Essex, overtaking them at Assardun (or Ashington). Eadric again played the traitor and the English were routed with terrible slaughter. Finally the two kings in a friendly meeting decided to divide the kingdom. Edmund was to be King of the south of England, Canute was to reign over the north, and which ever one survived the other should become sole King. Very shortly after this meeting Edmund died; according to some accounts he was

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murdered by Eadric, who in the hopes of gaining Canute's favor had bribed two chamberlains to slay him.

Edmund married, in 1015, Ealdgyth, widow of the Danish Earl Sigeferth. Children: 1. Edmund, died in Hungary. 2. Eadward, of whom further.

(“Dictionary of National Biography,” Vol. VI, pp. 402-05. N. V. de Saint-Allais: “L’art de vérifier les dates,” Vol. III, p. 26. C. M. Allstrom: “Dictionary of Royal Lineage,” Vol. I, p. 132. “Encyclopædia Britannica,” 11th edition, Vol. VIII, p. 948.)

IX. Edward or Eadward, called the Exile, son of Edmund Ironside and Ealdgyth, died in 1057. He and his brother Edmund, while still in their infancy, are said to have been sent by King Canute to Sweden or Russia, and afterwards to have gone to Hungary before 1038. There appears to be no corroboration of this account in the annals of Hungary, but the constant tradition in England and Scotland is too strong to be set aside. In 1057, Edward, then the only surviving son of his father, returned to England at the invitation of Edward the Confessor, who planned to make him his heir. Shortly after his arrival, however, Edward died without having seen the King.

Edward the Exile married Agatha, usually described as a kinswoman of Gisela, Queen of Hungary and sister of the Emperor Henry II. Children: 1. Edgar Atheling or Eadgar the Aetheling, King-elect of the English, died at some unknown date after 1120; he lost his power to William the Conqueror, fled to Scotland for a time, then lived in Normandy; went on a crusade in 1099, and ended his days in obscurity, probably in Hertfordshire. 2. Margaret, of whom further. 3. Christina, a nun.

(C. M. Allstrom: “Dictionary of Royal Lineage,” Vol. I, p. 133. “Dictionary of National Biography,” Vol. VI, pp. 371-73; Vol. XII, p. 1017.)

X. Margaret, called St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Edward the Exile and Agatha, was born, probably in Hungary, at some time about 1045 or 1046, and died in Scotland in 1093. Whether she accompanied her father to England in 1057 is not known, but in the summer of 1067-68, according to the “Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,” “Edgar child went out with his mother Agatha and his two sisters

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Margaret and Christina, and Merleswegen and many good men with them and came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm III, and he received them all." Many accounts have been written of the life of Queen Margaret, who was renowned for her piety, and miracles have been attributed to her. She effected reforms in both ecclesiastical and court circles, and improved the domestic arts of Scotland. For the pilgrims of St. Andrews she built guest houses on either side of the Firth of Forth at Queensferry, and she was in constant attendance on the poor. To King Malcolm and Queen Margaret the Culdees of Lochleven owe the donation of the town of Balchristie, and she is said by Ordericus Vitalis to have rebuilt the monastery of Iona. In 1250, more than a century and a half after her death, she was declared a saint by Pope Innocent IV, and on June 19, 1259, her body was removed from its original burial place in the Church of Dunfermline and placed in a shrine of pinewood set with gold and precious stones, under or near the high altar of the church.

St. Margaret married, as his second wife, Malcolm III, called Canmore, King of Scotland. (Kings of Scotland IX.)

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XII, pp. 844-45, 1017-19. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, p. 84.)

(The de Beaumont Line)

Beaumont is a Norman name of locality origin, appearing first as de Beaumont or de Belmont, meaning "fair or beautiful hill," from Beaumont-le-Roger in Normandy. Medieval characters show the name written in its Latin form of *De Bello Monte*. In England the name of de Beaumont is first mentioned in Domesday Book and since that time it has frequently occurred there in visitations as Belmont, Bellomont, Beaman, Beament, Beaumont, Beman, Bemand and Bement. There are parishes or places called Beaumont in Cumberland and Essex.

("Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

 I. *Thorold*, Seigneur of Pont-Audemer in Normandy, is given as the first ancestor of this line. By the historian who continued the work of William of Jumieges, but whose continuation is now considered untrustworthy, Thorold is said to have been the son of Torf

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and to have married either Wewa or Awelina, sisters of Gunnor, wife of Richard I, Duke of Normandy. However, he is known to have been the father of one son: 1. Humphrey, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, p. 521.)

II. Humphrey de Vieilles, Seigneur of Vieilles and Pont-Audemer, son of Thorold, was a follower of Robert I, Duke of Normandy, and frequently witnessed Robert's charters. He founded the monastery of St. Pierre at Preaux before 1035, and is said to have later become a monk there. About 1040 he established the convent of St. Leger, also at Preaux near Pont-Audemer.

Humphrey de Vieilles married Aubrey. Children: 1. Roger, of whom further. 2. William, buried at St. Pierre-de-Preaux. 3. William (again). 4. Dunelme.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 521-23.)

III. Roger de Beaumont, Seigneur of Beaumont and Pont-Audemer, son of Humphrey and Aubrey de Vieilles, died shortly after 1090. He supported the young Duke William of Normandy during the disturbances in the early years of his reign and, when England was invaded, furnished sixty ships for the expedition. He himself remained in Normandy as adviser to the Duchess Maud, or Matilda, to whom the government had been entrusted. In 1086, when the Domesday Survey was made, he owned manors in the counties of Dorset and Gloucester, the principal one being Sturminster. Shortly after this he founded the Church of the Holy Trinity at Beaumont-le-Roger, and about 1090 became a monk at St. Pierre, one of the two monasteries founded by his father.

Roger de Beaumont married Adeline, daughter of Waleran, Count of Meulan. Children: 1. Robert (1), of whom further. 2. Henry, who assumed the surname de Newburgh from a castle in Normandy; accompanied William the Conqueror on his invasion of England and was rewarded first by the title and later by the estates of the Earls of Warwick. 3. Aubrey, became Abbess of St. Leger-de-Preaux, founded by her grandfather.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 522-23. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. III, pp. 590-91.)

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IV. Robert (1) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan, Seigneur of Beaumont, Pont-Audemer, Brionne and Vatteville in Normandy, son of Roger and Adeline (de Meulan) de Beaumont, was born about 1046 and died June 5, 1118. He accompanied Duke William of Normandy when he invaded England, and received lands there in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire. In 1080 he became Count of Meulan as heir of his mother and, when his father entered the Abbey of St. Pierre, he inherited the Norman fiefs of Beaumont and Pont-Audemer. On the death of Ives de Grandmesnil, Robert de Beaumont took over the estates which Ives had mortgaged to him, thus acquiring part of the town of Leicester; later he received the remainder by royal grant.

After the death of William the Conqueror, Robert de Beaumont supported William Rufus and became one of his chief lay ministers. During the reign of Henry I, Robert de Beaumont was "first among the counsellors of the king" and sided with Henry I in his quarrel with Pope Paschal II. He rendered valuable service to both William Rufus and Henry I in their Norman wars, and the latter was largely indebted to him for the English crown. In 1106 he fought in the King's army at Tinchebrai. In 1110 Louis VI besieged his castle at Meulan, and Robert retaliated by plundering Paris. It has been erroneously reported that Henry I made him Earl of Leicester. However, he never bore this title, although he had some authority in that district.

Robert (1) de Beaumont married, in 1096, Elizabeth, also called Isabel, of Vermandois. (Counts of Vermandois XI.) Children: 1. Waleran, divided his father's estates with his twin brother, Robert. 2. Robert (2), of whom further. 3. Hugh, Earl of Bedford. 4. Adeline, married Hugh IV, Seigneur of Montfort-sur-Risle. 5. Aubrey, married Hugh II, Seigneur of Chateaufort-Thimerais. 6. Maud, married William Louval, Seigneur of Ivry and Breval. 7. Elizabeth or Isabel, married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, pp. 523-26. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. III, pp. 590-91.)

V. Robert (2) de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, son of Robert (1) de Beaumont and Elizabeth or Isabel of Vermandois, was born in 1104 and died April 5, 1168. He succeeded

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his father as Count of Meulan and became Earl of Leicester when he received his father's English fiefs in 1118. His boyhood was spent at the court of Henry I and, when fifteen years old, he accompanied the King to Gisors on his visit to Pope Calixtus.

When Stephen succeeded to the throne, there was a period of anarchy, during which Robert de Beaumont captured Roger de Tony, an hereditary enemy, but suffered losses in Normandy, where his possessions were overrun. Robert (2) de Beaumont and his brother Waleran were the chief advisers of Stephen, and helped him to seize the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln in 1139. When Stephen was finally defeated, Robert de Beaumont made a truce with the Angevin party in Normandy. Henry, son of the Empress, granted him the Stewardship in both Normandy and England, and in 1154 he attended Henry's coronation as King of England. The following year he was made Chief Justiciar of England and he was twice Viceroy when Henry II was absent in France. He attended the Council of Clarendon in January, 1163-64, and attested the "Constitutions." During Henry II's struggles with Thomas à Becket, Robert de Beaumont supported the King, when he saw that he could not reconcile the opponents, and as Justiciar pronounced sentence on the Archbishop. He founded the Abbey of St. Mary de Pré at Leicester and other religious houses and by a charter confirmed the burgesses of Leicester in the possession of their merchant-guild and customs.

Robert (2) de Beaumont married, some time after November, 1120, Amice de Gael. (de Gael IV.) Children: 1. Robert, Earl of Leicester, died about 1190; married Pernel or Petronella, heiress of the Norman honor of Grandmesnil. 2. Isabel, married (first) Simon de St. Liz II, Earl of Huntingdon; (second) Gervase Paynel. 3. Hawise, married William FitzRobert, Earl of Gloucester. 4. Margaret, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, pp. 527-30. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. III, pp. 590-91.)

VI. Margaret de Beaumont, daughter of Robert (2) and Amice (de Gael) de Beaumont, married (first) Ralph (5) de Tony. (de Tony VIII.) She married (second) the Earl of Suier.

(*Ibid.* J. MacLean: "The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor," Vol. I, pp. 64-65. E. T. Beaumont: "The Beaumonts in History, 850-1850," p. 26.)

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(The de Gael Line)

The surname of this family derives from their great Breton barony of Gael, comprising more than forty parishes, of which they were lords at least as early as the middle of the eleventh century. The estate remained in possession of the male descendants of Ralph (3) **de Gael**, who at the beginning of the fifteenth century acquired the barony of Laval and Vitré by marriage with an heiress of the house of Montmorency Laval.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 569, 572 and 574, footnote *n*.)

I. Ralph (1) the Staller, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, or the East Angles, was born before 1011 and died between February, 1068, and April, 1070. Sometimes said to have been an Englishman born in Norfolk, he was more probably a Breton and is almost certainly identical with a Ralph the Englishman who attested charters of Alan, Duke of Brittany, about 1031 and in 1032. The first record of him in England is dated 1060, when he attested a charter of Edward the Confessor as "dapifer." In 1061 he attested as "minister," and in 1062 as "*regis aulicus*." He attested a charter of Abbot Aelfwig as "steallere," and proof that he was one of the royal stallers is offered by the numerous passages in Domesday Book in which he is styled "*stalra*" or "*stalre*." According to the Survey he held extensive estates in Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, and one estate in Cornwall, either wholly by grant from the Crown or partly by inheritance or by marriage to an English heiress. He was probably also in possession, either by inheritance or marriage, of the barony of Gael in Brittany. During the reign of Edward the Confessor he made gifts from his lands in Norfolk to the Abbey of St. Riquier in Ponthieu. After the Conquest he was taken into favor by the new King, and was appointed a joint commissioner with William, Bishop of London, and Ingelric the Priest, for redemption of certain lands by Englishmen. He was created Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk (or the East Angles) and was without doubt the Earl Ralph to whom, jointly with Bishop Aethelmer of Elmham and the thegns of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Conqueror addressed a precept in the English language directing that Abbot Baldwin of St. Edmundsbury should deliver to

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the King the land of his tenants slain fighting against the King. He made grants with his wife to St. Benet of Hulme, at least one of these being after the Conquest. In February or March, 1068, Ralph the Staller and his son were present at William the Conqueror's Court in England, and are referred to by the King as his friends in the charter confirming the Earl's gifts to St. Riquier.

Ralph (1) the Staller married a woman whose name and parentage are unknown, but who was very likely an Englishwoman, sister of a certain Godwin who held lands in Norfolk and was still in possession in 1069. Sons: 1. Ralph (2), of whom further. 2. Hardwin, mentioned in the Suffolk section of Domesday Book as "Hardwin brother of Earl Ralph."

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 568-71. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXII, p. 872.)

II. Ralph (2) de Gael, also called de Guadel and de Guader, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, or the East Angles, in England, and Seigneur de Gael in Brittany, son of Ralph (1) the Staller, was born doubtless before 1040, as not later than 1060 he attested, in company with other Bretons, a notification at Angers as "Ralph son of Ralph the Englishman." He died about 1097-99, while engaged in the First Crusade.

In 1065 he was with Conan of Brittany, when the Duke besieged Rhiwallon, Seigneur de Dol, in the castle of Combour. He inherited the barony of Gael, and in England, whether by inheritance or by grant from the Crown, he held large estates in Norfolk, as well as property in Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire and possibly other counties. In some of these estates he certainly succeeded his father, but it is doubtful whether he obtained the earldom immediately on his father's death. In February or March, 1068, he was present at the Conqueror's court with his father. In 1069 he routed a force of Norsemen which had invaded Norfolk and occupied Norwich. It may have been in recognition of this exploit that King William created him Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, or the East Angles, the earldom also being styled from its capital of Norwich. He is believed to have been the nobleman who on April 13, 1069, was with the King at Winchester and witnessed, as Earl Ralph, a diploma in favor of St. Denis of Paris, and in the same year witnessed, again as Earl Ralph, a grant

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in favor of the Bishop of Exeter. When in 1075 the King refused to sanction the marriage of Ralph de Gael to a sister of Roger, Earl of Hereford, the two Earls joined forces with Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, in a plot against the King. The rising was a failure. Ralph de Gael encountered a much superior force under the Bishops of Bayeux and Coutances near Cambridge, and retreated to Norwich. Leaving his wife to defend the castle, he sailed for Denmark in search of help, and eventually returned to England with a fleet of two hundred ships, but could accomplish nothing. The Countess held out in Norwich until she obtained terms for herself and her followers, who were deprived of their lands and allowed forty days to leave the realm. She retired to Brittany, where Ralph de Gael, deprived of all his lands in England and his earldom, joined her. For the rest of his life he remained a great Baron of Brittany, with no interests in England. In 1089 he attested the judgment in a dispute between the monks of Redon and the chaplains of the Duke of Brittany. He also attested a charter of Alan Fergeant, Duke of Brittany, in favor of St. Georges at Rennes. After the death of William the Conqueror, Ralph de Gael appeared in Normandy about 1093, as a witness in the record of a suit between the Abbots of Lonlay and St. Florent. He built a church in Norwich, in the new town, and gave it to his chaplains, but there is no record of religious benefactions by him in Brittany. In 1096, accompanied by his wife, he set out on the First Crusade with the Duke of Normandy. He was one of the Breton leaders who took part in the siege of Nicaea, after which he joined Bohemond's division of the army. Both he and his wife perished during the crusade.

Ralph (2) de Gael married, in 1075, at Exning, Cambridgeshire, Emma, daughter of William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, and sister of Roger, who succeeded his father. Sons: 1. William, succeeded his father, and on the death of his maternal uncle, William de Breteuil, claimed his fief without success, and died shortly afterwards. 2. Ralph (3), of whom further. 3. Alan, went on the First Crusade with his father.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. IX, pp. 571-74, and footnote *n*, p. 574. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XXII, p. 872.)

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III. Ralph (3) de Gael, Seigneur de Gael and de Montfort in Brittany, son of Ralph (2) and Emma de Gael, succeeded his elder brother William, and in 1119 obtained the honor of Breteuil which William had failed to receive.

Ralph (3) de Gael had, in addition to a son or sons, a daughter:
1. Amice, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VII, pp. 529-30; Vol. IX, p. 574, footnote *n*.)

IV. Amice de Gael, daughter of Ralph (3) de Gael, died August thirty-first, but the year of her death is not known. She survived her husband, to whom she brought the honor of Breteuil and a large part of the FitzOsbern inheritance in Normandy and England, and is said to have entered the convent of Nuneaton.

Amice de Gael married (Robert (2) de Beaumont, second Earl of Leicester. (de Beaumont V.)

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," new edition, Vol. VII, pp. 529-30, and footnote *e*, p. 530; Vol. IX, p. 574, footnote *n*.)

(The Counts of Hainault Line)

Hainault or Hainaut was a medieval countship whose territory is now a part of Belgium and France. It was bounded on the north by Brabant and Flanders, on the south by Picardy, on the east by the countship of Namur, and on the west by Flanders and Cambrai. Its name, derived from the river Haine which traverses the country, was not known before the eighth century, and the countship was originally a part of the kingdom of Metz and then of Lotharingia, finally becoming united with the duchy of Lorraine. Its capital was Mons, a city situated partly on a mountain and partly in a plain, and the original possessors of the countship were called Counts of Mons. Some historians name Giselbert, who in the ninth century married Ermengarde, daughter of the Emperor Lothair, as the first Count of Hainault, but it is doubtful that he ever governed the region known by that name.

(N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. V, p. 118. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XII, p. 822.)

I. Rainier or Reginar I, surnamed "Long-neck," Duke of Lorraine and first definitely established Count of Hainault, died in 916. His parentage is not known, and he first appears in history in 875,

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when in alliance with Ratbod, Duke of Frisia, he attempted to dislodge the Norman chief Rollo from the Island of Walcheren in Zeeland. The two allies were defeated by Rollo, who entered Hainault the following year and took Rainier prisoner. The count was ransomed by his wife, who exchanged for him twelve Norman leaders who were in her power, and all the gold and silver she possessed.

Rainier I became embroiled with Zwentibold, ruler of Lorraine, and being defeated by him was forced to withdraw into France. He persuaded Charles the Simple to conquer Lorraine, but Charles made peace with Zwentibold, who continued to pursue Rainier and his ally Odacre. In 899 Zwentibold laid siege to the fort of Durfos, on the Meuse, but failing to capture his enemies, had them excommunicated by the bishops. At the death of Zwentibold, Rainier I recovered both his lands and his titles, and added to them the duchy of Lorraine, which Charles the Simple granted him in 911.

Rainier I married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Gisibert, succeeded his father as Duke of Lorraine. 2. Rainier or Reginar II, of whom further. 3. A daughter, "N," married Berenger, Count of Namur.

(N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. V, p. 118.)

II. Rainier or Reginar II, Count of Hainault, son of Rainier or Reginar I, is not mentioned as living later than 928, but probably died about 932. During his reign he quarrelled almost continuously with his brother, Gisibert, Duke of Lorraine. Gisibert was imprisoned by Berenger in 924, but although Rainier II obtained his release by offering his sons as hostages, Gisibert was no sooner at liberty than he began to ravage the lands of Berenger, of Rainier, and of Isaac, Count of Cambria. Rainier retaliated, but the brothers presumably became reconciled since in 925 Gisibert and Count Otto made peace with the King of France. In 928 Rainier and Gisibert were again at odds, but the quarrel was short, due to the intervention of Henry I, King of Germany.

Rainier II married Alix or Adelaide, said by some authorities to be daughter of Richard I, Duke of Burgundy. Children: 1. Rainier or Reginar III, of whom further. 2. Lietard. 3. Rodolfe, Count of Hasbaye and ancestor of the Counts of Lons.

(*Ibid.*)

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III. Rainier or Reginar III, Count of Hainault, son of Rainier or Reginar II and Alix or Adelaide, succeeded his father and died after 971. With his brother Rodolfe he took the side of Louis d'Outremer, King of France, against Otto I, King of Germany. Otto sent Herman, Duke of Swabia, against him in 944, and Rainier, unable to resist, implored Otto's mercy and submitted to him at Aix-la-Chapelle. Rainier was forced to subdue Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, in 952, but after peace was restored he himself committed many acts of violence, even daring to seize lands possessed by the Dowager Queen Gerberge, widow of Louis d'Outremer. King Lothair forced Rainier, in 956, to restore the lands he had taken from the Queen.

The next year Rainier made war on Duke Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne and brother of King Otto, but was defeated and forced to submit to the prelate. Having refused to give hostages, however, he was deposed by Bruno in 957 or 958, and sent into exile.

Rainier III married, according to some historians, Alex, daughter of Hugo, Count of Dagsburg and Egisheim, but this is not certain. It is known, however, that he had two legitimate sons: 1. Lambert, "the Bearded," Count of Louvain, died in 1015. 2. Rainier or Reginar IV, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.)

IV. Rainier or Reginar IV, Count of Hainault, son of Rainier or Reginar III and possibly of Alix of Dagsburg and Egisheim, died in 1013. He succeeded to his father's title after a long struggle to assert his claims. When Rainier or Reginar III was sent into exile, Duke Bruno made Richer his successor, and after him came Garnier and Renaud, who shared the rule of Hainault without challenge until 973. In that year Otto I died, and Rainier and Lambert, sons of Rainier III, attacked the two counts and slew them in battle. King Otto II made Godfrey and Arnoul their successors, but Rainier and Lambert, established in the Château de Boussoit on the Haine, made raiding expeditions throughout the surrounding country. Otto II went to the aid of his protégés, and razed the fortress, but no sooner had he turned back to Germany than Rainier and Lambert reappeared in Hainault with new forces furnished them by Charles, brother of King Lothair of France, and Otto of Vermandois. In 976, they were

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defeated by Godfrey and Arnoul, but managed to maintain themselves in a corner of Hainault. It is not known at what date Rainier and Lambert finally secured Hainault, but it was not until 998 that Rainier captured Mons; Lambert had already been possessor of the countship of Louvain for four years. Rainier, who was the first proprietary Count of Hainault, ruled in peace after establishing himself in Mons.

Rainier or Reginar IV married, as her first husband, Hedwige, daughter of Hugh Capet, King of France. (House of Capet IV, Child 2.) Children: 1. Rainier or Reginar V, of whom further. 2. Beatrix, married Ebles I, Count of Rouci.

Some authorities maintain that Rainier IV had two wives, and that Hedwige was not the mother of Rainier V, but this is believed to be disproved.

(*Ibid.*, p. 119.)

V. Rainier or Reginar V, Count of Hainault, son of Rainier or Reginar IV and probably Hedwige, succeeded upon the death of his father, and died in 1036. He took the part of his uncle, Lambert, Count of Louvain, in the quarrel between the latter and Godfrey, Duke of Lothier. They were defeated in the battle of Florences, September 12, 1015, and Rainier later became reconciled with Godfrey through the mediation of the bishops of Verdun and Cambrai.

Rainier or Reginar V married Mathilde, daughter of Herman, Vicomte of Verdun. Only child: 1. Richilde, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th edition, Vol. XII, p. 822.)

VI. Richilde, Countess of Hainault, daughter of Rainier or Reginar V and Mathilde of Verdun, succeeded her father in 1036 and died March 15, 1087, at the Abbey of Messines near Ypres. With her first husband she ruled the countship of Valenciennes as well as Hainault, and received Pope Leo IX in her château at Mons in 1049. The following year, as a widow, she took over the government of Hainault, but did not hold it long in peace. Baldwin de Lille, Count of Flanders, made war on her and forced her to marry his son. The younger Baldwin being related to Richilde, however, the marriage was declared illicit and he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Cambrai. Pope Leo IX also declared the marriage dissolved, but

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apparently changed his mind, as it continued to be recognized. In 1056, the Emperor Henry IV, by a treaty of peace made with Baldwin de Lille, invested the latter's son, Baldwin VI of Flanders and I of Hainault, with Valenciennes, the islands of Walcheren, and Imperial Flanders.

Richilde married (first) Herman, Count of Valenciennes, who died in 1050. She married (second) Baldwin "the Good," also called variously Baldwin of Mons, Baldwin VI of Flanders and Baldwin I of Hainault, son of Baldwin V de Lille, Count of Flanders. She married (third), according to some authorities, William Osbern, Earl of Hereford, who died February 20, 1071, in the battle of Cassel. Children of first marriage: 1. Roger, Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne. 2. Gertrude, a nun. Children of second marriage: 3. Arnoul, Count of Flanders. 4. Baldwin II, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.)

VII. Baldwin II, Count of Hainault, also called "Baldwin of Jerusalem," son of Baldwin I and Richilde, met an unknown fate about 1099 in the Holy Land. At the time of his succession, he was a minor, and Robert the Frisian, winner of the battle of Cassel, seized Hainault and Flanders. Baldwin and his mother Richilde appealed to Theodouin, Bishop of Liege, for protection, and the Emperor Henry IV finally forced Robert to restore Hainault to the legitimate heir. Baldwin went to war with Robert the Frisian on a number of occasions, and won a decisive victory in 1076.

In 1086 Baldwin II went on a crusade from which he returned safely. In 1096 he embarked on a second pilgrimage. He distinguished himself at the siege of Antioch in 1098, and was sent with Hugh the Great to announce the news to the Emperor Alexis Comnene and invite him to aid the crusaders in taking Jerusalem. On the road near Nicea, however, the party fell into the hands of the Turks. Hugh the Great escaped, but Baldwin was captured and never heard of again.

Baldwin II married, in 1084, Ide or Alix, daughter of Henry II, Count of Louvain. In 1099 she went to Rome to try to obtain news of her husband; the Pope, who could tell her nothing, tried to console her and sent her back to Hainault, where she died in 1139. Children: 1. Baldwin III, of whom further. 2. Arnoul, Seigneur of Rouex in

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Hainault, married a daughter of Gauthier de Rouex. 3. Ide, married (first) Guy, Seigneur de Chievres; (second) Thomas de Marle. 4. Richilde, married Amaury IV of Montfort. 5. Alix, married Hugh de Rumigni.

(*Ibid.*, p. 120.)

VIII. Baldwin III, son of Baldwin II and Ide or Alix of Louvain, was recognized as Count of Hainault after his mother's return from Rome. He died in 1120, and was buried at Sainte-Vandru de Mons.

Robert le Jeune, Count of Flanders, found on returning from a crusade that his father had given to Baldwin III the Château de Douai with its dependencies. Not daring to retrieve it by force, Robert resorted to cunning. He proposed to give Baldwin in marriage to a niece of his wife's, and exacted as surety the possession of the Château of Douai. Since this niece was Adelaide of Savoy, later Queen of France, Baldwin was flattered by the prospect of this alliance and agreed to Robert's terms before he had seen the princess. When she was presented to him, however, he found her so ugly that he refused to marry her, and thus forfeited Douai. In 1107 the Emperor Henry V came to Baldwin's aid in an attempt to recapture Douai, but the effort was unsuccessful. Baldwin revived the claims of his family to the countship of Flanders, but was defeated in 1119 by Charles the Good.

Baldwin III married, as her first husband, Yolande, daughter of Gerard of Wassemberg, Count of Gueldre; she married (second) Godefroy of Bouchain, Châtelain of Valenciennes and Seigneur de Ribemont. Children: 1. Baldwin IV, died November 9, 1171; married Alice, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Namur. 2. Yolande, married Gerard of Crequy. 3. Gertrude, of whom further. 4. Richilde, married Evrard, Châtelain of Tournai, ancestor of the lords of Mortagne.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.)

IX. Gertrude, daughter of Baldwin III and Yolande of Gueldre, married Roger (2) de Toëni or Tony, Lord Flamstead. (de Tony VII.)

(*Ibid.*)

Book Note

Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes, compiled by William Ronald Cocke, III, royal octavo, 215 pages; published at Columbia, Virginia, by William Ronald Cocke, III, 1940.

This volume, described on the title page as "a compendium of genealogical, biographical, and historical material as contained in cases of the chancery suits of Hanover County, Virginia," serves a most valuable purpose, inasmuch as the destruction of most of the Hanover County records near the close of the War Between the States created an almost insurmountable barrier to those types of research requiring personal data.

The author's projected field of investigation included the miscellaneous records and documents which remained in the clerk's office of Hanover through the war, public archives and libraries, church and private sources, but the extent of memorabilia found in the Chancery Causes and the time and expense of compilation, confined the volume to the Chancery Wills and Notes, and a few digests from two old volumes. The arrangement of the digested material from these sources is such as to delight the genalogist, making readily accessible all the important points which he covers habitually in his researches. The comment of Clarence W. Taylor, clerk of Hanover County Court, is an expert appraisal of the volume and reflects the opinion of this reviewer:

Mr. Cocke is to be commended for his interest in these historical records in general, and in the Chancery Causes in particular. His digests of the Supreme Court Reports, which are published serially by William & Mary College in its Historical Quarterly, have long been an authentic and important source of information. His work in the chancery suits of Hanover lasted for many months and was a most tedious and painstaking undertaking. He has brought to light a wealth of information concerning our forebears which will increase in importance with passing of the years. The facts have been admirably treated and clearly presented.

MYRTLE M. LEWIS.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1940.
State of New York, }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared M. L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Company, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Editor, Winfield S. Downs, 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owners are: The American Historical Company, Inc.; Marion L. Lewis, 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Ed Lewis, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City; F. M. Keller, 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Benj. F. Lewis, Jr., 211 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.; Winfield S. Downs, 142 Glenwood Rd., Ridgewood, N. J.; Mrs. Andrew Payne, 1726 N. Los Robles, Pasadena, Calif.; Mabel E. Lewis, 501 Prospect Street, Nutley, N. J.; Myrtle M. Lewis, 142 Glenwood Rd., Ridgewood, N. J.; Mrs. O. L. Clampitt, 858 Adelaide Ave., Pasadena, Calif.; Marion L. O. Clark, Valparaiso, Ind.; James A. Dailey, Stanhope, N. J.; Ida E. de Murguiondo, Glen Rock, N. J.; Bruce M. Lewis, 19 Coeyman Ave., Nutley, N. J.; Mrs. Sanford L. Smith, 83 Alexander Ave., Nutley, N. J.; Pauline Lewis, 722 E. California Street, Pasadena, Calif.; Mrs. Ruth Lewis Brewster, Palo Alto, Calif.; L. Murray Ray, Valparaiso, Ind.; Sanford L. Smith, 83 Alexander Ave., Nutley, N. J.; L. W. Ray, 80-90 Eighth Ave., New York City; Mrs. Bruce M. Lewis, 19 Coeyman Ave., Nutley, N. J.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MARION L. LEWIS, President.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1940.

(Seal.)

ROSE HALPIN,

Notary Public, New York County.
Clerk's No. 22, Register's No. 2-H-53.
Commission expires March 30, 1942.





HENRY WELLS

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AMERICANA

APRIL, 1941



The Story of Henry Wells

Expressman and College Founder

BY GEORGE ARMS, PH. D., MARY WASHINGTON COLLEGE,
FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA



AMONG the great American capitalists of the nineteenth century a few men have been singled out by historians for what may well prove lasting fame. They well deserve their eminence, and the writer of American history can scarcely be blamed for romanticizing some of them into great philanthropists and some into Robber Barons. Yet their less eminent associates should not be forgotten; perhaps indeed it would not be too bold to claim that in the lives of less gaudy philanthropists and less avaricious barons one may gain a truer keynote of the period than from the stories of their more successful compeers alone. Certainly one cannot claim for Henry Wells the eminence of a Drew, a Harri-man, a Stanford, or a Vanderbilt. Still of his achievements one—the American Express Company—is a by-word among travelers, another—the Wells Fargo—is mingled inextricably with wild west legend, and still a third achievement—Wells College—claims an enviable position among the small colleges of unquestioned worth. And what is of more matter in these pages, the career of Henry Wells as it oscillated from obscurity to fame, from poverty to wealth and back to mere well-being, has most of the ingredients of what one may choose to call the career of the typical nineteenth-century American business man.

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In the summer of 1814 Shipley Wells had left Thetford, Vermont, and finally chosen the town of Fayette in central New York as the center of his preaching activities. No doubt he was even less encumbered by wealth and household goods than others in that great wave of westward migration at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But he had wife and family, and among the latter was his son, Henry, a boy of eight years, born to him in Thetford, December 12, 1805. Although the boy was not destined to continue that great westward trek of which his father had taken but the first step, he was to project his enterprises into the farthest West during the final period of its development.

Of the father little is known. In Thetford he had bought land in 1803 and again in 1804. It is certain he did not occupy the pulpit of the Congregational Church there, although previously he had held a church at Alstead, New Hampshire; and whether in Thetford he belonged to some dissenting sect (possibly his father was a Baptist minister) or not, he was at least for a time an accredited Presbyterian minister in New York State. Born at West Hartford, Connecticut, in 1777, he died in Port Byron, New York, in 1832; his wife, Dolly Randall Wells, was born in Windsor, Vermont, June 10, 1772, and died in Grantville, Massachusetts, January 11, 1850.

Something more than these few facts and suggestions are accessible in regard to the son. Yet curiously for a man who gave his name to a great express company and to a leading woman's college, the record of his intimate activities is slight, the record of his more important acts is often but poorly authenticated. Of his boyhood the tradition is that in Fayette Henry soon began to work on the surrounding farms and spent his later years there mostly on the farm of Deacon James Huff, attending the local school at irregular intervals. At sixteen he was apprenticed to Jessup & Palmer, a firm of tanners and shoemakers in Palmyra. It is pleasant to speculate on the possibility of his acquaintance with Joseph Smith, then a boy of the same age, who lived in Palmyra between 1812 and 1830, and there received his revelation on which the Mormon Church is based.

If Henry Wells had achieved his full growth at sixteen he may be pictured as a lad somewhat over six feet with broad shoulders, deep chest, and a prominent nose. He stood erect—as erect, someone once

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said, as a statue of Apollo—but his confident bearing must have been somewhat marred by a perceptible stammer. Acquaintances of Henry Wells have hinted that his stammer may have been a factor in his not completing the full term of his apprenticeship with Jessup & Palmer. If this disability led to his dismissal he was at any rate soon to turn it to his advantage, for after three years of residence with his family in Port Byron, where he continued his trade of shoemaking, he moved to Rochester in 1830 and opened a school for the cure of speech defects.

Had it not been for the stammering, it is not unlikely that like his brother Ashbel, a graduate of Hamilton College (1824) and Auburn Theological Seminary (1828), Henry might have followed his father's profession. Those who knew him could only say that he learned to control his defect, but never completely mastered it. Yet it is possible that for a time he spoke without a trace of impediment, for it appears that such was the success of his school at Rochester that he shortly opened other schools in Buffalo, Lockport, Cleveland, Utica, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and even New York City. But that the physician must first cure himself was perhaps less necessary in those days. The dictum of an old newspaper clipping is: "He once taught a school for the benefit of stammering pupils and seemed all unwitting of the effect of his own weakness in this direction."

A haze even denser than that which frequently encounters the biographer of Henry Wells envelops his young manhood. Among the few certainties is that he married Sarah Daggett, probably before he was twenty, and had a son Charles. Coincidental with his conduct of schools for the cure of stammering or following it, he seems to have lived and practiced various occupations in the neighborhood of Cayuga and Seneca lakes. In 1836 Wells was occupied with forwarding passengers and freight over the Erie Canal, and gradually his business extended into association with Pennsylvania lines of transit. In later years Wells pointed out how the failure of the Bank of the United States gave impetus to what was shortly to become the express business. Rates of exchange which under the bank had varied between one and ten per cent. offered an opportune field for under-cutting to the private business man. And since western confidence

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in banking was slow in being restored, the exchange business continued from the beginning to be a perquisite of transit agents.

At any rate we are not to picture Wells as idling away his life during the 1830s. We catch glimpses of him throughout central New York, in Buffalo where he was making friendships of lasting value, in Philadelphia where he gazed at the half-constructed buildings of Girard College with the germ of an idea for another sort of college in his mind, in New York where he was not unknown to Daniel Drew, owner of steamboats and entrepreneur extraordinary, in Albany where the newly formed express business was to find him and claim him as its leader.

To William F. Harnden, of Boston, goes credit for the establishment of the first real express company in 1839. Before the time of the railroads the transportation of parcels was done in a small way by the stage drivers; but after the railroads were established it became more and more evident that the conductors were too busied with other matters to accommodate those who wished packages carried. In 1841 the Boston-New York route had developed into a prosperous express line, but in order to insure its success Harnden found it expedient to control the alternate Boston-New York route through Albany. The Hudson River steamboat captains, who considered the carrying of packages and the performance of like commissions their right, resisted such an attempt, and mainly because Wells had influence with Daniel Drew and Isaac Newton, operators of the People's Line of steamboats, Harnden hired him as his Albany agent.

The association of Wells with Harnden was both short—from spring to early winter—and unpleasant—either Harnden did not quite trust Wells or was jealous of him. The real basis of difference may have been that Wells looked westward for the most profitable field of express activities, while Harnden looked toward Europe. Perhaps, too, the personalities of the men were not compatible: contrast the minutely written instructions for each employee which Harnden used to draw up with directions said to be typical of Wells—“Young man, my instructions will be very short: you are bound for Cleveland and you are expected to get there. That is all.”

Almost immediately after Wells received the Albany agency he was suggesting to Harnden that they extend an express to Buffalo, and



MACMILLAN HALL, ADMINISTRATION AND ARTS BUILDING
WELLS COLLEGE, AURORA-ON-CAYUGA

(Courtesy of Wells College)



AIR VIEW OF WELLS COLLEGE CAMPUS AND VILLAGE OF AURORA-ON-CAYUGA

(Courtesy of Wells College)

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as the facilities of transportation should permit, to Chicago. To this Harnden replied: "*You* may run an express to the Rocky Mountains, if you wish; but I prefer to go where there are people and business." It is not impossible that Wells took Harnden's advice more alertly than was intended; for apparently while Wells was still in Harnden's service a man named George Pomeroy was making frequent trips to Buffalo under his direction. That Harnden's discovery of his agent's pot-boiler may have led to the final breach between the two expressmen is altogether likely. With Pomeroy and Crawford Livingston, Wells then organized Pomeroy & Company.

But one should not picture Wells, at least at this period, as an office executive directing the activities of others. For a twelve-month period during the year and a half before Pomeroy & Company was reorganized into Livingston, Wells & Company, Wells never missed a trip, often spent as many as eighteen out of twenty-one nights on the road. In the summer it was endurable, he reported; but for the greater part of the year "*simply horrible*." If luck were with him, the express manager in those days could accomplish the Albany-Buffalo run in four nights and three days. Between Albany and Auburn he went by rail, using four independent lines and changing cars at each of their junctions. Stagecoaches were used for the next leg of the journey, from Auburn to Geneva, with the horses never going faster than a walk except at the Cayuga Bridge across the lower part of Cayuga Lake, where it was possible to trot. From Geneva to Rochester the messenger again availed himself of rail travel. From Rochester on he was given the choice between two evils: the railroad to Batavia and numerous independent rail routes from Batavia to Buffalo, a tedious journey of some thirty miles as the route lay; or the stage between Rochester and Lockport and a private carriage from Lockport to Buffalo.

To add to the tediousness of such a journey and to the ever-present danger of a "snakehead," the thin iron strip that covered the wooden rail which was apt to curl up through the floor of the carriage, Wells traveled also under the constant pressure of a "debtor side full grown" and a "creditor column not quite able to walk alone," as he described it in later years. But by degrees the creditor column grew up as the young expressman increased his business by carrying fruit,

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fish, and lobsters, and by providing every possible accommodation to the bankers, farmers, and storekeepers along the route.

Arriving in Buffalo for the first time with one small trunk, Wells described himself as less like one of the regular army of commerce than its last forlorn hope. Yet the trunks grew in size and number, so much so that a president of the Michigan Central had as his pat joke that of all the wonderful growths that he had seen in the West, there was none equal to that of Wells' baggage.

Those who saw the motion picture "Wells Fargo" in 1937 may recall the opening scene in which a young expressman was glimpsed carrying oysters between New York and Buffalo under circumstances similar to those just described. Never a laggard in gustatory interests, Henry Wells himself saw fit to emphasize the service performed by express companies in providing local delicacies throughout the country: "I carried oysters from Albany, receiving for freight \$3.00 per one hundred (*oysters* not lbs.); their arrival in Buffalo was advertised in the Newspapers, and created almost as much excitement as the locomotive on its first trip through the country. Till they were thus conveyed, the Buffalonians were often deprived, for months, of that bivalvular luxury." He often eulogized the express companies for making it possible for a man to serve all "the luxuries of the ocean and of foreign lands," no matter where his dinner party.

Of more political interest than the transport of oysters was Wells' part in the bitter conflict that developed in 1843 between the post office and his express company. Late in 1842, daily communication between Albany and Buffalo being nearly realized, the new company of Livingston, Wells decided to undercut the Post Office Department's postage rate, which was prorated between New York and Buffalo from six to twenty-five cents, according to the distance. Wells, who possibly had the idea from James W. Hale, inaugurated the competition on the Livingston, Wells & Company's express, and later offered service over the New York-Boston-Bangor route in coöperation with Hale. Soon the undercutting by private expresses assumed national importance, largely under Wells' leadership.

By selling twenty stamps for a dollar, irrespective of the distance over which letters were to be sent, Wells and his associates were able almost immediately to take all the post office's business away from it.

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Not, however, without a struggle, for the government contrived to delay the express messengers by every possible method, even by arrest. The people were on the side of the enterprises providing cheaper postage rates, and coöperated to the extent of giving bail for messengers who had been arrested, of opening turnpike gates to let the messengers through, then shutting the gates in the face of their pursuers. In spite of suits by the post office, Wells was generally sustained by the courts, and won a final decision in the United States Court at Utica. It was after this victory that Wells went to Washington and from the Assistant Postmaster-General, a Major Hobbie, requested the permission to take over the entire post office activities of the government. The major's reply is a neat comment on the spoils system of that time: "Zounds, sir! It would throw 16,000 postmasters out of work." At its next session Congress made a standard postal rate of six cents, reduced to five cents (probably because of continued pressure from the express companies) in 1845.

Wells' rivalry with the government should not be passed over as a chance occurrence, since he was at one with the political philosophy of his time in identifying private enterprise with the people rather than in identifying public enterprise with them as is more common today. The express companies were to him more representative of American democracy than the agencies of a government bureaucracy in Washington: "The express system is due, in its origin, to American ingenuity; in its development, to American enterprise; in its almost perfect organization, to American business tact and sagacity; and the confidence of the community in it has been secured by the much tried yet never failing integrity of its managers."

Shortly after the battle with the post office Wells sold most of his western interests and, in 1846, moved from Buffalo, where he had been established, to New York City, opening offices in London and Paris and thus establishing Livingston, Wells & Company as a European express. This brief dissociation of himself from the development of the West, which lasted only until 1850, is not difficult to account for.

In the year that Harnden and Wells had both made and severed their connection, Harnden had extended his service to Europe. This service had shortly begun to exploit the possibilities of immigration,

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and it is estimated that under Harnden's management over one hundred thousand people had emigrated from Europe. Although Harnden lost money in the venture, his death in 1845 may have seemed to Wells to leave an attractive opening.

Wells also may have seen the advisability of being in New York at what turned out to be a crucial time in the history of the express business. Alvin Adams' great company was growing into a potent rival of Harnden's and later was to succeed to the Harnden interests. Mergers were in the air. Finally, as long as Wells continued to live in Buffalo, he seemed unable to refrain from active messenger service. In 1844 Wells & Company had opened between Buffalo and Detroit with William G. Fargo as messenger. But in October of the same year Wells had nearly gone down on Lake Erie while acting as a messenger. The experience of shipwreck may have made him more ready to follow along in more settled paths.

Financially Wells does not seem to have been much happier in his European venture than Harnden; at the most it gave him a taste for European travel. It is not unlikely, too, that growing scandals connected with evils that accompanied European emigration may have somewhat turned Wells' stomach against his new venture, although his interest seems to have been largely with package express. At any rate, his interests were united with Edwards, Sandford & Company in 1855, and finally purchased by A. H. Lansing & Company in 1858.

Gradually Wells' interests again turned westward, and at the same time his power grew, for out of this brief interlude in New York and European capitals he emerged as president of the American Express Company, capitalized in 1850 at \$150,000 and formed from a merger of Wells & Company, Butterfield, Wasson & Company, and Livingston, Fargo & Company.

Adams & Company had meanwhile become firmly established in the West, particularly in California. Realizing at length the desirability of the gold rush business, the directors of the American Express Company organized Wells, Fargo & Company, which immediately began buying small, independent express lines. It was soon to be said that the Rocky Mountains for that firm were but a way-station!

The effect of the competition in the West was the immediate

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reduction of the rate of merchandise transport from sixty to forty cents a pound. Although at one time the Adams Company's express held out for as much as seventy-five cents a pound, the trend continued downward, even after Adams & Company failed in 1855 (to be reorganized as the Adams Express Company) and its California branch disappeared entirely.

Yet undoubtedly the profits, even at half the rate, would have been tremendous. Within the thirteen years from its founding the American Express Company had increased its capitalization twenty times, causing Charles Francis Adams in 1869 to refer to it and its competitors as "enormous parasites on the railway system, taking from it the most profitable part of the freighting business." In the 1860s the Wells, Fargo & Company was capitalized at two million dollars. Its organization had given it practically exclusive control of all the express and stage routes between the Missouri River and the Pacific Coast. Such an increase in service may not, however, be justly considered as a mark of pioneering in the field. Wells Fargo had not entered the California service until Adams had been long established there, and its history in the West is that of constantly buying in—or forcing out—small competitors, while much of its growth seems to have reflected financial manipulation in an equal degree with improvement of service.

Whatever the nature of the expansion in these years of the later 1850s and early 1860s Wells' hand was everywhere. In 1857 he again entered the post office domain, this time as an agent rather than as a competitor, when John Butterfield received the contract for the overland mail, representing Wells, Fargo & Company. Probably its equipment was hardly commensurate with the task, for there was often considerable delay in delivery. But appearances were kept up by the delivery in fairly prompt fashion of packages destined for newspapers. The great run of customers could not thus determine whether it was the failure of the mail service or the negligence of their correspondents that was accountable for their not receiving letters when expected.

The Pony Express, which had been organized in 1860, had, in spite of its exciting and romantic conduct of business, probably caused its projectors more financial loss than gain. The panic among this

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group of entrepreneurs that was occasioned by the nearing of the completion date of the transcontinental telegraph caused them to sell out to the Wells Fargo interests for a nominal sum. Thus strengthened by merger with the great company, the Pony Express during the last six months of its service yielded good profit to its new owners, until the telegraph was finally completed in October, 1861.

But now things seem to have begun to move too rapidly for Wells to keep his grasp. Probably made over-optimistic by the success of their last venture, in 1866 Wells Fargo bought out the overland line of Holladay. The belief was that there would be six or more years of staging before the transcontinental railroad might be completed—especially with such a powerful interest as Wells Fargo opposing it; but completion in less than three years after the sale, accompanied by a demoralization of the overland mail routes as the railroad was advanced, brought heavy loss to the new owners.

In the midst of this debacle the Wells, Fargo & Company was further unsteadied by the appearance of the Pacific Union Express Company in 1868 with a ten-year railroad contract, which the older company was forced to absorb. In the same year east of the Missouri River the Merchants Union Express Company was similarly threatening the American Express Company. The union of the two concerns in 1868 was accompanied by Wells' retirement from his long presidency of the American Express, and in 1873 a complete merger was effected.

The retirement of Henry Wells did not mark the complete loss of his fortune, but he undoubtedly was demoted from the rank of great fortune holders to that of a man of medium means. His reversal occasioned disappointment but no great bitterness, for he had meantime begun the building of a college—an interest which may have indeed caught him napping at a time when all his business acumen was called upon. So while one may picture him in later life spending a winter at his best-loved American city, San Diego, and looking about with his ever-keen eyes at the district he felt he had a part in building, one will catch a truer vision of his work by looking at him in the town of Aurora, where not far from the country of his boyhood he had made his home in 1850. Sixteen years later at Aurora he broke ground for the first building of Wells College in the same month that an explo-

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sion in the Wells Fargo Building in California pretty thoroughly rocked San Francisco.

Besides their founder and the explosion, the express and college hold several things in common. The first papers of both company and institution were drawn up in Aurora. The first president of Wells Fargo, Edwin Barber Morgan, through his financial and personal interest became a "second" founder of the college. In old and current college catalogs appear frequently the names of girls from the great express families: Adams, Fargo, Morgan, and Wells.

Naturally the question arises—what factors led this man so absorbed in the great post-Civil War enterprises to found a college? And not only to found it but to foster it intimately through the first ten years of its growth? In a perennial song intoned by the college students when they consider the inaccessibility of their campus to metropolitan life there is the query, "Henry, how could you do it?" But a biographer might well alter the refrain: "Henry, why did you do it?"

Perhaps not unmindful of his first educational gesture in the stammering schools and with the germ of a more dignified institution in his mind, he had watched the construction of the Girard College campus in Philadelphia in his early thirties; forty years later he recounted how, standing there in awe, he wished rather to be Girard than President of the United States or ruler of any nation. "It was then and there," he continued, "that I resolved that if I ever had the ability, I would go and do likewise. Through all the long years since that resolution was made, it has never been absent from my mind."

The companions and atmosphere of Aurora undoubtedly served to ripen his idea. Edwin Barber Morgan had for long been a trustee of Cayuga Lake Academy and in 1866 began his trusteeship in Cornell University, which Ezra Cornell was establishing thirty miles to the south. Salem Town (so named, it was said, because he had been deposited a waif upon a doorstep in Salem) had held the first teachers' institute in America in 1843. With less joke than he may have pretended, Wells had claimed that he established the college to provide a place for a favorite niece to receive her education. After the death of his first wife in 1859, he married Mary Prentice, a Bostonian, who

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may have turned his thoughts to a subject at that time a good deal discussed, education for women. His son Charles had not altogether come up to his father's expectations, a further and personal reason, one may suppose, for his interest in education turning to that for women. As one who knew him wrote: "He came to the clear conviction that the family is the real source of strength and power of the social structure, and when at last he was in a position to put into execution his lifelong ambition, the question of women's education was attracting general attention."

Throughout New York and throughout the country higher education for women had indeed become a matter of increasing concern. Elmira and Vassar colleges had their inception in the 1850s and 1860s; and it is reported that Matthew Vassar and Henry Wells were keenly interested in each other's plans, the first holding that a large college was superior, the latter putting his trust in a small homelike institution. The anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, also a resident of Aurora, had tried unsuccessfully to establish a woman's college in conjunction with the University of Rochester. Although Cornell University later turned coeducational, this may have been the plan of its president, Andrew White, rather than that of its founder, Ezra Cornell, whom one finds donating the first thousand dollars to the Wells College scholarship fund, remarking that it was not good for man to live alone.

Perhaps Wells' own lack of education furthered rather than retarded his purpose. Though handicapped by lack of formal schooling, his writings testify to a style far more readable than that of most of his contemporaries; while his associates, both expressmen and teachers, were eager to put forth claims for him both as conversationalist and wit and even as a man of learning. Like many a business man the founder's faith in the scholar is almost naive in its completeness. His avowal in an address at the inauguration of the college in 1868 is typical of his feeling, though more involved than his customary style: "We behold the emperor and the king, the poet and the orator, the soldier and the statesman, with one heart and one accord, bring forth their jeweled crowns, their laurel wreaths, their stars of renown, and their scrolls of honor, and lay them at the feet of the scholar."



GLEN PARK, HOME OF HENRY WELLS, AURORA-ON-CAYUGA
(Courtesy of Wells College)



HISTORIC WELLS FARGO COACH OF THE 1860s
NOW USED TO CARRY WELLS COLLEGE SENIORS TO BACCALAUREATE SERVICE
(Courtesy of Wells College)

THE STORY OF HENRY WELLS

Equally enthusiastic was Wells in his admiration of feminine society. In his own home he kept a kind of court, in which his wife, his daughter, and his several nieces were devoted subjects, speaking even of the chair he sat on as his "throne." He used all the resources of his express companies to bring them fruits and delicacies in every season. The postage stamp of the old Livingston, Wells & Company was engraved with the head of a lady, in Wells' words "as associated with every good work." With his admiration of the scholar coupled with his adoration of womankind, it is not surprising that he should have come upon the idea of establishing a woman's college.

The original deed of Wells to the trustees had included "the main hall, fully furnished, equipped, and ready for use, and with it about 20 acres of land." In 1873 in spite of his financial losses he increased his gift with the donation of a brick building and twelve more acres of land. Although in 1888 the main hall was destroyed by fire, the second building still stands on the southern campus and has the name of Pettibone House. Wells' old home, on the north campus, is now called Glen Park.

The original college hall, replaced by the present Main Building after the fire, mirrored the belief of the founder that a college should not have the aspect of a prison or asylum, but rather be as "elegant" as the homes from which the students came. Of a Norman style somewhat personalized according to the taste of its architect, it principally took the fancy of the Auroraburgers, as the townspeople then proudly labeled themselves, for its conveniences: among these a Littlefield furnace with conduits passing the smoke through the halls so that all the heat might be utilized, and the Richter system of gas lighting, the third installed in America.

Equipped also with the pastor of the local Presbyterian Church as president and with seven instructors—all without degrees—the college was opened to students in the fall of 1868. Though from the beginning it was an institution of higher learning for women, assuming to hold itself to standards as nearly equivalent to those for men as possible and given by the Regents of the University of New York full authority to "grant and confer such Honors, Degrees, and Diplomas as are granted by any University, College, or Seminary of Learning in the United States," the college catalog makes no mention of degrees for

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graduates until 1873. The original appellation of "seminary" was changed to that of "college" in 1870, however, as a title more fit for the institution that had been described in the charter of March 28, 1868. Its two graduates of 1869 increased to five in the next year, the first commencement of which there is a record. The meticulous industry of these young ladies may be affirmed when one learns that none failed to receive the "testimonials" granted to those graded above seventy-five, while several attained one hundred—"the standard of perfection." At the same commencement Dorothea Dix was awarded an honorary Doctor of Philosophy degree in recognition of her prison and asylum reforms.

Yet even the standard bearers of perfection did not devote themselves exclusively to books. Records are rich in accounts of boating on the lake and of crossing by cutter on the midwinter ice, of picnicking, driving, and croquet. Receptions seem to have had the social place of honor, sometimes followed by dancing, more often preceded by oratory, always bountiful in refreshments.

Typical among the receptions was that which marked the completion of the Cayuga Lake Railroad between Ithaca and Auburn. Early in the afternoon of an excursion over the new line the hundred travelers entered the college and were conducted into the reception room feeling like "angle worms emerged into a flower bed." Flattered by a motto placard on the wall, *Philadelpha welcomes Philadelphos*, the men were enchanted by "so much captivating loveliness." After applauding a welcome addressed to them by Maggie Sexton, a spirited girl whose father had shocked his townsfolk in Palmyra more than once by entertaining runaway slaves at dinner parties, one of the travelers replied with a spoken essay on "Women"; and with these formalities dispatched "refreshments usual were served."

Nor should one overlook the abundance of flowers at such affairs. In the early years of the college no gathering is recorded without its accessories of flowered shields emblazoned with mottoes. *An educated woman—Paradise Regained* was a favored inscription; or there were the tributes to the founder—the facile pun, *All's Wells*, and the tribute to his early successes, *By Express*.

"Flowery" may indeed be the chosen epithet for this good-natured, thriving village of Aurora in the mid-part of the last century. Colonel

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Morgan's roses, presented by him to each lady at the church door Sunday mornings, were its badge of citizenship. And when spring with its peach blossoms had passed and summer with its gardens, there still remained the greenhouses cultivated by the more wealthy citizens. In this happy mingling of education and enterprise only one unhappy note escapes, scored by some unknown press correspondent. "Somehow I find that it always dwarfs a community to live under the overshadowing presence of one or two 'princely families,'" he wrote. "Nothing is more melancholy than to see people of ordinary means wrestling with the fruitless effort to be Morgans and Wellses. There is only one-half a tone between B natural and B flat." Perhaps then there were those in this village who deserved sympathy more than "John Locke, the village vagrant, wandering through the streets (pipe in mouth) with his red beard and brainless head."

Meanwhile Wells became a sort of grand old man about the college campus, for with his forced retirement from the express business the college came to be less his monument than his active creation. Scarcely a day passed while Wells was in residence at Aurora without his crossing the narrow ravine that divided the grounds of his home from those of the college. He walked now with a marked limp, the result of an injury sustained in his middle fifties. Yet he still remained an impressive figure. Even the stutter he could by this time use to his advantage, prolonging the point of a frequent jest or giving a request the force of a command.

To the young women his home and grounds were as open as if to members of his own family. On their way to the village they were mindful to go across the bridge that led to Glen Park, where Mr. Wells would be sitting upon the veranda, anxious to greet them. Story has it that the girls of the college gathered each evening before going to bed that he might bestow on each a good-night kiss. On Friday evenings the students dined in the mansion; after dinner there was the possibility of a trip into the sacred parlor with its paintings and the marble statue before the western pier glass—Peri at the Gates of Paradise with three marble tears in her marble hand. Sincere admiration of the biblical painting of Jacob's Dream might bring to the admirer an engraved copy, though only one hundred had been made, and most visitors thought, or *had* to think, that it was tremendously elegant.

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An ardent traveler, Wells left Aurora each winter for a stay in Europe, the West Indies, or California. It was the Caribbean region that he enjoyed most, his affection divided between Santa Cruz and Nassau, and by virtue of a growing antiquarianism Egypt and the Mediterranean attracted him also. Each spring he brought back to his girls at the college some souvenir from his winter travels. A winter in Egypt resulted in the gift of Ushabtiu, mummy-shaped stones four inches long inscribed with passages from the Book of the Dead that were placed in the pharaoh's tomb. "There," he would remark, allowing wit to betray his strong Presbyterian faith, "you can say your prayers to that."

In 1878 Wells left Aurora to winter in Sicily. But having arrived in Glasgow, he was taken so ill that he could sail no farther and died on December 10, two days short of his seventy-third birthday. Said Dr. Edward Frisbee, president of the college: "Instead of reaching the shores of eastern Sicily, where the fruits and flowers indicate the clime he sought, he has gone to that home in which there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain." The rhetoric has not altogether destroyed the niceness of the thought.

If one can put oneself back into the late Victorian period without too strong a wrench, he may appreciate the somewhat lush symbolism at the funeral service where "four young ladies, the representatives of Wells College, preceded by the ushers, brought forward their offering of choicest flowers, and laid [it] upon the casket; the first a wreath, the second an anchor, the third a sheaf of wheat, which the fourth encircled with a flower sickle." But one who would wish a more vital symbol in a less mystic period may go to Wells College on a June commencement day and see its graduates of the year rolling down the main street of Aurora inside and on top of a still brightly furbished coach of Wells Fargo.



CHAPEL, ST. MARY'S SEMINARY
(Courtesy St. Mary's Seminary. Maximilian Godefroy, Architect.)

Early Maryland Architects

BY WILLIAM SENER RUSK, PH. D., PROFESSOR OF FINE ARTS,
WELLS COLLEGE, AURORA-ON-CAYUGA, NEW YORK



THE story of Maryland architecture begins when twenty gentlemen and between two and three hundred laborers and handicraftsmen landed at St. Mary's in 1634. Father White consecrated a church, "*primum Marylandiæ sacellum*," immediately, although it consisted of an Indian chieftain's hut. It was half oval in form, twenty feet long, and about ten feet high with an opening at the top, half a yard square, whereby light was admitted and smoke ejected, for, writes our annalist, "they build their fire, after the manner of ancient halls in England, in the middle of the house."

As new colonists arrived craftsmen, masons, bricklayers, and carpenters were included, though it must be recalled that such folk were not hard pressed in England at the time and would not readily have changed security for adventure. Temporary shelters must have yielded shortly to frame houses, and frame to masonry, as safety replaced danger. The research of the last thirty years (since the establishment of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, shall we say, in 1905) has, however, not led to merely vague or negative results. We have moved at least from the stage of seeking the architect to one where we know there were no architects until near the Revolution. Let us review the types of evidence now available.

First, it is clear that the more significant structures were designed and the construction superintended by builders. This may be illustrated by the third State House, recently recreated at St. Mary's. Literary, archæological, and documentary evidence assure the essential correctness of the new building. It was a brick building in a cruciform plan, the roof was steeply mediaeval, spired, and adorned with a dolphin. An arcaded porch to face St. Mary's River and a stair tower were specified as well as hipped roofs for porch and stair pavilions. Captain Quigley was the builder or contractor; three hundred

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and thirty thousand pounds of tobacco, the bonded cost. The usual difficulties arose when more time and additional fees were sought. These matters were adjusted, but the captain's request to have a tavern concession in the new building was frowned on. The council, to quote from Forman's interesting volume, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, considered it "highly dishonorable to convert that house, built only for the administration of justice and for the holding of General Assemblies, into a tavern or taphouse." The structure, however, was not marked by the sound craftsmanship usually found in colonial times. At six-year intervals drastic repairs were needed. In 1694 the capital was moved to Annapolis. By 1720 the old building was used as a church, and continued to be so employed until it was demolished in 1829, the brick finding use in the extant church on the same site.

Second, it is no longer disputed that architectural texts and handbooks bridged the distance between carpenter and architect. An example frequently used is that of the chimney-piece console in the Brice House, Annapolis, and the detail in Swan, *British Architect*, Plate 50, a volume which was current in various editions in London from 1745, in Philadelphia by 1775, and so on.

The books found in the gentlemen's libraries and the handbooks in the possession of the apprentices range from the folios of Palladio and Gibbs and Adams and the elaborate studies of classical antiquities with measured drawings of Des Godetz, Stuart and Revett, Major, and Wood to Pain and Benjamin, whose practical designs went through edition after edition. By the adaptation of these designs to new materials and tools (*e. g.*, wood forms changed to stone in ancient times and back to wood in colonial times, and gouging replaced egg-and-dart moulding) American colonial became a style, now naive and provincial, and again, sophisticated and elegant.

The third type of information being gathered centers around the amateur and gentleman architect. For the former we might name Dr. William Thornton, for the latter, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. And perhaps we should allude in this connection to those lords of manors of our own time who rebuild sympathetically and creatively the old houses. "Preston-on-Patuxent," rebuilt by Hulbert Footner, is a case in point. In general, it is still pertinent to recall the opinion of T. Henry Randall, the Annapolis architect, who is quoted

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as saying that the planter was his own architect and builder, securing his plans from England. The frequency with which these plans were secured in London except in terms of printed books is debatable. It may have been done on occasion, but I do not know of a specific instance which has more than traditional authentication.

Next, we come to references which include craftsmen, apprentices, and carpenters. A family tradition, a mere name, a newspaper advertisement, that is all that may still give reality to many of them. For example, a certain Bowen, an indentured servant, is mentioned now and again for his ingenious mahogany stair at *Sotterly*, St. Mary's County, with its "Chinese" motivation. John Howland is now revealed as the builder of the Ridgely house, *Hampton*, Baltimore County, doubtless using his master's designs. His bills have been published. William Edwards, a Baltimore craftsman, appears as claimant for honors at *Homewood*, Baltimore. John Shaw, Annapolis cabinetmaker of distinction, is met at the Hammond House, the State House, and the present Elk headquarters in Annapolis. The student may now read the contract between James Cheston and Leonard Harbaugh, carpenter, and Andrew Green, bricklayer, for his house, *Ivy Neck*, Anne Arundel County, the contract with Colonel James Maxwell for the Court House at Joppa, Baltimore County, and so on.

But the focus of the picture becomes even clearer when we reach the references to architects. At times it is hard to distinguish them from modern contractors and builders. But when they advertise for apprentices, when they include teaching of the "orders" as a sideline, and when they state their European professional credentials, their claim to architectural classification is doubtless justified. Above all, in eighteenth century Maryland we shall see Joseph Clark's qualifications assured.

Architects known to us chiefly as names range from a Scotchman named Duff who came to Annapolis to build a Governor's House for Governor Bladen (1744)—that unfortunate structure later completed for St. John's College—to George Robach, "a celebrated architect" of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who built the steeple on the German Church in Baltimore in 1805. Again, when a niece of Earl of Shrewsbury, Anne Talbot, married Henry Darnall III, an architect was sent from London to design and superintend the construction of

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"Poplar Hill," Prince Georges County. Leonard Harbaugh is met with when Calvert Street, Baltimore, was levelled and extended in 1784 and the venerable courthouse, on what is now the site of the Battle Monument, was underpinned and underarched in the process. The original building of Washington College at Chestertown was erected in 1783 by Rakestraw and Hicks, Philadelphia architects. Destroyed by fire in 1827, it was said to have surpassed even Nassau Hall at Princeton among early collegiate buildings.

But let us read some of the advertisements collected by A. C. Prime from colonial newspapers, *e. g.*, those of Samuel Rusbatch, interior decorator; James Diamond, inventor; Hogan, McCutcheon & Company, and John Oriss.

(*The Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, January 6, 1774):

JOSEPH HORATIO ANDERSON (Architect)—

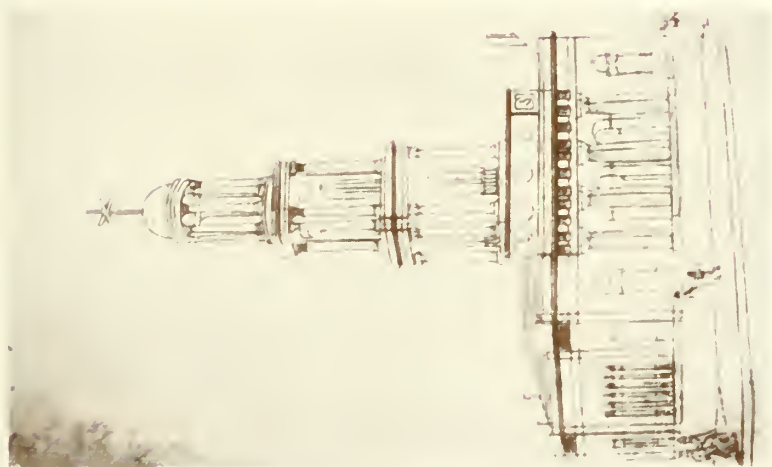
To the Ladies and Gentlemen, Samuel Rusbatch, late pupil to Robert Maberly, Esquire, coach and herald painter; and varnisher to their Majesties and the Royal Family; proposeth (under the direction of Joseph Horatio Anderson, architect in Annapolis) to carry on all the various branches of coach and herald painting, varnishing and gilding; as well plain as in the most decorated taste. Also painting in fresco, *cire-obscur*, decorated ceilings for halls, vestibules, and saloons, either in festoons of fruits, flowers, figures, or trophies. Carved ornaments in deception, gilding, and burnishing in the neatest manner, as well house-painting, in distemper as dead whites, as in the common colours, etc. Those ladies and gentlemen who please to favor him with their commands, may depend on his speedy execution; which he flatters himself will soon recommend him to the favor of the public. . . .

In this case an immigrant interior decorator apparently is associating himself with an established Annapolis architect.

(*Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore General Advertiser*, April 29, 1785):

JAMES DIAMOND—Baltimore, April 29

By a gentleman from Somerset county, we are informed that the ingenious Mr. James Diamond, architect, in the county aforesaid, has invented and brought into practice, an instrument so curiously calculated, as to determine the right line, distance, bearing, and magni-



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BALTIMORE,
MARYLAND
(From Fielding Lucas' "Pictures of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1832. Robert Cary-
long, Architect.)



GOODLOE HARPER DAIRY, CIRCA 1810
(Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Architect, Baltimore Art
Museum.)

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tude of any object by sight only, whether accessible or inaccessible, without change of place or station, by a method entirely new. The utility of such an instrument must be highly acceptable to those who are practitioners in gunnery, navigation, surveying, etc. when it is considered, that the application is adapted to the meanest capacity. What renders this invention the more extraordinary is, that the most distant hunt of the principles on which it is calculated, is not to be met in Euclid, or any other ancient or modern author, which is no small honour to the inventor, and to this country in general.

Drawings for the Capitol and the President's House by Diamond are preserved at the Maryland Historical Society.

(*Maryland Journal or Baltimore Advertiser*, December 28, 1784):

HOGAN, McCUTCHEON AND COMPANY—

James Hogan, George McCutcheon, and Company, Architects and Builders, who have been regularly brought up to, and have for many years past carried on, the House-Carpenter and Building Business, in an extensive way, in the City of Dublin, beg leave to inform the Public, that they will undertake to build Houses, or do anything in the Carpenter's Line, and furnish all Materials, or workmanship only, on the lowest terms.

Any Gentlemen, or others, who please to employ them, will find it to their advantage, as they have brought some workmen with them from Ireland, who are bound to them, by which means they are enabled to do what work they undertake, with expedition and care. They have also with them an excellent Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer, who for many years have carried on the same Business, and will compleat anything therein, on more reasonable terms than can be imported from any other Country. The above-mentioned Hogan will measure the different artists work in the building business, and will likewise draw plans, elevations, and estimates, for any building and will superintend them on the most reasonable terms.

They want any Apprentice or two. None need apply but such as have a competent share of learning, and are of decent Parents. Application to be made at Mr. Clarke's, Watch-Maker, under Mr. Hayes's Printing-Office, Market Street, Baltimore, or at Mr. Robert Hutton's, Currier, French-Town.

One suspects that these builders from overseas are setting up as architects with rather flimsy credentials.

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(*The Maryland Gazette*, May 22, 1751):

JOHN ORISS—

By the Subscriber (lately from Great Britain) Buildings of all Sorts and Dimensions are undertaken and performed in the neatest Manner, (and at the Cheapest Rates) either of the Ancient or Modern Order of Gibb's Architect and if any Gentlemen should want plans, Bills of Scantling, or Bills of changes, for any Fabric, or Public Edifice, may have them by applying to the Subscriber at Major John Bushrod's at Westmoreland County, Virginia, where may be seen a great Variety and sundry Draughts of Buildings in Miniature, and some buildings near finished, after the Modern Taste.

JOHN ORISS.

T. Henry Randall, writing in the *Architectural Record* in 1891 seems to be essentially accurate, then, when he says that the early architect was his own builder. He began his professional studies by being regularly apprenticed in England or in the province, and besides being proficient in drawing and perfectly familiar with his "orders," he had to undergo training in mason work, carpentry, and carving before he was considered qualified to practice independently.

Having thus sifted the kinds of information now available we may center our attention on personalities about whom more is known or plausibly assumed. William Buckland, 1734-74, comes first. His career has been revealed to us by Halsey. Basic in this rehabilitation are two documents, (a) his apprenticeship papers to his uncle, James Buckland, bookseller and joiner of London, and (b) his indenture papers to James Mason as "carpenter and joiner." Halsey believes that Honington Hall, Warwickshire, a Charles II structure remodelled in the mid-eighteenth century, was where young Buckland had his early training, perhaps even sharing in the wood carving. Of the nine or ten details found at Honington Hall and also in the houses of Maryland and Virginia attributed to Buckland, we shall cite but one example—the others are quite as convincing. A shutter in the state dining room in the Hammond House, Annapolis, and one in the oak room of Honington Hall, are strikingly similar.

On the basis of such reasoning with its cumulative force, Halsey attributes the six gems of Annapolitan architecture, and *Whitehall* nearby, to Buckland: Hammond, Ridout, Scott, Brice, Paca, Chase

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houses. It is pleasant to learn that William Buckland in time directed indentured artisans of his own, and that his granddaughter became the wife of Richard Harwood, in whose house, now styled the Hammond-Harwood House, the portrait of Buckland by Charles Willson Peale hangs.

Attribution by style, as Halsey does in these cases, is a fascinating, but a dangerous hobby. The historian must also take into account such traditions as the one that a Matthew Buckland, of Philadelphia, designed the Hammond House, and the one that John Randall, later owner of the Bordley House at Annapolis, was at one time the pupil of a Mr. Buckley, of Fredericksburg, Virginia. If William Buckland, Matthew Buckland, and Mr. Buckley are by chance the same person, the problem is amazingly simplified. This possibility is not as remote as might be supposed at first thought when the vagaries of handwriting are considered. "Mt.," the abbreviation for Matthew, may have been misread for "Mr."; while an ending"—land" may readily have looked like "—lay" in manuscript.

William Edwards, the builder of *Homewood*, Baltimore, is important to us only if we assume with Halsey that he did the wood carving. Pending more information, the visitor is invited to choose between the Kimball-Thornton theory and the Halsey-Carroll-Edwards theory. There is also the opinion that the four mantels are later than the house. The Halsey theory rests on the education of the Signer in France and England, the custom of including architecture in a gentleman's education, and the craftsmanship of William Edwards, "house-carpenter at the end of Pratt Street." He supposes Carroll selected the designs from such a text as that of William Pain's *Practical Builder*.

Joseph Clark is commonly credited with the dome of the State House, Annapolis, as well as with the completion of the building itself. He was a resident of Annapolis from 1790. Clark is also said to have planned the completion of "Bladen's Folly" when that unlucky structure was being changed to collegiate purposes in 1784. The State House was begun in 1772 under contract with a Charles Wallace and was completed by 1793.

Clark's chief interest to us in the present instance is centered in two letters to the commissioners of the city of Washington, called to

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my attention by Dr. Fiske Kimball, in which he speaks with the words and in the tone of the professional architect:

GEORGE TOWN April the 8th 1792

GENTLEMEN

From a supposition you purpose to employ an Architect to design and supervise the erection of the public Buildings in the City of Washington, also from the solicitations of some Gentlemen in this Town, I am induced to the liberty of offering my services on a scale of equal economy with any person of like professional Pretensions.

Should you think proper to accept me, I beg leave to suggest, I can, exclusive of doing you other necessary business in my line, bring forward a set of drawings by the 15th of July agreeable to your public request, for which you offer premiums; and in case you think proper to adopt the designs I make, it will be a saving to you of those premiums: added to this you will have designs drawn according with your own Ideas of arrangements; besides opportunities afforded during the progression of the drawings to collect information in every minutia relative to the Buildings you are about to erect; and thereby you will be in possession of a standard to measure the designs that may be offered to you on the 15th of July.

Permit me, with all deference, to state to you that I am of opinion the area you propose for the senate room, 1200 feet, is not sufficient; I draw my opinion from the dimensions of the Senate Room in the Capitol of Maryland, which are (as near as I now can recollect) 48 feet by 35 feet produces an area of 1505 feet.

The capacity of the 12 small rooms I think well calculated for the purpose they are designed for: But would not 4 Rooms each three times the area answer as fully for the same uses: With submission allow me to observe there will be a great difficulty to arrange such small compartments in a structure of the magnitude of the Capitol must be of in order to arrange the large Compartments, without erecting the partitions of the small rooms on false bearings, and introducing mezzanine stories: The first is repugnant to all principles of permanent Building, and the second is generally a cause of destroying the symmetry of elevations.

The line of my duty on which I now offer you my services, on an agreed for annual salary, is to appropriate the whole of my working time from 9 to 3 o'clock solely to the service of the commissioners, for the purpose of making Designs, drawings, Estimates, Particulars [specifications] of labor and Materials, Drafts of contracts, and supervising the different contractors for the Buildings and their

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apprentices; according to the direction, advice, and consent of the commissioners in all cases. . . .

The Liberty I have shown in making some observations does not arise from a desire or a conviction that you should pay respect to them, but with a freedom originated from your known Characters to do and judge aright, and your wishes to receive any information that can throw the smallest light on the arduous Business you are pursuing.

I am very respectfully

Your most Obedient Servant

The Honorable Commissioners
of the City of Washington

JOSEPH CLARK

GENTLEMEN GEDDES' TAVERN GEORGE TOWN April 11 1792

Last Monday I delivered to your secretary an address to you, offering my services as an architect, to design & supervise the public Buildings in the City of Washington.

I hope you will not be offended at my Informing you I have been here 12 days on heavy expenses; and the day preceding my departure from Annapolis The Governor and Council appointed me, with a commission of ten P C^t on £2750, to design, particulate, and supervise the Contractors for repairing the Public Buildings; This appointment I have not accepted, waiting your answer to my address. The Trustees of the Church in Annapolis, have got a new subscription of £1000, and they have appointed me with a Commission of ten per Cent on it to render the same services. Mr. James Carroll has applied and solicited me to render him the like Services on an House he is going to erect, which I estimate will cost him £1000; These appointments require my personal Labour, and the Gentlemen seeing my relaxation and hearing the cause may supersede the appointments.

Those facts added to my expensive absence from a numerous Family, whose support depends on my personal labour, has operated on me to the presumption of soliciting your answer. . . .

I am gentlemen with Highest

Respect your Obedient Servant

JOSEPH CLARK

The noteworthy feature of these letters is the request of Clark for employment at an annual salary as supervisor, not as contractor, of the buildings concerned, and his references to his ten per cent. commissions in Annapolis for similar services. In this fully professional sense only John Hawks in North Carolina precedes Clark as architect. The commissioners, with propriety, felt that during a competi-

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tion they did not wish to be "too deeply officered," as they wrote Jefferson. They were willing to appoint the winner of the competition, if otherwise suitable, to superintend the construction, however. Yet we cannot help but see that if Clark's suggestion had been accepted, the dreary quarreling between Dr. Thornton, the winner, and Stephen Hallet, whose ideas were used, and who had charge of the early stages of the construction, and Latrobe, who later took charge, might have been avoided.

Thornton may be represented in Maryland by *Homewood*, the eccentric doctor, inventor, architect of the Capitol, the *Octagon* in Washington, and *Tudor Hall* in Georgetown. At any rate, the stairway at *Riverdale*, Calvert County, is claimed for him.

Mention of Benjamin H. Latrobe must be limited on this occasion to his private house type, as represented by the Harper House, Baltimore, with its Regency accent, and the dairy for the Harper estate in Baltimore County in the form of an Ionic treasury. The latter is now preserved in the grounds of the Baltimore Art Museum.

Robert Mills, Latrobe's pupil and heir-apparent to leadership of the Greek Revival, is known in Baltimore for the Washington Monument, and in its day for the First Baptist Church, inspired by the Pantheon at Rome.

Robert Cary Long, with an individuality which has led his style to be called Baltimore Federal, may be remembered for the fourth St. Paul's Church. The tower shows the four orders, but has little relation to the rest of the mass.

Maximilian Godefroy, French emigré, husband of a Baltimore belle, embittered by his quarrel with Latrobe over the Baltimore Exchange, and later an architectural official of the French government. is significant to Baltimoreans not so much for the battle monument with its multitude of symbolic details, as for the Unitarian Church, intelligently recalling the forms of the Pantheon, Rome, and for St. Mary's Chapel, a quaint example of classical Gothic.

Finally, we may recall that Major L'Enfant designed the gardens at *Hampton* and at *Mt. Airy*, both in Baltimore County.

Our conclusions naturally follow from these facts. In Maryland the early builders and architects were dealing with a tidewater and piedmont environment. They were called upon to design houses and

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lay out gardens for the most part. The romanticism and the sound craftsmanship which characterized all early America held also in Maryland. In general Maryland houses exhibit perfect proportion, absence of outside shutters, windows with heavy trims and heavy muntins, high chimneys, smooth gables, neat brickwork, approaches through groves of trees and garden settings. A particular local detail of the outside was the pent-house between the flues of the chimney pointed out by Forman, while a detail of interior craftsmanship was the multiplied reeding, seen at *Homewood*.

His Mother's Kindred

BY ADA HARRIET BALDWIN, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
IN FOUR PARTS—PART II

PETER AND MARY

*Steer thou with good strong hand and wary eye, O helmsman—
thou carriest great companions.*—WALT WHITMAN.

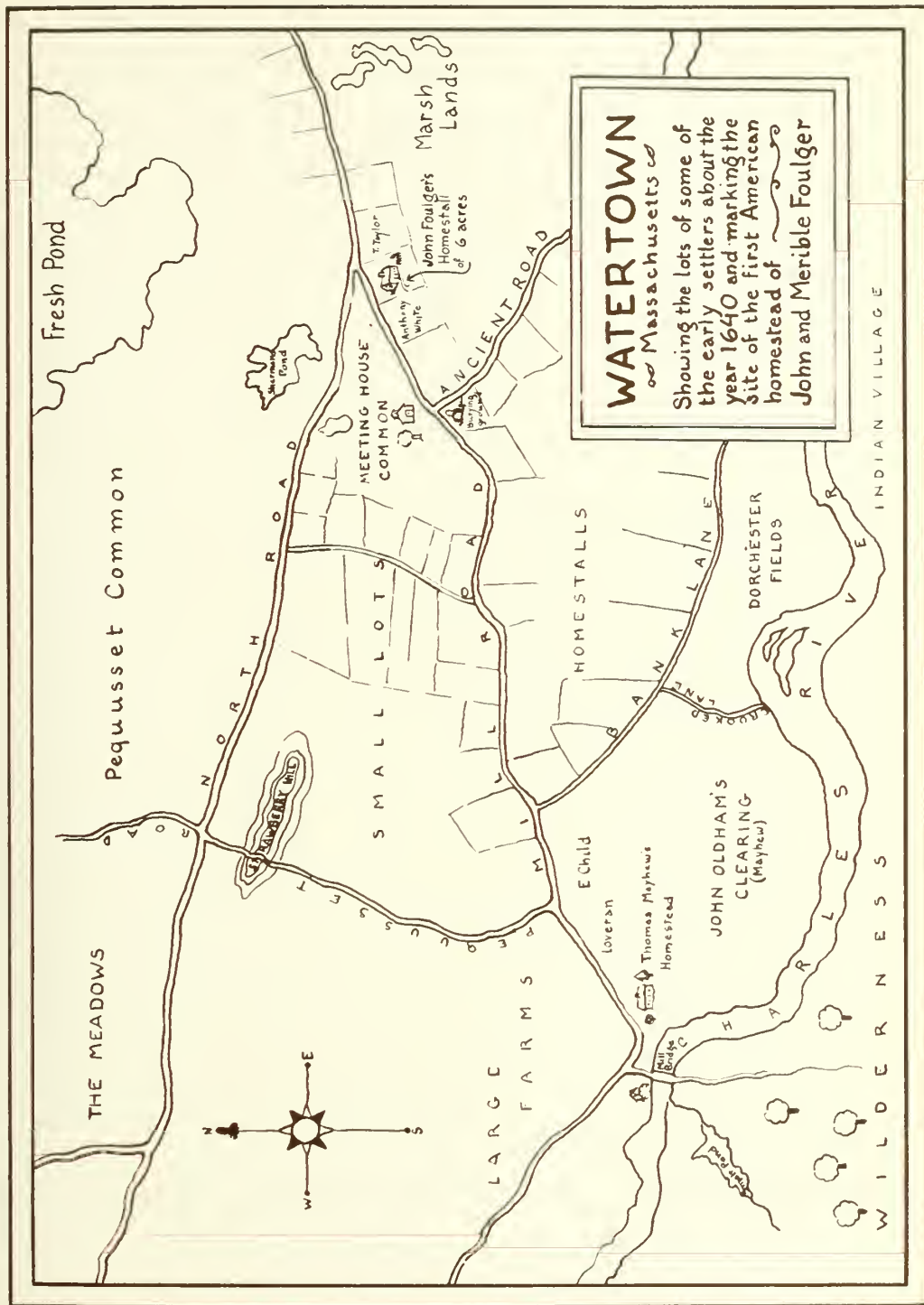
I



IN the summer of 1635, the ship *Abigail* lay at her dock in London, listing passengers for New England. The great tide of Puritan migration was at high flood and out-going vessels were filled to capacity. News of scheduled sailings was circulated by carriers and town criers, and people wishing to secure passage usually went to London, Bristol or Southampton to make arrangements for the voyage. Preparing for the journey was an arduous task—days of sorting, packing, selling and buying; days of struggle to settle domestic and business affairs; days of slow and difficult overland travel, and trouble and worry over perplexing government regulations. The crossing from the Old World to the New was for many hundreds of families a momentous pilgrimage—a pilgrimage that purposed no return.

The cost of transportation was fixed by the Massachusetts Bay Company. The fare for adults was five pounds per person. For children it was lower and graduated according to age, "sucking children not to bee reckoned." The rate for freight was four pounds per ton. As it was advisable to carry as much in the way of household goods and provisions as possible, the expense of the trip was considerable for the average family. William Wood, in his "New England's Prospect," gives a long list of things "most necessary to bee carried over Sea for our use at Land." He also suggests taking along a good stock of provisions for the long ocean voyage:

Although every man have ship-provisions allowed him for his five pound a man, which is salt Beefe, Porke, salt Fish, Butter, Cheese,



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Pease, Pottage, Watergrewell, and such kinde of Victuals, with good Biskets, and sixe-shilling Beere; yet will it be necessary, to carry some comfortable refreshing of fresh victuall. Some Conserves, and good Clarret Wine to burne at Sea. It is a very comfortable thing for the Stomacke; or such as are Sea-sicke; Sallet-oyle likewise. Prunes are good to be stewed; Sugar for many things: White Biskets, and Eggs, and Bacon, Rice, Poultry, and some weather-sheepe to kill aboard the ship. Juice of Lemons well put up, is good either to prevent or cure the Scurvy. Here it must not be forgotten to carry small Skillets or Pipkins, and small frying-pannes, to dresse their victuals in at Sea. For bedding, so it be easie, and cleanly, and warme, it is no matter how old or coarse it be for the use of the Sea; and so likewise for Apparrell, the oldest cloathes be the fittest, with a long coarse coate, to keepe better things from the pitched ropes and planks. Whosoever shall put to Sea in a stoute and well conditioned ship, having an honest Master, and loving Seamen, shall not neede to feare, but he shall finde as good content at Sea, as at Land.

Considering the size of the ships and the amount of baggage, it is no wonder that space was at a premium. Vessels were small, some only seventy tons and but few over four hundred, and most of them had not been built for the accommodation of passengers. Many had formerly been engaged in the wine trade to Mediterranean ports. These "sweet ships," as they were called, were well caulked and dry, and stout enough for ocean travel, but there was little room aboard for the comfort or privacy of passengers. Distinguished and wealthy persons sometimes had special cabins built for them—young Sir Henry Vane had his own private quarters on the *Abigail*—but ordinary travellers had to be content with the rough board compartments constructed between decks wherever space permitted. In those days a state-room was often nothing more than a swinging hammock.

The voyagers who sailed on the *Abigail*, in the summer of 1635, may have been uncomfortably crowded and cramped, but they were in no danger of repeating the sad experiences of their comrades who had sailed with the Winthrop fleet, and who had suffered so cruelly from scorbutic starvation. Much had been learned in the intervening five years. Captain Richard Hackwell, master of the *Abigail*, knew exactly what provision to take to safeguard his passengers and crew from the ravages of scurvy. And he knew how to stow freight so that it would not go "hurling about from place to place" in stormy

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weather, as it was wont to do on the first emigrant ships; and how best to cope with the complicated emigration laws, so as to avoid being stopped by the King's Searchers. Some of the captains who sailed later on were not so fortunate. In 1638, when the ordinances of Archbishop Laud had reached a state of muddled frenzy, eight vessels were detained in the Thames, and an order issued for the relanding of their passengers. In spite of considerable controversy, the story persists that young Oliver Cromwell was among those who were refused permission to pass beyond the seas.

Many shipmasters were in sympathy with the Puritans and were nothing loath to smuggle aboard their vessels escaping ministers, often under assumed names and occupations. These worthy shepherds were determined to reach New England and preach to their flocks there, and Laud was equally determined to retain them in silence in England. Hugh Peters sailed secretly on the *Abigail*, and according to a letter from his stepson to the younger John Winthrop, would have been arrested had he delayed another twenty-four hours in enemy territory.

The *Abigail* sailed from London the end of July, stopping at Plymouth as her last port of departure. London ships usually stopped at one of the channel ports, to take on water, perishable supplies and additional passengers. Sometimes they laid over for several days, waiting for a favorable wind. During these lingering hours, the voyagers usually went ashore. In the famous old seaport of Plymouth, hustling and bustling with merchantry and mariners, with the gray gulls screaming overhead, with harassed shipmasters shouting and cursing below, and with women laughing and weeping and waving, there were plenty of interesting sights to see. The *Abigail's* passengers, most of whom had never been in Plymouth before, were glad enough to avail themselves of the opportunity for going ashore. Very likely some of them went promenading on Plymouth Hoe, where Drake had played at bowls as the Spanish Armada hove in sight, and where, for a hundred years and more, crowds of Devon folk had gathered to watch departing ships and to welcome returning heroes. Some wandered about the gay thirteenth century market-place, making last minute purchases. A few sought the quiet church, to breathe a last prayer in the Mother Country. And others climbed the little hill

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to the old tavern, for a last dish of savory pasty and a last tankard of ale.

It was early in August when the *Abigail* finally set sail from Plymouth, and picking her way out of the crowded sheltered waters of the Sound, laid her course for the far distant shores of New England. As she sailed by the green hills of Cornwall and on past the Lizard's colored cliffs, the passengers crowded together on the decks, straining their eyes for a last glimpse of England. And as the rocky shores of Land's End faded from sight, emotions ran high. Young mothers quieted their babes and fought the cold fear of uncertainty that rose in their hearts. Young fathers thought eagerly of the freedom and opportunity of the new land. Devout Puritan leaders, despairing of the redemption of the church at home, turned with a prayer of hope to the new-born church in the wilderness. Young men and women, on tip-toe with curiosity, were ready, as always, for new worlds to conquer. Old people, torn from their moorings, gazed steadfastly before them with slowly dimming eyes. There had been sad farewells on shore, and there was sorrow at leaving the old homes and the old familiar scenes. But there was joy and gladness, too, and a shining faith that did not doubt of its power to remove mountains. For whatever else the early Puritans had to endure, they were seldom disturbed by doubt as to the rightness of their decisions and the ultimate triumph of their cause. No mere love of adventure, no mere hope of material gain or escape from economic oppression, could have removed the mountains of adversity that rose in the pathway of these spiritual seekers. Like all great adventurers, "their souls' invincible surmise" led them on.

This was probably not the first trip to New England that the *Abigail* had made. She may have been the same *Abigail* that had sailed from Weymouth in 1628, with Captain Henry Gaudens at the helm, and Captain John Endicott on board. On that famous trip to Salem, her passenger list numbered less than sixty. When she sailed from old Plymouth seven years later, she had 220 persons aboard and many cattle. The names of the two most notable of these persons did not appear on the official list. Hugh Peters, fleeing from the wrath of Laud, had kept quiet concerning his departure, and young Henry Vane, son of the Comptroller of the King's Household, wished to

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leave England with as little stir as possible. Sir Harry's Puritan tendencies had caused considerable agitation at court, but the King had finally granted him a license for three years' residence in New England.

"The Comptroller Sir Henry Vane's eldest son," wrote a correspondent of the time, "hath left his father, his mother, his country, and that fortune which his father would have left him there, and is for conscience's sake, gone into New England."

The Puritans on the *Abigail* were at first inclined to look askance at the flowing locks and elegant dress of the handsome young nobleman, but soon they discovered his devotion to their cause, and before they had been many days at sea, his religious fervor and charm of manner had won all their hearts. Mr. Vane and Mr. Peters probably spent many hours together in learned discourse, a favorite pastime in those unhurried days when controversial conversation was an art. Hugh Peters, who had been pastor of the English Church in Rotterdam for six years, although rough and outspoken, was a man of marked ability and nimble tongue. Vane must have found him a most interesting associate during the long sea voyage. There was, however, a young gentleman on board who was a more congenial companion. This was John Winthrop the younger, eldest son of Governor Winthrop. Cultured, broad-minded and responsive, John was actively concerned in the settling of New England, but was rather more interested in studying the marvels of science than in sounding the depths of religion. His library of a thousand volumes contained many works of scientific interest. This was his second trip to New England. His young bride, Elizabeth Reade Winthrop, was with him. Elizabeth was the stepdaughter of Hugh Peters, which accounts for the elder Winthrop's brotherly fashion of addressing Mr. Peters. Young Winthrop was particularly interested in the new Connecticut plantation at Saybrook. He had travelled far and wide, and his fellow-passengers on the *Abigail* must have been vastly entertained by the stories of his adventures, and keenly interested in what he had to tell them of the country which most of them were soon to see for the first time. It was comfortably reassuring to meet a man of Winthrop's type returning to the wilderness with such unshaken courage and such confidence in the future. And it was highly gratifying to have on

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board two such shining lights as Hugh Peters and Henry Vane. Among the more humble of the passengers was John Foulger, of Norwich, with his wife Merible, his son Peter and a daughter. And among the most humble of all, was a little serving maid apprenticed to Hugh Peters. She was about fifteen years old, and her name was Mary Morrill.

Servants and apprentices often accompanied their masters to America, and many families on the *Abigail* had one or more retainers with them. The term "servant" was a broad one, including such employees as clerks, secretaries and agents—not a few of whom became landowners and freemen in the settlements. It was difficult to secure good servants in Colonial days, and the custom of sending over from England orphans and destitute children to help supply the demand, and incidentally to reduce the number of hungry mouths at home, was favorably looked upon. The Council for New England had decreed that all such young persons "bee of 14 yeares apeese or upwards." But this ruling was often disregarded, and the transportation of children to America led to many abuses. There were a number of these unfortunate young people on the *Abigail*. Most of them were fourteen or over, but one little waif, known as Margaret Devotion, was only nine.

The trades were well represented on board. In the old records the following are listed: a carpenter, a weaver, a tanner, a baker, a clothier, two tailors, a potter, a starch-maker, two glovers, a blacksmith, a fisherman, a merchant, two shoemakers and several husbandmen. There were many whose occupations were not noted. With Master Peters on hand, all these good people had plenty of preaching and praying to divert them during the long tedious days of the crossing.

II

August of 1635 was a stormy month. Hardly was the *Abigail* out of sight of England before she was laboring through heavy seas and battling contrary winds. But she rode out the storms without mishap. It seems truly remarkable that during all the years of the Puritan migration, in spite of storms, pirates, unseaworthy ships, inexperienced pilots and uncharted coasts, only one emigrant ship bound for New England was lost. Small wonder that the Puritans

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believed that "Jehovah hee misses not to be an exact Pilot in the most thickest fogge and darkest nights." There were doubtless good reason why He missed in the case of the *Angel Gabriel*, sailing from Bristol in June, 1635. She was a strong and well-conditioned ship, but from the moment of setting sail for New England, many things were observed as ominous of some great disaster. Perhaps this was fair enough warning—but the *Gabriel* sailed on. Approaching the inhospitable coast of Maine on the fateful night of August 14, she was snatched up by a raging tempest and dashed to pieces on the rocks off Pemaquid Point. All souls aboard were miraculously saved, but most of the precious freight was swept away. Among the bits of wreckage that were salvaged was an apple tree planted in a tub. It was eventually set out in an orchard in York, Maine, and two hundred years later was reputed to be still bearing.

The night the *Angel Gabriel* was wrecked was the night of New England's first historic hurricane—the long remembered August gale of 1635. The storm struck just after midnight, with a sudden violent shift of wind from the southwest to the northeast. It "raged in a manner whose furious equal was not within the memory, or the traditions, of the most venerable living Algonquins, and left the scar-marks of its desolation scored deep upon the fair face of the land." The early morning hours of that midsummer day were filled with destruction, tragedy and terror. In the wake of the wind and the torrential rain rose the tide, so high that it threatened to engulf the whole land. A great tidal wave swept over the region of the Narragansetts, washing away native settlements and drowning many of the inhabitants. Those of the Indians who were able, took refuge in the trees. Surging waters tore across Cape Cod, and the forests south of Plymouth were shattered by the fury of the wind. "It blew down many hundred thousands of trees," writes Governor Bradford, "turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees off in the middle; and the tall young oaks and walnut trees of good bigness were wound like withes, very strange and fearful to behold." Crops were sadly damaged; Indian corn, the mainstay of the colonists, was beaten down and "never rose more." At Boston, a twenty-foot tide flooded the lowlands, causing great havoc and some loss of life. All the settlements along the coast were badly battered, and hundreds of

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houses were unroofed or blown down. The shores were strewn with wreckage. Although the *Angel Gabriel* was the only ship lost bringing emigrants from England, light coastal craft, helpless in the grip of winds and waves, suffered heavy damages. Fishing sloops, trading shallops and small boats of all kinds were destroyed, and many people were drowned. A pinnace carrying Parson John Avery, Mistress Avery and their six young children, from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to Boston, came to grief on the rocky ledges of Cape Ann. All hands were lost, with the exception of Anthony Thatcher and his wife. After trying in vain to save their four small children, they were cast ashore on an island, and rescued three days later by a passing shallop. The name, Thatcher's Island, commemorates the tragic event. The *Gabriel's* consort, the *James*, of Bristol, with Richard Mather on board, had a narrow escape off the Isle of Shoals, and the *Great Hope*, of Ipswich, ran aground at Charlestown. Two nights after the storm, there was an eclipse of the moon.

When the *Abigail* arrived in Boston several weeks later, the scars of the storm were everywhere evident. But at the time of the hurricane she was still far from the dangerous shore, and Captain Hackwell had no fear of gales as long as there was plenty of depth beneath his ship. It was anything but comfortable for the passengers, however, when heavy weather forced them to remain beneath closed hatches, in the crowded, badly ventilated, pitching cabins. To add to the misery on the *Abigail*, smallpox broke out. Apparently the disease was kept under control; no deaths were reported. There were many cattle penned on board, half of them sick, all of them dismayed, and their presence added to the discomfort of the voyage. Cattle were greatly needed in the colonies, but the task of transporting them from their peaceful home farms to the virgin pastures of the New World was a difficult one. Many were lost on the way; others died soon after reaching the new plantation, because of inadequate shelter and the boldness of wilderness wolves.

It is difficult for us to picture the hardships and weariness of ocean travel in those days. There was very little free deck space and, except for the daily religious services, there were practically no diversions. In fair weather, occasional sights of interest relieved the monotony of sky and water—a spouting whale, a school of sporting porpoises, a

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flock of mother Cary's chickens, playing in the wake of the ship, the sail of a sister ship or the dubious excitement of a chase by an unfriendly vessel. Sometimes there was the fun of fishing, and sometimes, if a ship were travelling in consort, visiting parties were arranged. But even at best there were many dull hours, and for those not hale and hearty, there were countless days and nights of sheer misery. "Many of the wayfarers," says Edward Johnson, "never before had made any path through the Waters, no not by boat, neither so much as seene a Ship, others so tenderly brought up that they had little hope of their Lives continuance under such hardships, as so long a Voyage must needs inforce them to indure, others there were whose age did rather call for a quiet Couch to rest them on, than a pinching Cabbin in a Reeling Ship. Here also might you see weakly Women, whose hearts have trembled to set foote in Boate, but now imboldened to venture through these tempestuous Seas with their young Babes, whom they nurture up with their Breasts, while their bodies are tossed on the tumbling Waves; also other travailed and brought forth upon this depthlesse Ocean likely and strong Children, like to prove succeeding Instruments in the Hands of Christ." Seaborn Cotton, son of John and Sarah, was one of these likely children, born on board the *Griffen* in 1633.

However tedious the ten weeks aboard the *Abigail* may have been to most of the passengers, to young Peter Foulger the crossing was all too short. For Peter was in love. He was eighteen years old—an age ripe for adventure, when discomfort and responsibility have but a light touch, and the future is seen through rosy-colored glasses. It was in the harbor of Old Plymouth that his love came into his life. Just before the *Abigail* spread her sails and put out to sea, Hugh Peters and his party hastened aboard, having successfully eluded the King's Searchers in London. The apprenticed maid, Mary Morrill, was with them. And it was Mary who caught the fancy of Peter Foulger—caught it and held it for fifty-five long years in patient steadfast hands, until death took him from her. We may venture to guess that it was no great task for Peter to win her affections; for how could an obscure lonely serving maid help but love the ardent young craftsman, with his fine straight features inherited from Flemish forebears and the dark glowing eyes that are characteristic of

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the Folgers to this day? What John and Merible thought of their only son's attentions to a penniless bound girl, may well be imagined. But Peter was noted in later life for his stubbornness, as any Nantucketer can tell you, and having made up his mind that Mary should one day be his, no one could turn him from his purpose. Nothing is known of Mary's family, of her birthplace or of her reason for going to New England as a ward of Master Peters. She is one of that "long hooded procession" of pioneer women about whom we know all too little. For with very few exceptions, the women of that day and age effaced themselves completely in the welfare of their men-folk, and left behind only the most meager records of their long years of devoted service. It was taken for granted that the Puritan Mothers stand staunchly by the side of the Puritan Fathers, sharing the hardships and the triumphs of pioneer life. But in the matter of triumphs, it was always the Fathers who took the bows. They say in Nantucket that Mary Morrill was comely and that she may have hailed from Ireland, but who said it, and when, no one seems to know. Peter became famous in local Colonial history, but Mary always kept quietly in the background of his life. It is only recently that people have begun to be curious about the maternal grandmother of Benjamin Franklin.

The *Abigail* had a rough crossing, but it was not stormy all the way over. There were September days when the sky was as blue as speedwell, and the sea as tranquil as the rolling meadows of Norfolk. There were dream-swept September nights when the harvest moon was full. There were sunsets to see in spacious splendor, and rainbows, and clouds and all the stars of heaven. And surely there were many happy hours for Peter and Mary, whispering of their love together in some forgotten corner of the ship, their dreams floating out into the mists that veiled the far distant shores of the future. Could their eager young eyes have looked into the years beyond, they would have beheld amazing things. For over the heads of the two most exalted of the *Abigail's* passengers hung the shadow of the executioner's ax; while the lowly serving maid and her craftsman lover were destined to become the grandparents of one of America's most famous sons.

And so the *Abigail* sailed on, carrying her great companions to their fates.

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III

On the sixth of October, 1635, according to Winthrop's journal, two great ships sailed into Boston Harbor. They were the *Defence* and the *Abigail*. The voyage had been long and tempestuous, but through "the special goodness of the Lord," says Winthrop, "the passengers came safe and hale." These ships brought important arrivals. On the *Abigail* were Henry Vane, John Winthrop the younger and Hugh Peters. On the *Defence* came Thomas Shepard and John Jones, two "heavenly-minded" Puritan ministers, and John Wilson, pastor of Boston's first church. Mr. Wilson was arriving in New England for the third time, having encountered difficulty in persuading his wife, who was gently born, to accompany him to the "howling wilderness." This time, however, Mistress Wilson and the children were with him. No doubt she had wished many times during the crossing that she had persisted in her determination to remain in England, for according to the diary of Thomas Shepard, the *Defence* was "very rotten and unfit for such a voyage." Master Shepard had had many distressing experiences before he was finally able to make his escape from England. Nor were his troubles over when he embarked on the *Defence*. Though the Lord was "very tender" of him and kept him from sea-sickness, his wife caught a cold that resulted in her death a year later. She also suffered a head injury when she and her baby were pitched against an iron bolt during a violent storm. "The Lord miraculously preserved the child and recovered his wife," notes the diary. These long-suffering wayfarers were thankful indeed to reach their desired haven, and Governor Haynes was pleased to welcome to the Bay Colony so many eminent Puritan leaders. Another important arrival, although no one guessed it at the time, was Peter Foulger.

When the English first built their homes in Boston, the peninsula had but a frail hold on the mainland. Coves and inlets cut deeply into the shoreline, and often at high tide the sea ran clear over the marshes. The ancient coves, like the old hills of Shawmut, vanished long years ago in the levelling processes of civilization. Tranquil bays, where flocks of wildfowl once tarried, are now solid parts of a great clamorous city. The Boston of 1633 is so clearly pictured in

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Wood's "New England's Prospect" that it can hardly be quoted too often:

Boston is two miles North-east from Roxberry: His situation is very pleasant, being a Peninsula, hem'd in on the South-side with the Bay of Roxberry, on the North-side with Charles-river, the Marshes on the backe-side, being not halfe a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their Cattle from the Woolves. . . . It being a necke and bare of wood: they are not troubled with three great annoyances of Woolves, Rattle-snakes, and Musketoes. . . . This Necke of land is not above foure miles in compasse, in forme almost square, having on the Southside at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon is planted a Fort, which can command any ship as shee sayles into any Harbour within the still Bay. On the North-side is another Hill equall in bignesse, whereon stands a Winde-mill. To the North-west is a high Mountaine with three little rising Hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called the Tramount. From the top of this Mountaine a man may overlooke all the Ilands which lie before the Bay, and discry such ships as are upon the Sea-coast. (When the Foulgers entered Boston Harbor, they could see the newly erected beacon on Centry Hill, the highest of the three little rising hills of Tramount.) This Towne although it be neither the greatest, nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented, being the Center of the Plantations where the monthly Courts are kept. Here likewise dwells the Gouvernour: This place hath very good land, affording rich Corn-fields, and fruitfull Gardens; having likewise sweete and pleasant Springs. The inhabitants of this place for their enlargement, have taken to themselves Farme-houses, in a place called Muddy-river (Brookline), two miles from their Towne; where is good ground, large timber, and store of Marshland, and Medow. In this place they keepe their Swine and other Cattle in the Sumer, whilst the Corne is on the ground at Boston, and bring them to the Towne in Winter.

Boston was just five years old when the Foulgers arrived. The rugged young settlement, clinging to the ragged shore, looked crude and primitive enough to the newcomers from England; but to the old planters, Boston had the air of a thriving metropolis and showed unmistakable signs of superiority and leadership. It was considered "the fittest place for publique meetings of any place in the Bay." The miserable shelters of the first afflicted year had been replaced by sturdy wooden houses with well thatched roofs and broad clay chimneys. There was a meetinghouse for worship, a tavern for public entertain-

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ment and a free schoolmaster for the nurturing of the young. A ferry linked together Charlestown and Boston, and plans were underway for the building of bridges and the laying out of streets and highways. On the sunny slopes of the little hills, the rough blueberry pastures were giving way to newly planted orchards. Native scrub, bayberry and sweet fern were slowly retreating before the cultivated gardens of the colonists. Aggressive weeds from across the sea sprang up in the footsteps of the pale-faced tillers of the soil. Dandelion and wild mustard, pink and white yarrow, silver mullein and prickly burdock were demanding a place beside the shy native wild flowers, taking firm root among the mountain laurel, the red lily and the purple iris of hills and river valleys, and crowding into the meadows beside the New World asters and goldenrod. English broome, a stowaway in John Endicott's bags of wheat, had blazed its way from Salem to Lynn and from Lynn to Boston, and spread its gold over the bare rocky hills of Shawmut. Out Muddy River way, despite late frosts and stubborn boulders, farms were beginning to yield rich harvests, and thousands of sleek Devonshire cattle grazed on the spreading meadows. Cattle and corn were plentiful, so that new arrivals could buy from the old settlers. There were even houses and cleared lots for sale, as some of the first planters prepared to push on to Connecticut and Rhode Island. Prices were high, wages were good, trade was brisk, there was work for all—and the colonists toiled and prospered. England called for furs, salt fish and lumber, and coastal trade was lively. All along the bays and rivers of Massachusetts, ships were fast being fashioned of the oaks and the pines, the hackmatacks and the locusts of New World forests. The launching of John Winthrop's thirty-ton trading bark, the *Blessing-of-the-Bay*, on the Mystic River in July, 1631, was the beginning of the Bay Colony's great ship-building industry. The *Blessing* was built mainly from the locusts of Ten Hills, Winthrop's tidewater farm in Medford.

Boston's first meetinghouse was a bare unheated building with walls of mud and a roof of thatch—very different from the beautiful old stone churches of Norwich. But in matters of religion, the Puritans enjoyed being uncomfortable. What the meetinghouse lacked in good cheer was amply supplied by the neighboring tavern. The "ordinary" of early Puritan days was a highly respected and carefully

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supervised establishment. Built near the church so that worshippers might thaw out between services, it played a colorful part in the life of every New England town. The first licensed ordinary of Boston was Cole's Inn, set up in 1634. Close by stood the meetinghouse and the home of John Wilson, and a stone's throw away was the plain but spacious dwelling of John Winthrop. The keeper of the tavern was Samuel Cole, comfit-maker, who was well liked for his sweet-meats and his genial disposition. But Goodman Cole was somewhat too easy going to suit the Puritan Fathers, and he finally got into trouble by sympathizing with his outspoken neighbor, Mistress Anne Hutchinson.

There were comparatively few Indians in the vicinity of Boston to disturb the homesteaders or to dispute their hold upon the land. The earliest settlers, horrified by stories of massacres in Virginia, lived in constant fear of savage attacks. But the great plague that had visited the aborigines just before the landing of the Pilgrims, had so reduced the number of native inhabitants in all that part of the country that there was little danger of serious trouble. Massasoit, chief sachem of the Wampanoags, had made a treaty of peace with the Plymouth Colony, and when Winthrop's followers planted their several settlements, the small tribes of Indians in the neighborhood were peacefully inclined toward the English. Winthrop, in turn, established friendly relations with them, and insisted that the colonists treat them fairly—that is, according to white man's law.

IV

Having toiled with body and soul to plant a Puritan sanctuary in the wilderness of New England, Puritan leaders guarded it jealously against all forms of dissension and heresy. Liberty of conscience, as understood today, had no place in their plan. Nor had it ever been the intention of the founders of the Colony to offer religious freedom to all comers. The struggling young settlement could hardly have endured had it been a refuge for all the sects and fanatical groups budding in the Mother Country. Unity of belief and purpose was essential to survival.

The fact that the Puritans declared on leaving England that they were not Separatists, did not prevent them from adopting congrega-

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tionalism when circumstances favored doing so in the new plantations. The fundamental principles for which the Plymouth Pilgrims stood were subscribed to by practically all the early churches of Massachusetts. But the way of life of the Pilgrims, though sober and strait-laced enough, was tempered by a certain amount of tolerance and charity, while the religion of the Puritans became largely a matter of rules and regulations, served in Old Testament style. Their God was the stern unbending Jehovah of old, who enjoyed slaying his enemies with a flourish of trumpets. In the earliest days of the Bay Colony, when the people lived in fear of Indians and starvation, there had been an attitude of patience and forbearance among them. But as these dangers passed, a literal fear of the Lord took their place, and Dudley's harsh warnings against the dangers of tolerance and leniency became more the fashion of thought than Winthrop's views on brotherly love. As time went on and hearts were hardened by creeds, life in Boston became more and more restricted and less and less kindly. John Wilson preached long and ably on the wrath of God and eternal damnation, and although John Cotton sometimes lifted up his voice to tell of Divine love and mercy, the wrath theme triumphed, and an ugly cloud of injustice and persecution darkened the first valiant years of Massachusetts history.

Good will toward men was even less conspicuous in the seventeenth century than it is today, and it is hardly fair to judge the Puritans by modern standards. However cruel their punishments may seem to us, punishments in England were worse. Salem Village hanged her witches—in England witches were burned. However mean and melancholy their theology may seem to us, theirs was a great faith—a faith such as our own age can scarcely comprehend—and they rejoiced in the conviction that they were doing the Lord's work. Those who did not agree with them "had utmost freedom to remain away from the Colony."

Democracy appealed to the Puritans as little as did religious tolerance. As John Cotton once wrote to Lord Say: "Democracy I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed?" Majority rule seemed to Winthrop to be wholly impractical. In a letter to Hooker on the advantages of limited suf-

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frage, he said, "The best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." Winthrop and his associates were determined to keep the reins of government in the hands of a small group of Puritan leaders—men whose education and piety made them especially fitted for the task.

Although not strictly a theocracy, since it was the magistrates and not the ministers who handed down final decisions, Massachusetts was a true Bible commonwealth. The word of God was the law of the State, and only church members could become freemen. The interpreters of the word were the clergy. These men were among the most learned and eloquent of their day, and it is not surprising that the majority of people considered them to be divinely inspired, and accepted their verdicts as infallible. It was many years later that Lucretia Mott, the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Peter and Mary Foulger, spoke so searchingly on the folly of accepting authority for truth. Her lifelong motto was "Truth for authority, not authority for truth." Because Roger Williams refused to accept authority for truth, he was banished from the Bay Colony. The sentence was pronounced a few days after the Foulgers landed in Boston. It probably meant little to Peter at the time, but there came a day when he followed the great tolerationist to Rhode Island. Roger Williams was the first serious disturber of the religious despotism of Boston. Close on his heels came Anne Hutchinson. Many followed after them.

The Foulgers arrived in Massachusetts at a time when Boston was almost as agitated as Norwich by political and spiritual contention. Roger Williams' defiance and the threatened loss of the charter were disquieting concerns. There was great division of judgment between the magistrates and the ministers, and this undermined the confidence of the people. Many who were becoming dissatisfied with the rigid control of the clergy were planning to seek homes elsewhere. But in spite of a growing feeling of uneasiness, the majority of the citizens of Boston were well content. To the orthodox Puritan householder, the demands of the church were not irksome, since it was the church of his own choosing. In spite of theocratic restrictions, opportunities opened before him which were undreamed of in the old country. There was no bowing down to Lords and bishops, no homage to pay to landed

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gentry—the virgin country stretched away to dim far-distant horizons, and land was free for the asking. He believed that he belonged to the chosen people of God, and he saw visions of his children and his children's children flourishing in the Land of Promise and entering triumphantly into the Kingdom of Heaven.

For the children themselves, life was not merry. The sunshine of beauty and mirth all too seldom dispelled the somber shadows in which they lived—the deep menacing shadow of the wilderness and the cold gloomy shade of the church. The fundamentalism taught them by their elders was all too often without a gleam of spiritual inspiration; the bleak meetinghouse without a glimmer of the beauty of holiness. There was no opportunity to serve the Lord with gladness, no rich cathedral aisles nor ancient castle walls to stir the senses, no gay pageants to brighten a workaday world. Puritan children had no beloved St. Nicholas to dream of on Christmas Eve, for the keeping of Christmas was forbidden. All the old religious holidays, since they were Roman holy days, were stricken from the Puritan calendar. Even the months of the year and the days of the week were stripped of their pagan dress and made to wear prim Puritan garb—numbers were substituted for the old familiar names. The literal followers of Calvin could find nothing in the Bible to justify the hallowing of marriages and burials, so no religious significance was attached to them. People were married by the magistrates and the dead were silently buried without a psalm or a prayer to comfort those that mourned. The Calvinistic theory of original sin left no room for material joy, and the Puritans deliberately shut their eyes, their ears and their hearts to the natural beauties which surrounded them in the New World. In their earnest spiritual seeking, they forgot the lilies of the field; they forgot to lift up their eyes unto the hills, raising them instead to a heaven of their own making. From the first generation of children born in the Bay Colony came the repressed, fear-ridden, intolerant men and women who made possible Salem's witchcraft madness of 1692.

V

The question of where to go after arriving in the New World and leaving the ship, which for so many weary weeks had been their home, was comparatively simple for families who had friends or relatives in

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the colonies and whose plans were made before leaving England. But those who came with no definite destination in mind were faced with a bewildering problem in the choice of a homesite in the strange new country. Some of the towns were thickly settled, and were chary of granting lots to newcomers; but on the fringes of the settlements were limitless acres of free land, reaching far away to unknown horizons. The tendency was to move on toward the setting sun. Several moves were usually made before a newly arrived family was finally settled. Early town records are apt to be very vague and confusing concerning these changes of address.

For Peter and Mary the joy and excitement of landing was overshadowed by the thought of their coming separation. They may have had a little while together in Boston, but very soon after their arrival Mary went to Salem with Master Hugh. The Foulgers stayed in Boston for a time, and then moved inland, it is thought, to the new plantation of Contentment (Dedham). For the young lovers, what endless miles of wilderness they were that stretched between Peace and Contentment!

Hugh Peters had no sooner set foot on Massachusetts soil than he had a finger in several Commonwealth pies. He has been called a sanctimonious busybody by some who disliked him, but most of the leading Puritans of the time held him in high esteem. He began preaching at once, "with great reputation," both in Boston and in Salem. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Salem granted him a home lot of two acres. It was located west of the Great Pasture, "over against the Meeting-House on the north-side, and bounding on the lots of Captain Trask and Father Woodbury." His house stood near the present corner of Essex and Washington streets, and it is supposed that Mary Morrill lived there while in his service. The removal of Roger Williams had left the church in Salem without a pastor, and Mr. Peters was chosen to take his place. This he did most successfully and to the complete satisfaction of his parishioners. During his five years' ministry, he took an active part in commercial as well as ecclesiastical affairs, and Salem grew in grace and prospered. He also concerned himself with the education of the young men of the Bay Colony, and was a member of Harvard's first board of overseers. In spite of habitually poor health, Hugh Peters was a man of

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extraordinary activity, and thought nothing of tramping the rough wilderness trails between Salem and Boston, asking for no better conveyance than his own long lean legs. He preached plain straightforward sermons, and his coarse homely imagery made his words long remembered wherever he went.

It would be interesting to know what Mary Morrill thought of her famous master. Was he the kind of man who would contrive to bring her a message from Peter now and again, on returning to Salem from his journeying?

It is in vain that we attempt to pin down to definite dates and places the romance of Peter Foulger and Mary Morrill. Guided by a few scanty records and by persistent family tradition, we must call upon our imagination to help piece together the picture of those first elusive years in New England. Evidently Peter set to work as soon as possible to earn the money necessary to release Mary from her contract of service. The old records say that "Peter Foulger married Mary Morrill of Salem, having bought her of Hugh Peters for the sum of twenty pounds." This sounds rather startling, but it was customary in Colonial days to "buy" bonded servants. Apprentices often changed masters and there are many court records of these transactions. The official entry concerning Mary Morrill has not yet come to light, but in the note book of Lawyer Lechford is a memorandum telling of another Mary whose time of service was bought by her suitor:

John Long of Weymouth in New England husbandman aged about twenty foure yeares sworne saith upon his oath that whereas Mary Lane was to serve Richard Silvester of Weymouth aforesaid for the space of foure yeares or thereabouts from the beginning of the first moneth last as this deponent hath credibly heard, one Edward Pole of Weymouth in the first moneth aforesaid was Desirous to marry her & to buy out her time of service aforesaid and in this deponents hearing did promise to pay unto the said Richard Silvester for the same two hundred foot of boards and foure pounds in money or such good commodities as he should like of upon Midsomer eve next & then the said Pole was to take her away & marry her. (This entry is dated 1641.)

Peter Foulger was a remarkably versatile and resourceful young man, and probably found many ways of earning money in the fast

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growing settlements. It may have taken him two or three years to realize his heart's desire, for in those days twenty pounds was a goodly sum. In later life Peter proudly declared that it was the best expenditure he had ever made. We gather from one of Hugh Peter's letters, dated Salem, September 4, 1639, that Mary was no longer in his employ at the time, so the transfer must have taken place before that date. The letter is to John Winthrop the younger, and says, in part:

My wife desires my daughter to send to Hanna that was her mayd, now at Charltown, to know if she would dwell with us for truly wee are so destitute (having now but an Indian) that we know not what to do.

Apparently it was not easy to fill Mary's place. The Indian mentioned was a Pequot captive called Hope. She made but a sorry servant, being twice sentenced to be whipped for drunkenness and for running away. Mr. Peters, it seems, had no objection to slavery. Mistress Peters was Deliverance Sheffield, Hugh's second wife. His first wife, Mistress Reade, did not accompany her husband to the colonies, and died a year or two later. The daughter referred to in the letter was Mr. Peter's stepdaughter, Elizabeth Reade, wife of Young Winthrop.

As soon as Mary was released from her bond, she apparently left Salem and went to live with the Foulgers in Dedham. John and Merible, we trust, had long since become reconciled to their son's choice and welcomed the helping hand of another daughter. Mary was probably formally affianced to Peter at this time—and a Puritan betrothal was considered as binding as marriage. The custom of public espousals, or pre-contracts, had long existed in England and was brought over to New England in the *Mayflower*. It was not an altogether happy period for young Puritans, as the magistrates kept diligent watch for any signs of impropriety. Sometimes it was several years before the families found it convenient to allow the young people to marry, although as a rule the Puritans believed in early marriages. The court record of Peter's marriage to Mary is missing, and historians disagree as to its exact date. It seems reasonably certain, however, that it took place about 1642.

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VI

There is a possibility that the Foulgers went directly from Boston to Watertown, removing from there to Dedham, and later returning to Watertown. However that may be, the first officially recorded date that we have of them after they landed at Boston is in 1638, when John Foulger was proposed as a proprietor of Dedham.

The early history of Dedham is full of interesting incidents. It was founded in 1635, by a group of men from Watertown and Roxbury, who had obtained permission from the General Court to plant an inland town. The men had set out early in autumn, in roughly made Indian dugouts, to explore the upper reaches of the Charles. Progress was slow because of the winding of the river. "It is like its master, our good King Charles," an early voyager is once said to have remarked, "it promises overmuch, but gets you nowhere." It flowed deeply through the still dark forests, roared between rocky cliffs and wound around dismal swamps where wolves and wildcats hunted. It widened and lingered in broad shining meadows, banded with scarlet flowers, with little coppices alive with birds—quail and grouse and song birds. Finally the boats reached a grassy plain, lying serenely on the high left bank of the river. It was a likely spot for a settlement and the men disembarked and marked out the site of a plantation. They christened it "Contentment." A year later, the court decreed that the new town be called Dedham, presumably in honor of the three Johns from Dedham, England—John Dwight, John Page and John Rogers.

The founders of Contentment determined that the people live together in peace and harmony, eschewing the wrangles of their brethren in Boston. "We shall by all meanes Labour to keepe from us all such as are contraty minded," states the covenant. It was three years before a meetinghouse was built, but the people met in one another's houses to consult together and to prepare for spiritual communion. The first church was gathered in the fall of 1638, with John Allin as minister. By that time there were a hundred families living in Dedham. "They continued in much love and unity from their first foundation," says Johnson's "Wonderworking Providence," "hitherto translating the close clouded woods into goodly cornfields." It was not far from Dedham to Watertown, and once a trail was broken

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through the wilderness, a strong man could walk to Watertown and back between sun-up and sun-down—that is if he were not delayed by savage beasts or unfriendly Indians. But the way was rough, full of rocks and swamps and thickets. There were swift, treacherous streams to ford and tangled thickets to evade, and it was long before the path was made smooth enough to attract horse and rider. For many years the winding river was the main highway between the two settlements.

Presumably the Foulgers were in Dedham at the time of the great earthquake of 1638—a day never forgotten by the early settlers of New England. The first day of June dawned clear and warm with a gentle breeze blowing from the south. The planters and their families rejoiced in the coming of summer. Just after the noon hour, a strange low rumbling was heard. It seemed to come from the north and sounded like remote thunder. Gradually it grew louder and sharper and the sky darkened. Cattle lifted their heads uneasily, dogs began to howl and children looked about for their mothers. Suddenly the earth shuddered and trembled. Chimneys came crashing down and pewter platters and wooden trenchers were hurled from their shelves. The men in the cornfields staggered and fell. The first shock lasted about four minutes. Half an hour later came a second, milder quake—and for twenty days thereafter the earth was unquiet. During those anxious days there was much searching of souls and seeking out of secret sin, in an attempt to fathom the cause of God's anger. For the Puritan shared with the savage the belief that the Great Spirit spoke to man out of the storm and the earthquake, and that comets and eclipses were miraculous messages.

There were several valuable clay-pits in Dedham and some of the first houses were built of bricks made from Dedham clay. One of the best pits was on the land of Michael Metcalf, a weaver from Norwich, whose name frequently appears in the town annals. Michael and his wife Sarah, with their nine children and a young serving lad, had come to Boston on the *Rose of Yarmouth*, two summers after the Foulgers' arrival. Michael was acquainted with John Foulger in Dedham, and it may be that they had known each other in Norwich and that their families were old friends.

At a town meeting held on the twenty-sixth day of August, 1638,

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according to the Dedham records, the names of John Foulger and four other men were proposed as proprietors and "propounded to further consideration." A month later, at the September meeting, three of these applicants were accepted. Joseph Moyse and Thomas Leder were granted four acres each on "Wigwam Plane," a tract of land bordering on Wigwam Swamp, where the Indians continued to live for many years. The third applicant, a brick-striker by the name of Weeden, was granted six acres, "if it pleases him to accept of the same and sit down with us." Perhaps it was Goodman Weeden's trade that won for him special favor—brickmakers were scarce in Massachusetts and bricks were popular in Dedham. Of the other two petitioners, Richard Yongs and John Foulger, no further mention is made. Nor does the name of Foulger again appear in Dedham records. Dedham was inclined to be rather exclusive, and it may be that John was not acceptable to the town fathers. Perhaps his religious convictions were too broad, or perhaps he changed his mind. At any rate, so far as written records go, John Foulger disappears from the Dedham scene—and it is to Watertown that the honor goes of granting to the great-grandparents of Benjamin Franklin their first homestead in America.

VII

The history of Watertown begins long before the Puritans carried the disturbing ordinances of Jehovah into the serene wilderness bordering the Charles River. In the dim unmeasured past, the red man had discovered that the swift currents at the head of the Mischaum's tidewater were flashing with silver fish. He had found good hunting along the little water courses that flowed through the forest into the river. He had built his wigwam on the high banks, and made clearings and planted maize on the fertile uplands. Long before his white brother appeared, to number the seasons and capture events with written words, the Indian lived beside the falls, taking what the wilderness offered and asking for nothing better. He called the place Pequusset—"where the narrows open out." Countless seasons went by, and the children of the wilderness grew strong and proud. Then came a year when a fiery red eye glared from the heavens, warning of disaster, and an angry god sent the great sickness. A deadly shadow

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moved across the land and the strong tribes bowed before it. Those who still lived when the evil had passed, wandered away, weak and bewildered. The seasons came and went—silver fish played in the swift waters, untroubled by the cunning of man; mink and beaver returned unmolested to their old haunts, and the forest began creeping back into clearing and cornfield.

Thirteen years later came the Puritans. Their clumsy canoes appeared around the bend of the river, and Pequusset was once again wrested from the wilderness.

The first group of Englishmen to occupy the site of the old Indian village was a scouting party from the ship *Mary and John*, which had arrived from England and anchored off Nantasket (Hull), in May, 1630. For some reason the captain refused to take her any further. One of the passengers, Roger Clap, tells of it in his "Memoirs":

Captain Squeb would not bring us into the Charles River, as he was bound to do, but put us ashore and our Goods on Nantasket Point, and left us to shift for our selves in a forlorn place in this Wilderness.

Nantasket was a fishing hamlet, "an uncoth place with some stragling people." Fortunately for the new arrivals, they were able to secure a boat from one of the old planters, and a small party set out to seek a suitable place to settle. After touching at Charlestown, they went on up the river. Along the shore, screened by the fresh foliage of early June, scattered bands of Indians watched the progress of the boat, and followed through the woods on silent wary feet. At nightfall the explorers came to a good stopping place and landed their goods with much labor and toil because of the steep bank. Before them lay a wide clearing, "a fruitful plat of large extent, watered with many pleasant Springs and Rivulets." By this time, over two hundred savages had gathered in the woods on the edge of the clearing. The Englishmen numbered but a score. But once again an old planter came to the rescue. He had probably joined the party at Charlestown and could speak a little of the Indian language. Evidently he possessed a stout heart, for he went to the Indians and advised them not to approach the white man's encampment during the night. "And they harkened to his Counsel and came not." In the

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morning some of the natives ventured near and offered the Englishmen a large bass. This was graciously received and a "Bisket-Cake" given in return. Thus friendly relations were established.

Clap's "Memoirs" tells briefly of the events which followed: "We had not been there many Days (although by our Diligence we had put up a kind of Shelter, to save our Goods in) but we had Order to come away from that Place (which was about Watertown) unto a Place called Mattapan (now Dorchester) because there was a Neck of Land fit to keep Cattle on: So we removed and came to Mattapan: The Indians there also were kind unto us."

This time Pequusset did not long remain deserted. A few weeks after the departure of the men from the *Mary and John*, a second group of Englishmen appeared—and these came to stay. They were members of the Winthrop fleet. Governor Winthrop had planned that his followers keep together and settle in one place, but sickness and want forced them to scatter and to "plant dispersedly." One party, led by Sir Richard Saltonstall, made its way up the Charles River. They landed at Pequusset and planted an English town on the site of the old Indian settlement. This was in July, 1630. A church was straightway gathered, and George Phillips chosen as its pastor. Master Phillips was a man mighty in the Scriptures—it was said that he read the Bible through from beginning to end six times every year. Many of his devoted flock were convinced that his faithful prayers on board the *Arbella* were largely responsible for the safe passage of the Puritan fleet. Mistress Phillips, overcome by the hardships of the voyage, died soon after landing and lay beside the gentle Lady Arbella in Salem's burying ground, the resting place of so many gallant spirits. There were many saddened hearts among the newly gathered congregation in Pequusset, but faith and hope shone on undimmed, lighting the way into the dark unwandered wilderness.

In September, at a meeting of the Court of Assistants in Charlestown, it was ordered that the town upon Charles River be called Watertown.

Watertown grew and prospered. Within a year 160 families were living there, with nearly two thousand acres of land in tillage and a herd of cattle numbering close to five hundred. The main occupation of the settlers was husbandry. There was much open country,

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due to frequent burning over during the former Indian occupancy, plenty of fertile land and good spring water, and very little danger of Indian attacks. So the town spread over considerable territory and the houses were widely scattered. This accounts for the fact that their "Sabbath-Assemblies proved very thin if the season favored not." There was apparently no fine at first for non-attendance at meeting in Watertown. Mr. Phillips was a remarkably tolerant minister for his day. However diligently he might "search out the mind of Christ," he did not force his opinions on others, nor did he expect others to interfere with him. He respected the private lives of his parishioners and regarded with charity many things that would have caused Mr. Wilson and his colleagues in Boston to throw up their hands in holy horror. John Foulger did well to choose Watertown for his home. Although deeply religious, he believed neither in intolerance nor persecution. John and Peter were among the few men of their day to favor true liberty of conscience—a maleficent idea to the majority of Puritans. Later on they were even known to sympathize with such children of evil as Anabaptists and Quakers! These tendencies could hardly have escaped chastisement in Boston; but in Watertown there were no Antimonial banishings nor Quaker hangings.

Mr. Phillips and his people were bent upon civil as well as religious independence. The Watertown settlers were outstanding lovers of liberty and intended to have something to say about the laws that were made to govern them. When, in 1632, the Court of Assistants in Boston levied a tax on all the plantations, for the purpose of building fortifications at Newtowne (Cambridge), Watertown refused for a time to pay this assessment. They protested on the grounds that English freemen could not be taxed without their consent. Master Phillips and Elder Richard Brown assembled the people and delivered their opinion "that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." This led to much animated controversy and eventually to a victory for the freemen of the Massachusetts Colony. In 1634 the General Court adopted a representative plan, and thereafter two or three deputies from each town were appointed to meet with the Court of Assistants. Other important changes were made, and the control of

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the government passed from the hands of a few privileged individuals into the hands of a small privileged class.

The population of Watertown increased so fast that many of the original settlers, desiring more room for their cattle, moved on and formed new settlements. The first wave of migration was in 1635, when some of the old planters availed themselves of an opportunity of seizing "a brave piece of meadow" in Connecticut, at a place afterwards called Wethersfield. The second wave was in 1638, when many Watertown people moved to Dedham. Later on, Watertown families settled in Concord, Sudbury, Martha's Vineyard and Long Island, and still later, in the pioneer towns of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont.

VIII

According to Henry Bond, town historian, Watertown never suffered hostile invasion and was often a refuge for those who fled from other plantations to escape the atrocities of Indian warfare. From the very beginning of the settlement, the planters made friends with the Indians and tried to treat them justly. When Sagamore John complained that the servants of Sir Richard Saltonstall had carelessly burned down two of their wigwams, Sir Richard satisfied the Indians with seven yards of cloth. Thomas Mayhew, for many years a political leader of Watertown, always insisted upon a fair deal for the natives. The adventurous old trader, John Oldham, who finally came to settle in Watertown, was on the best of terms with the Indians. Yet strangely enough, he was eventually killed by them, and his murder was one of the direct causes of the Pequot War. It was not in Watertown, however, that he met his melancholy fate, but on the waters of Long Island Sound, near Block Island. While returning from a trading voyage, his little vessel was captured by savages and he was killed in approved Indian fashion. When the news reached Boston, "God stirred up the hearts" of Governor Vane and his magistrates, and they determined to take steps to put an end to further outrages. Massacres by the Pequots in the new towns of Connecticut stirred up still more hearts—and the result was the Pequot War of 1637. The colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts and Connecticut joined forces in an attempt to make New England safe for the English. They were completely successful. "And from savage

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violence the land had rest for forty years." Fourteen sons of Watertown marched with the Massachusetts army of 160 men.

If the colonists had failed at this time to break the power of the Pequot Indians, there is little doubt that the planting of New England would have been followed by a horrible uprooting. The hostile Pequots reigned supreme in the rich country bordering the Pequot River (Thames). They were a fierce and formidable tribe, lording it over the Narragansetts, their neighbors to the east, and holding in subjection the Mohegans, who occupied the lower Connecticut Valley to the west. Still further west, over the miles of rugged wilderness between the Connecticut and the Hudson rivers, roamed the haughty Mohawks, dreaded by red man and white man alike. When the English began leaving the coastal towns and sailing up the rivers into the interior of Connecticut, they roused the ire of the Pequots, who were in no mind to allow the invaders to encroach upon their hunting and fishing grounds. If Sassacus, the great Pequot chief, whom all the tribes regarded with superstitious awe, had succeeded in persuading the Narragansetts and the Mohegans to join him in a war of extermination against the settlers, the fate of the early New England colonies would have been sealed. But Miantonomo, chief of the Narragansetts, lent a more willing ear to his white friend, Roger Williams, than to his hereditary enemy; and the Mohegans, under Uncas, hated their Pequot cousins even more than they feared the aggression of the pale faces. So the Pequots, more far-seeing than their red brothers, were left to fight alone for the possession of their forests. Their annihilation by the whites surprised and delighted their savage enemies. It was not until a full generation later that the idea of concerted action against the English became popular with the natives of New England. By that time the colonists were firmly enough entrenched to withstand the attack.

The decisive battle of the Pequot War took place one moonlight night in May. Seventy-seven Puritan soldiers, guided by Indian allies and led by John Mason, crept quietly through the woods to the principal village of the Pequots. It stood on a little hill, overlooking the river, near the present town of Stonington in Connecticut; a circular encampment of an acre or more, protected by a strong palisade of saplings. Two narrow gateways were the only entrances. Slowly

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and silently the Puritans closed in. The Pequots were not disturbed. They had taken great store of bass the day before and had feasted well into the night. They lay in a deep sleep. Just before dawn a village dog gave the alarm, but the sleepers wakened too late. The furious attack by the English took them completely by surprise. Fire-brands were tossed among the crowded wigwams, a strong wind was blowing, and during the hour that followed, five hundred Indians—men, women and children—were burned to death. By the providence of God, so it seemed to the Puritans, there were that night 150 more heathen in the enclosure than usual.

A few weeks later the remnant of the Pequots were defeated in the Great Swamp fight near Fairfield. Most of the braves were killed. The survivors either fled and sought sanctuary with other tribes, or were captured and sold as slaves, together with the women and children. The defeated Pequot chief, Sassacus, sought refuge with the Mohawks, who promptly put him to death and sent his head to Boston as a token of friendship with the English. Some of the Pequot captives were shipped to the Bermudas, others distributed among Puritan families in New England, "to be taught and instructed in the Christian religion." Hugh Peters wrote to Governor Winthrop, requesting one or two of these slaves:

Wee have heard of a dividence of women and children in the baye and would be glad of a share viz: a young woman or girle and a boy if you thinke good.

Even Roger Williams found nothing amiss in making use of these Indian captives, and asked that "one of the drove of Adam's degenerate seed" be sent to him. And John Eliot had his first lessons in the Indian language from his Pequot bond-servant.

The "divine slaughter" of the Pequots, as the "heavenly-minded" Thomas Shepard called it, was hailed as a great victory for Jehovah. "By this meanes," exulted Edward Johnson, "the Lord strooke a trembling terror into all the Indians round about." The Puritans fought with willing hearts. Not only were they fighting to safeguard their new homes, their "affectionate bosome-mates and harmlesse prattling babes," but they were helping to establish Christ's kingdom in the new English Canaan. The enemies of the Puritans were the

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enemies of God. So they believed. "By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land."

The Indians were deeply impressed by the result of the Pequot War and began to be curious about the White God who had led his people to so startling a victory. The conversion of the aborigines was allegedly one of the chief objects of New World colonization, but very little had been done in Massachusetts to bring to the native inhabitants the message of Christianity. The Bay Colony charter had many noble words on conversion, and the Great Seal of Massachusetts pictured an Indian calling to the English for spiritual succor, but the colonists allowed a generation to pass before attempting any serious missionary work. Until the time of young Thomas Mayhew and John Eliot, the Puritan ministers confined most of their activities to their own kind. Once the settlers came into direct contact with the Indians—with their manner of living and their method of killing—any vague theoretical desire they may have had to convert them quickly changed to a very definite desire to be rid of them. Many of the writers of the time regarded the savages as obstacles in the path of the onward marching Christian soldiers, as infidels to be destroyed, rather than erring children whose souls cried out to be saved. Did not the Lord visit them with a grievous pestilence, desolating those very places where the Puritans afterwards settled, and so making room for the planting of His chosen people in the western world?

In order to unfold to the nature-worshippers of the wilderness the austere teachings of Calvin, it was necessary to understand not only the Indian language, but also the Indian religion and the Indian trend of thought. For the most part the early settlers were too busily occupied establishing new homes and gathering new churches to take time to learn the native tongue and to understand savage philosophy. It was not until 1644 that the General Court ordered the county courts to concern themselves with the religious instruction of the aborigines. Two years later, in an Indian village near Watertown, John Eliot preached his first sermon to the Indians in their own language. The place was thereafter called Nonantum, meaning "I rejoice." In the meantime Thomas Mayhew the younger had for several seasons been

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laboring to carry the "sunshine of the Gospel" to the natives of Martha's Vineyard.

The ethical system of the English was strange and confusing to the Indians. That the Puritan magistrates tried to be just in their dealings with them is demonstrated again and again in the early court records. They paid the Indians for their land and extended to them the protection of their law. Indeed, the colonists frequently complained that the courts showed the natives overmuch favor. But the Indians found it difficult to understand English law, and when they were punished by it with characteristic seventeenth century rigor, they became hostile and sullen. One great source of complexity was the meaning of the English deed of conveyance. The idea that an individual could actually own a piece of ground so that any others using it would be held guilty of trespass, was never comprehended by the Indians. They conceived of the earth as a primordial mother, providing food for all her children. Land was as free as the air and the water. A tribe might for a time claim the hunting, fishing and occupational rights of certain territory, just as the wilderness animals chose their particular feeding grounds and guarded them against all interlopers, but no one could claim the land itself as an actual possession. According to the savage notion, when the white men obtained deeds from native sachems, they merely established their right to occupy and make use of the land. The English, however, had something quite different in mind.

It soon became apparent that civilized man and savage could not occupy the land peaceably together. When the alien planter began clearing the way for his settlements, the native inhabitant, like many another wild creature of the forest, found that he must move on. Indian and wilderness backed away together from the ax and the plow of civilization. Where the white man planted, ancient hunting grounds vanished; leafy trails were turned into public highways; stone walls and rail fences made forbidden ground of the free open spaces; primeval cover for game was ruthlessly destroyed, and natural fishing grounds were ruined by man-made dams and grinding watermills. The English colonists lost no time in setting about to despoil the wilderness of its treasures. As early as 1638 Josselyn noted that the vast flocks of wild pigeons were already greatly dimin-

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ished. From time out of mind the Indians had feasted upon them without disturbing the balance of their numbers; but the white settlers waged pitiless war upon them until not one was left. The early colonists hunted them during the brooding season; they smoked them out of their nesting trees, caught them in huge nets, sold them wholesale in their markets and fed them to their swine. English planters put the virgin soil to work and greedily took from it all it had to give. The Indians were content to take only enough to meet their daily needs; they were not troubled by thought for the morrow; the idea of thrift was unknown to them. "He that kills a deer, sends for his friends and eats it merrily," well expresses their philosophy. Occasionally they improved on the offerings of nature. In ancient times, they had learned to tame the wild teocentli grass and fashion it into the golden maize that more than once saved the colonists from starvation. They had learned to grow beans and squash and pumpkins with their corn. Like eager children, they were pleased to exhibit their skill to the strangers from across the sea. They showed them how to make gardens that would thrive in the wilderness, and how to plant corn, that would grow up straight and tall and full-eared, placing a herring from the river in each little seed-hill. And they shared with their civilized brothers many age-old secrets of the forest—how to blaze a way through a trackless wilderness, which of the wild herbs were good for medicine, and how to cook the sweet sap of the sugar maple tree; how to build boats that rode lightly and swiftly over the water, how to make moccasins to wear in the silent stalking of game, and snowshoes to ease the way over the snow-smothered trails of winter. The strangers were quick to learn—but unfortunately they copied the vices as well as the woodcraft of the savages.

The American Indians are usually painted as picturesque figures, but certainly the early settlers did not enjoy them as neighbors. According to Puritan standards, they were doleful creatures, lazy, deceitful, dirty and immoral. It was a cruel age, but the ingenious cruelty of the Indians made them both hated and feared. It is not surprising that those who suffered at their hands should have regarded them as no better than wild beasts—as no more worthy of con-

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sideration than the wolves and the wildcats that menaced their homesteads.

The Indians had no native historians to paint for future generations their side of the tragic picture, but they had several white champions who were not afraid to plead their cause. These men really knew the savages—they had lived in their wigwams, sat in their councils, learned their language and studied their religion. When they wrote about them, they told of the things they had seen with their own eyes, heard with their own ears and understood with their own hearts. Their understanding may have been somewhat warped by a bigoted religious conception, nevertheless their accounts give us a more accurate likeness of the Indian than do the tales of the romantic writers of a later day. According to all the early writers, the Algonquins of New England were not a noble race. Even Roger Williams, whom the Indians held in affectionate esteem and who was constantly lifting up his voice in their behalf, draws a most dismal picture of them. And Thomas Mayhew, though he may have grown to love them, found little about them to admire.

The Algonquin tongue was hard to learn and few of the settlers took the trouble to do more than pick up the most common words and phrases. It was an unwritten, polysynthetic language, unrelated to any of the European languages, and abounding in compound words, idiomatic expressions and significant colloquialisms. "Their alphabet be short," observed Cotton Mather, "but I am sure the words composed of it are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world." There were no rules to guide the first students; it had to be learned entirely by rote. In 1634, William Wood wrote a small "Nomenclature of the Language of the Native," containing some three hundred words and phrases. Roger Williams' "Key Into the Language of America" was printed nine years later, and John Eliot's famous "Bible" appeared in 1658.

Ignorance of the language was one of the great causes of misunderstanding between colonist and native. The universal language of signs answered well enough for purposes of trade, but something more was required for the exchange of ideas. It was no simple matter to expound English thought in Indian words. But those who did

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master the language seldom had any trouble in making friends with the Indians and in gaining their confidence and their respect.

It was probably while in Watertown that Peter Foulger began his study of the Indian tongue. He later became one of the most noted interpreters of his day.

IX

When the Foulgers lived in Watertown, it was a thriving community of farmers. Broad fields of English wheat and rye held back the wilderness, and large herds of kine grazed in the Great Meadows, watched over by the town herdsman. In the heart of the town, about three-quarters of a mile from the river, stood the meetinghouse, surrounded by the homestalls of the first settlers. Those home lots were known as the "small lots." Averaging in size from four to six acres, they contained a dwelling-house and outbuildings, a kitchen garden, an orchard and usually an inclosure for raising corn. In the outlying districts were the large farms, unimproved grants and common grazing lands. There were several tracts set aside for common use. Meetinghouse Common, containing forty acres, was in the center of the original settlement; Pequusset Common stretched along the northern border of the plantation; near Strawberry Hill were several acres of common land, and a lot on the river was reserved as a landing place. Flocks of carefully protected sheep and goats wandered on the town commons. The useful but destructive swine were turned into the wilderness, where they managed very well.

The importance of sheep raising was early recognized by the planters of the Bay Colony, but it was well past the middle of the century before the majority of settlers wore woolens of their own making. In the early years of the colonies, clothing and materials were brought over from England, and although there were spinning wheels and hand looms in many of the first homes, the really famous days of Colonial spinning and weaving belong to the eighteenth century. Many of the early settlers who were weavers in the Old World became farmers in the new. Most of them had brought their looms with them, and as soon as possible started weaving in their households as a domestic occupation. Very likely the Foulger family was one of

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those that early took to wearing homespun. But it was not until some twenty years later that Watertown built its first fulling mill.

The Foulgers probably settled in Watertown shortly before 1640. In the old town records John Foulger is listed as proprietor of a home lot of six acres. His land is described as follows:

An Homestall of Six Acres more or less bounded the Northeast with Thomas Taylor the Southwest with Anthony White the Northwest with the highway and the Southeast with Gregory Taylor.

His lot faced on Meetinghouse Common and, according to the old map of the original allotments of land, was located just west of the present junction of Mt. Auburn and Belmont streets. In those days Mt. Auburn Street was called Mill Road or Cambridge Road. It was the highway that ran past the Foulger's doorstep, forming the southern boundary of the common. Belmont Street, originally called North Road, branched off toward the meadows, and formed the northern boundary of the common. The Foulgers' next door neighbors, the Whites and the Taylors, were among the first planters of Watertown. Across the common to the west stood the meetinghouse, the burying ground, and the home of Mr. Phillips. Across the highway to the north was Sherman's Pond, and a little farther on shimmered the clear waters of Great Fresh Pond, where all Watertown gathered in winter to cut ice. Southwestward from the Foulger homestead the Cambridge Road wound down to the river, past the small lots of the early settlers, past the wide clearing where John Oldham once lived, past the cultivated land of Mr. Lovering and of Mr. Mayhew, to the main road along the banks of the Charles. It was about two miles from John's house to Mill Bridge—the first bridge to span the Charles River. Near the bridge and the mill, beautifully situated on a bend of the river, was the home of Thomas Mayhew.

Many of the old Watertown records are missing, and the lists of marriages, births and deaths are far from complete. The court had ordered that a record be kept of every birth, death and marriage, but for a number of years the order was not carried out. Marriage records are especially scant. Since marriage was considered a civil contract, it could be performed only by a magistrate; and as there was no magistrate residing in Watertown for several years after Sir Rich-

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ard Saltonstall had returned to England, people were obliged to go to magistrates in other towns to be wedded. These ceremonies were seldom recorded. Very few Watertown marriages were registered before 1646, at which time Richard Brown was authorized to officiate. This may account for the fact that no record has been found either of Peter Foulger's marriage to Mary Morrill, or of Ruth Foulger's marriage to her unknown husband. According to all indications, they were both married while in Watertown.

All that we know of sister Ruth's wedding is enclosed in the frail pages of a letter written in England and sent to Benjamin Franklin, with information concerning his mother's kindred. Franklin was in London at the time. The previous spring he had been on a pilgrimage with his son William to many English parishes, visiting his remaining relatives and making inquiries about his ancestors. "I have ever had pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors," he once wrote to William. He was able to gather many items about the Franklins, but very little enlightenment on the Foulgers. Returning to London from his "rambles through a great part of England," he began receiving letters and transcripts of parish registers from friends and relatives whom he had interested in his genealogical search. The letter about his mother's family was of special interest to him. It was from M. Foulger, of Illington, and was dated February 5, 1759:

John Foulger the Ancestor of our Family came out of the City of Norwich in the County of Norfolk he married Miriba Gibs in Great Britain and Brought Hir and his Sone Peter and One Daughter to new england and Daughter married to a Paine on Longisland and there is numerous of Spring from Hir but for Peticulars I know nothing. Peter married with Mary Morrils a young woman that Came from England with Hew Petars, and had two Sones and Seven Daughters.

There were several Paines who emigrated to the colonies during Ruth Foulger's time, but only one or two families connected with the early history of Long Island. It may be that Ruth married one of the sons of Thomas Paine, a Suffolk weaver, who arrived in the Bay Colony in 1637 with his wife Elizabeth Tuthill and six children. There were three sons—Thomas, aged twenty four; Peter, who was twenty; and John, still in his teens. They went to Salem, where

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father Thomas was given a grant of land. The following year son Thomas removed to Dedham, where he undoubtedly knew the Foulgers. This opens up interesting possibilities in the way of visits between Paines and Foulgers in Salem and Dedham—the possibility of Peter Paine visiting his brother in Dedham and so meeting Ruth Foulger (she was about seventeen at that time), and the possibility of Peter Foulger visiting the Paines in Salem in order to see his Mary and perhaps negotiate for her freedom. Young Thomas Paine married and settled in Dedham; Peter Paine married an unknown bride in 1642, and John married a few years later. After the death of their father in Salem, Peter and John Paine removed with their families to Southold, Long Island, a new settlement under the jurisdiction of the New Haven Colony. They were among the early settlers there. It is said that some of the land along the highway is still in the possession of John's descendants. It is, of course, pure conjecture to suppose that Ruth Foulger's bridegroom may have been Peter Paine, but certainly he fits very neatly into the picture—and there seems to be no other young man who qualifies. However that may be, when the Foulger daughter married and went away with her husband, she vanished completely from the Foulger story, leaving us with the engaging thought of her numerous offspring helping to build up new plantations on the wild, beautiful shores of Long Island.

X

John and Merible lived very quietly, leaving behind them scarcely a trace of their quarter of a century in the New World. Aside from references to his land, John Foulger is not once mentioned in the annals of Watertown. But Peter was destined to tower above the ordinary settlers of New England. Better educated than his father, restless, energetic and determined, with an amazing flair for versatility, he must frequently have bumped his head against the lowly parental roof-tree.

Nowadays people generally come across Peter Foulger for the first time in Nantucket, where he bursts upon one fairly bristling with accomplishments. As miller, weaver, blacksmith, surveyor, interpreter, schoolmaster, preacher, poet and clerk of the court, he was easily the most useful man on the island. His activities during those harvest

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years have been competently recorded in Nantucket's histories. But very little has been written to tell us of the long years of his apprenticeship, when the seeds of his greatness were sown, of his struggle for an adequate education, and of his gradual rise to fame through sheer force of character and intellect. From his forefathers he inherited a passionate love of truth and a clear eye to see through the human frailties that so often clothe truth in grotesque garments. He grew up in an atmosphere of deep spiritual faith, and was taught to believe in the right of every man to think for himself and to act according to the dictates of his conscience. In the old home in Norwich he was presumably taught to weave; in the New World homestead he learned the various branches of husbandry that all Colonial youths were taught, and he grasped every opportunity that the settlements offered to add to whatever schooling he may have had in England. Judging from what we know of John and Merible, they had few intellectual interests. Like many of their neighbors, they were content to work from sun to sun, read the Bible and go to bed. There were probably very few books in the Foulger household. But there were plenty of learned publications in Watertown that Peter could borrow. Master George Phillips had a "study of Bookes" valued at about seventy-five pounds. He lived but a short distance from the Foulgers, and it may be that Peter often stopped at his house, seeking advice and asking questions, returning home with answers well worthy of thought and an armful of books to quench his thirsty mind. Perhaps he also sought instruction from the hot-headed elder, Richard Brown, who had ventured so far along the hazardous road of religious toleration that he dared persist in his opinion that the churches of Rome were true churches! Peter's alert mind seized upon any knowledge that might prove useful in a pioneer world. He picked up pointers from the miller, learned many tricks of the trade from the blacksmith, gathered for future use valuable information concerning boundaries and the art of surveying virgin land, and never missed a chance to add to his vocabulary of Indian expressions and to his understanding of Indian lore. He probably had good friends and teachers in the wigwams across the river, in the old Indian village by the falls.

Peter must certainly have visited the Mayhew mill many times, either to get his father's corn ground, or simply out of curiosity and

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interest. Perhaps that is where he learned so well how to run a mill. Perhaps that is where he first met young Thomas Mayhew, lingering to talk and ending by going home with him and being invited to share the riches of the Mayhew bookshelves. There was a lively family of young people in the Mayhew homestead on the banks of the Charles—Thomas the younger, his beloved stepsister Jane, who later became his bride, her own brother Thomas, and their four little American-born half-sisters. The elder Thomas was an important person in the town. Beside his home lot of twelve acres, he owned a farm of 250 acres, three tracts of upland and thirty acres of meadow. At one time he also owned the large Oldham farm, adjoining his home. He was for many years a selectman of Watertown, and for eight successive terms a deputy to the General Court. Among his friends were many leaders of the Bay Colony.

Thomas Mayhew was born in 1593 in the ancient parish of Tisbury in Wiltshire, and grew up in a pleasant country of peaceful villages, venerable churches, spacious parks and lordly manor houses; a country of gently rolling downs, whitened by grazing sheep, whose wool turned to gold for Elizabeth's England. He came of an old and honorable family, and was carefully educated and raised as one of the favored class upon whom Fortune is bound to smile. When he was twenty-one he was apprenticed to his kinsman, Richard Macy, of Chilmark, who was established in the mercantile business of Southampton. Seven years passed while Thomas learned his trade. Toward the end of that time he married Abigail Parkus, daughter of John Parkus, a clothier of Ipswich. The only child of this marriage was a son, Thomas Mayhew the younger, whose name is written in letters of light in the annals of Martha's Vineyard. The elder Mayhew became one of the great mercers of his day. His ventures brought him into close contact with the colonizing of New England and, in 1631, he was appointed Colonial Agent for Matthew Craddock, first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Craddock had invested heavily in the Bay Colony, and although he never visited New England, he sent over servants and goods and had a great stone house built on his estates bordering the Mystic River in Medford. His first agent, Phillip Radcliffe, had clashed with the Puritan authorities in Boston, and had been returned to England minus his ears. For five or

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six years Thomas Mayhew lived as chief steward on the Craddock plantation. The tale of his enterprises as merchant, miller, ship builder and plantation manager makes a lively chapter in the personal chronicles of early Colonial times. His business ventures, however, were not always financially successful, and Craddock became dissatisfied. In 1637 he sent over a new agent. Mayhew then removed to Watertown, where he already had a number of interests of his own. His first wife died during his stay in Medford, and he presently returned to England and married Jane Gallion Paine, widow of a London merchant. The new Mistress Mayhew, with her two children, accompanied him back to Massachusetts. Two daughters were born while in Medford, and two more arrived in Watertown.

The people of Watertown had early built a weir across the river a little below the falls, "wherein they took great store of Shads and Alewives—in two Tydes they have gotten one hundred thousand of those Fishes." Near the weir was the mill, which Thomas Mayhew had built for his patron. In time, Mayhew acquired both the mill and the weir and for a few years his business affairs prospered. In 1641 he built the famous Mayhew Bridge, or Mill Bridge, as it was later called. He had planned to charge toll, in order to defray the cost of building, but the court denied him this privilege, declaring that the bridge belonged to the town. In exchange he was given 150 acres of wilderness on the south side of the river. This was a great monetary disappointment, especially as Mayhew was in financial difficulties at the time.

During the year 1640 the curtain fell on the early boom years of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and a financial depression set in which lasted for several years. Stirring events were taking place in England and the Mother Country, stepping out into the center of the stage, forced her offspring back into the shadows of the wings. When news came to London that the Scots, rising in rebellion against Charles and his bishops, had invaded the north of England, supplies to the colonies fell off abruptly. When the Long Parliament met in triumphant uproar, and overcoming the stubborn resistance of the King, launched a program of reform that promised a brighter day for the Puritans, emigration to New England came to a sudden halt. As civil war became imminent, many patriots in the colonies hurried

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back to their old homes to join the ranks of Independents. Hugh Peters was among those who left the Bay Colony at this time, being sent over by the company to look after their interests in London. As hard times displaced the prosperity of Massachusetts, many settlers became discouraged and moved south to more favorably situated plantations. Large holdings were thrown on the market and real estate went into a slump. "All these things," says Winthrop's journal, "together with the scarcity of money, caused a sudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our commodities. Corn was sold at three shillings the bushel, a good cow at seven or eight pounds, and some at five—and other things answerable, whereby it came to pass that men could not pay their debts, for no money nor beaver were to be had, and he who last year, or but three months before, was worth 1000 pounds, could not now, if he should sell his whole estate, raise 200 pounds, whereby God taught us the vanity of all outward things." In 1633, corn had sold as high as six shillings a bushel, a cow had brought from twenty to twenty-six pounds, a mare thirty-five pounds, and a ewe goat three to four pounds.

The capitalists of Massachusetts suffered severe losses, and Thomas Mayhew found himself in serious financial trouble. His broad acres and his many investments proved to be liabilities rather than assets. Bills could not be collected, debts could not be paid, and "mony was verry hard to gett upon any termes." The new bridge added to his perplexities. In the course of a few months, he lost lands, mill and fishing weir. As his old friend, Daniel Gookin, remarked, "It pleased God to frown upon him in his outward estate."

But in the midst of the darkest days, a ray of light appeared—a ray so dazzling that only a person of vision and courage could have turned it to his use. It was an opportunity for a daring venture in colonization—and Thomas Mayhew accepted the challenge. In 1641 he purchased from Lord Stirling and others the rights and titles of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the Elizabeth Islands, for the sum of forty pounds. (Later he was also able to secure the Indian rights.) He now dreamed of a great island domain over which he would be the supreme manorial lord, a proprietary colony that would restore his fallen fortunes and glorify the Mayhew name. He did not stop at dreaming, however, but with his customary energy at once began setting into motion the wheels that were to make his dreams come true.

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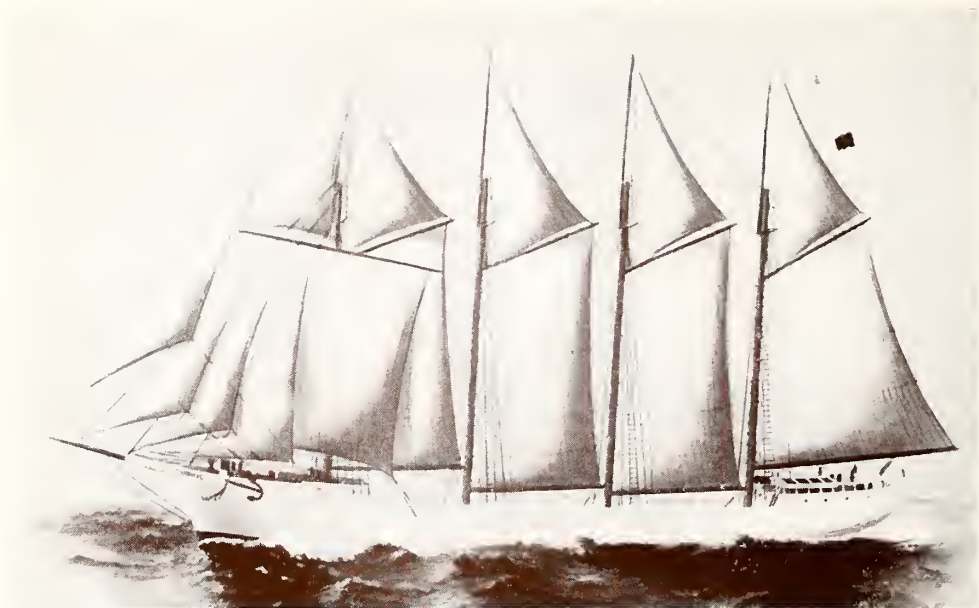
Early in the spring of 1642, "some of Watertown began a plantation at Martha's Vineyard beyond Cape Cod, divers families going thither." (Winthrop.) Thomas Mayhew did not go with this first little group of planters. He had many involved affairs to straighten out before leaving Watertown and severing his connection with the Bay Colony. Perhaps, too, he was unwilling to take his quartet of small daughters into so isolated a wilderness. Although he probably visited his new possessions several times, it was four years before he settled there permanently with his family. The leadership of the Vineyard pioneers he entrusted to his son, Thomas Mayhew the younger. Young Mayhew had entered his majority the previous year and no doubt welcomed an opportunity to try out his talents. According to Thomas Prince, "he was a young Gentleman of liberal Education, and of such Repute for piety as well as natural and acquired Gifts, having no small Degree of Knowledge in the Latin and Greek Languages, and being not wholly a Stranger to the Hebrew." Evidently his father had not permitted the scholastic limitations of the New World to deprive his only son and heir of an Old World education. When the elder Mayhew bought Lord Stirling's islands, he made his son joint patentee, and placed in his hands the welfare of his Watertown neighbors whom he had invited to people his new domain, and who were willing once again to turn pioneer and hew for themselves new homes in the island wilderness.

The Charles River was navigable all the way from the sea to Watertown for ships of small burden, but oyster banks barred the channel for larger vessels. Young Mayhew and his companions probably went from Watertown to Boston in small river boats, setting sail from Boston on a Colonial built coastal shallop for the perilous trip around Cape Cod and through the Nantucket Shoals to Martha's Vineyard. The identity of the passengers has not yet been established, and we shall probably never know just who these first families were. Charles Edward Banks, the Vineyard historian, suggests the names of Daggett, Bland, Sales and Foulger as likely to have been among them. It is fairly certain that Peter Foulger, with Mary, his bride, went with the younger Mayhew, and that John and Merible remained in Watertown for another five or six years before they, too, removed to Great Harbour (Edgartown).

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Peter was probably married shortly before leaving Watertown. Perhaps the contemplated journey was responsible for the culmination of his long courtship. It was now seven years since he had met Mary Morrill on the crowded deck of the *Abigail*; seven years since they had stepped ashore together in the land of their dreams. And for at least half of seven years Mary had lived with the Foulgers as Peter's affianced bride. Peter did not hesitate to follow the beckoning finger of adventure. Like his aristocratic young leader, he was probably glad of an opportunity to leave his parents' home and make his own way in the world. When he left, there was no question but that Mary go with him. And so, at long last, Peter and Mary were married, and set out together to seek their fortunes in the legendary islands beyond Cape Cod—those forest-clad isles that were still shrouded in mystery and lay half hidden by the fogs of early spring.

(To be Continued)



SCHOONER "ADMIRAL"



SCHOONER "LOUISE"

Sailing Vessels of the Pacific Coast and Their Builders, 1850-1905*

BY JOHN LYMAN, OF THE MARITIME RESEARCH SOCIETY OF
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

HE sailing vessels of the Pacific coast of North America and their builders have received scant attention from marine historians. New York, New England, and the Maritime Provinces of Canada have had their chroniclers, but no comprehensive study has yet appeared of the wind-driven vessels of the West coast. As a preliminary survey, the present checklist is an attempt to set down the rig, tonnage, year and place of building, and builder of every sailing vessel over 100 gross tons built in California, Oregon, Washington or British Columbia between 1850 and 1905, as far as these details could be ascertained.

The lower limit of 100 tons is not entirely arbitrary, as under United States law it represents the dividing line between seagoing vessels assigned signal letters and those not so classed, while in British usage it is the minimum size for vessels to be listed in *Lloyd's Register*. The earlier limit of 1850 is the year California was admitted as a State, while 1905 is the last year in which sailing vessels were built on the Coast until the Great War.

In arranging the list, alphabetical rather than chronological or geographical was chosen, for convenience in locating vessels by name. Original names are used throughout, and no notice is taken of cases where a vessel's name was changed—a comparatively rare occurrence in this group of ships. It will be observed that the alphabetical order, with respect to names having initials, follows the usage of *Merchant Vessels of the U. S.* Auxiliaries, steam-schooners and barges have been excluded, as they properly belong to another study.

*Abbreviations: Bktn, barkentine; bgtn, brigantine; sch, schooner; TS sch, topsail schooner; (o), old measurement tonnage.

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

Tonnages—Until 1865 the tonnage of American vessels was arbitrarily estimated by dividing 95 into the product of three factors: beam, depth, and tonnage length. Tonnage length was taken as registered length minus $\frac{3}{5}$ of the beam. If the depth was greater than $\frac{1}{2}$ the beam, the lesser measurement was used instead. In the first quarter of 1865, the United States adopted the system which had been in use in England since 1854, namely, that of expressing tonnage in units of 100 cubic feet of the actual internal capacity of a vessel, enough measurements being taken to approximate this very closely. The "old" measurement is therefore all that has been recorded for the vessels which were no longer afloat in 1865. The Kingdom of Hawaii retained this archaic system until about 1885, so that the tonnage of Hawaiian vessels up to this time is also the old measurement.

In 1882, the system of "gross" and "net" tonnages came into use in the United States. From the total or "gross" tonnage just described, a deduction was made to obtain the "net" or tonnage for tax purposes, supposedly corresponding to the actual earning spaces in a vessel. In the case of sailing vessels this deduction at first amounted to a flat 5 % of the gross tonnage. Later other deductions were allowed, with the result that the net tonnage of many vessels has decreased without any structural alterations. Because of the fluctuations of net tonnage, and because vessels no longer afloat in 1882 had no net tonnage, gross tonnages have been used throughout the list.

Trades—Pacific coast shipowners took almost no part in the trade between their ports and the North Atlantic. Of all the vessels in the list, only the ships *Wildwood* and *Western Shore* were built for the Cape Horn trade. In the '50's, a few small vessels, such as the *Susan* and *Kate Deming*, were built for general freighting, to Australia or the Orient; but the Pacific coast was not a source of manufactured articles until after the general adoption of steamships for carrying such cargoes on the main trade routes.

After its acquisition by the United States, Alaska provided a few trades for which vessels were specially built. Although the pelagic sealing schooners were mostly under 100 tons, the *Sophia Sutherland*, *Herman*, and *Ella Johnson* seem to have been built for this business. For the fur trade with the natives of the Arctic coasts there were built

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the schooners *Czar*, *Czarina*, two *Kodiaks*, *York* and *Nome*. Whaling, codfishing and salmon-packing drew mostly on second-hand vessels from the lumber fleet, but the *Antelope* was built as a salmon cannery tender. A couple of schooners, such as the *Rosario* and *Pio Benito*, were intended for trading with Mexico and Central America.

The islands of the Pacific provided an outlet for many products of Pacific coast shipyards. The bark *Albert*, barkentines *W. H. Dimond*, *S. N. Castle*, *S. G. Wilder* and *Irmgard*, brigs *Consuelo*, *John D. Spreckels*, *Lurline* and *Wm. G. Irwin*, and schooners *Anna*, *Claus Spreckels* and *W. H. Marston* were all built to carry sugar from Hawaii to San Francisco, with special accommodations for passenger traffic; while the little schooners *Kauikeaouli*, *Malol*, *Jennie Walker* and the first *Mary E. Foster* went to Hawaiian owners for inter-island trading. The brigs *Galilee*, *Geneva*, *Tahiti* and *Paloma*, barkentines *City of Papeete* and *Tropic Bird*, and schooners *Tarawa*, *Papeete* and *Staghound* were built for regular packet lines in trade with Tahiti; the schooners *Tamaru Tahiti* and *Teavaroa* were owned in Tahiti in trade among the islands; while the schooner *Pitcairn* was a missionary packet to the South Sea islands.

The schooner *Santa Paula* and barkentine *Fullerton*, the latter the largest vessel of the list, ran as oil tankers between Southern California and San Francisco or the Hawaiian Islands. The *Samson* was built for a salvage firm in San Francisco and was probably more barge than schooner. The schooner *Pathfinder* was built for the Columbia River Fishermen's Protective Union. For the "triangle trade," that is, a voyage with lumber from the Coast to Australia, a coal cargo to Honolulu, and a sugar cargo to San Francisco, there were built the barks *Hesper* and *Pacific Slope*, as well as some of the later barkentines; but most of the lumber vessels did not count on more than a coal charter from Newcastle to California on the return trip.

Apart from the exceptions just noted, the vast majority of Pacific coast sailing vessels were built to carry lumber, either redwood from the Mendocino and Humboldt regions or Douglas fir from farther north. In the foreign trade, most of the voyages were to Australia, the West coast of South America, or later to South Africa, with a few cargoes to the Orient or the Pacific islands; but the coasting lumber trade was the mainstay of the fleet until about 1905. Even

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such large square-rigged vessels as the *Cassandra Adams* and *Olympus* were planned for freighting lumber from Puget Sound to San Francisco; while the small schooners loaded in the shallow draft "outside" ports of Washington, Oregon and northern California for San Francisco or for equally shallow draft and even more "outside" ports in Southern California. There also was some movement of coal from British Columbia, Puget Sound and Coos Bay to San Francisco, and return cargoes of hay, lime, blasting powder and machinery for the mill ports; but second-hand square-riggers from the East coast carried most of the coal, and coasting steamers took the best of the freight business.

As practically all the lumber imports of Southern California came, and still come, by water from the Northwest, there is an intimate connection between the prosperity of the shipping and lumbering industries of the Coast, and the state of business in the Southwest. Thus the flourishing condition of Pacific coast shipbuilding during most of the '80's (Table 1) reflects the influx of population to Southern California after the coming of the railroad to Los Angeles in 1876 and to San Diego in 1885, while the peak after 1900 was due in part to the disturbances brought about by the Boer and Spanish Wars and the Klondyke rush, but mostly to the second Southern California boom after the hard times of the '90's.

When Eastern capital was attracted to the Pacific coast after 1900 a fleet of steamers was built which soon captured the coasting lumber trade except for the longer runs and some out-of-the-way ports, and the building of sailing vessels ceased entirely in 1905. The larger sailers were forced into the export lumber trade, and by virtue of the fact that they had been designed especially for freighting lumber, the wooden fore-and-afters managed to hold their own against foreign steel square-riggers and steam tramps until these competitors withdrew during the World War.

Rigs and Rigging—The Pacific coast schooners of the '50's and '60's were not very different from those built on the East coast during the same period, some of which, indeed, were sailed around the Horn and sold to West coast owners. Although it is now very difficult to determine whether a given schooner carried square yards of

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the foremast, there is evidence that this fashion continued on the Pacific longer than on the eastern seaboard of the United States. Early photographs and engravings show many such topsail schooners at the lumber ports. The schooners *J. B. Ford* of 1860 and *W. H. Meyer* of 1869 are both later listed as brigs, indicating that possibly their rig was on the border line between the two types. There is a record that the *Alice Haake* of 1867 lost a man from her topsail yard in 1869; and a descendant of their builders has recorded that the *Pio Benito* of 1873 and *Rosalind* of 1883 were both three-masted topsail schooners. Very few topsail schooners were built on the East coast after 1860.

Later on, in the '90's and thereafter, many of the larger four-masted schooners carried a single yard on the foremast, on which in fair winds a large squaresail was set flying, with raffee topsails above. Some schooners seem to have carried instead a spinnaker, set on booms like the rig of a modern yacht.

With regard to the number of masts, the West coast was not far behind the Atlantic. The *Susan and Kate Deming* (named for two actresses of the day) was a three masted schooner, but few more were built until the '70's; the *Emma Utter* of 1875 is sometimes called the first three-master. A four-master, the *Novelty*, appeared in 1886; this was a steamer hull rigged with pole masts and having a straight stem, and possibly for this reason the *Puritan* and *E. K. Wood* of 1888 have each been called the Coast's first four-master. The *Louis* of 1888, another steamer hull, was rigged with five masts, and actually antedates by a few months the *Governor Ames*, first five-master on the Atlantic. Not until the *Inca* of 1896 was an orthodox five-master built on the Pacific; and the *W. H. Marston*, *H. K. Hall*, *Crescent*, and *George E. Billings* were the only others produced during the period under review.

Brigs and brigantines were favored only for the Hawaii and Tahiti packet lines, and for the lumber trade out of Coos Bay, where the difficult entrance called for the superior handling qualities of a square-rigged vessel; a superiority which lasted only until a tug was stationed on the bar. As noted above, a couple of schooners of the '60's appear later as brigs, and the *Pitcairn* of 1890 was also rerigged as a brigantine after her first cruise. The nomenclature of the two rigs was

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different from that on the East coast, *brigantine* being used as in England, where *half brig* or *hermaphrodite brig* would have been used in New England; and both groups were frequently lumped under *brigs*. In the absence of a plan or portrait it is not now possible for this reason to settle with finality the rig of a given vessel; but of both classes together there were over 20 built on the Coast, from the *Blanco* of 1858 to the *Geneva* of 1892, which was probably the last merchant brigantine built in North America.

The barkentine rig has always been well favored on the Pacific, representing as it does the extreme phase of the tendency already mentioned for schooners to carry square sail on the foremast. The *Monitor* of 1861 was the first one built on the Coast. Four-masters appeared in 1890 with the *Willie R. Hume* and *Charles F. Crocker*; but no five-masters were built during the period of the list. Of barks, only about a dozen were built, from the *Legal Tender* of 1863 to the *Albert* of 1890. Just as in the case of the brigs and brigantines, there was a tendency to lump barks and barkentines together under the shorter name, and in the earlier vessels there is often confusion as to whether the original rig was changed, or only its designation. Only three full-rigged ships were produced on the Pacific coast, the *Western Shore*, *Wildwood*, and *Olympus*; but in their sailing qualities they were the equal of any vessel built in North America after 1870.

One feature distinguishing many vessels owned on the Pacific coast was the omission of a gaff on the aftermost fore-and-aft sail. This is sometimes incorrectly said to have been introduced on schooners built in Alaska; but the idea actually originated with the ship-builder Matthew Turner, and was used as early as 1879 in the mainsail of the two-masted schooner *Rosario*, as well as in his brigantines built a couple of years later. A triangular topsail, locally called a *ringtail*, was set above the leg-of-mutton mainsail or spanker. The leg-of-mutton rig was used in barks and most of the three-masted barkentines; in the larger four-masted schooners; and in practically all the four-masted barkentines and five-masted schooners. Even in the schooners which carried a gaff-headed spanker, this sail was of moderate size and not the enormous one of the East coast schooner. Fewer headsails were required to balance the smaller spanker, so that bowsprit and jibboom were lighter spars than on the Atlantic coast;



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indeed after 1895 spike booms were often used on the larger vessels. Barkentines and schooners had the trucks of all their masts the same height above the waterline; a feature, at least as far as the three-masted barkentines were concerned, not very common on other coasts.

West coast vessels were characteristically very heavily rigged. Many of the four-masted barkentines carried a skysail yard; of those that did not, many had royals over double topgallant sails. The bark *Newsboy* had a skysail yard, and the bark *Hesper* two; the barks *Cassandra Adams* and *Tidal Wave* each had four topgallant yards. The ships *Olympus* and *Western Shore* were three-skysail-yarders, while the *Lurline* with her skysail yard was unique among the brigantines of the world in her decade. Studding sails were carried by the Island packets as well as some of the later barkentines, notably the *Kohala*.

As the vessels grew older there were various conversions to rigs requiring smaller crews. Barks were converted to barkentines, and barkentines to fore-and-aft schooners. Brigs, particularly those which ended as Bering Sea codfishers, were rerigged as two-masted or baldheaded three-masted schooners; while in schooners there was a tendency to do away with topmasts. Most of the two-masted schooners of the '60's and '70's had been rigged with a topmast on the mainmast only, while the later two-masters usually carried both topmasts until the advent of the auxiliary engine. But beginning in the '80's, there began to appear a few new schooners of three, four and even five masts, in which the topmasts were omitted, and older vessels were often cut down to this *baldheaded* rig, as it was called. The head of the lowermast was continued as a pole some 10 or 12 feet above the capstay, so that the effect was not quite as unsightly as it sounds. Baldheaded schooners were a favorite berth among sailors in the coasting trade, as in the long ballast beat to windward on the return trip there were no gaff-topsails to shift when tacking.

The accompanying illustrations have been chosen to show as wide a variety of rigs and sails as possible, and they comprise the six most common rigs given on the vessels in the list. Although the number of masts has not been determined in every case, it can usually be guessed from the size of the vessel, and the accompanying table gives the distribution and range in tonnages of the different classes.

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Hull Construction—With regard to the smaller and earlier vessels there is reason to suppose that they were not very different from similar craft built on the Atlantic, but in view of the diverse origins of the West coast shipbuilders and the uniformity of the trade for which their products were intended, it is not surprising to find that through trial and error a characteristic type of hull was worked out, admirably suited for lumber carrying to the sacrifice of certain other desirable qualities. By giving the ends of the hull plenty of fineness and a fair amount of deadrise to the floor, enough immersion was secured to enable the vessel to sail empty without ballast. New-comers to the trade were amazed at the way a lofty barkentine could stand up empty with only a few tons to put her in proper sailing trim. Sheer was reduced to a minimum to enable long timbers to be stowed on deck; and since lumber is not harmed but actually improved when carried on deck, a vessel frequently was designed to carry over half her cargo in this way. To this end, even the largest of the fleet were built with but a single laid deck and not more than a few beams in the hold. Longitudinal strength lost in this way was gained back by increasing the keelson, and thickening the ceiling planking out to the turn of the bilge. When the ship *Olympus* was launched in 1880, she attracted wide attention as being the largest single-decked vessel in the world, with 14½ feet of solid timber between the top of her keelson and the bottom of her keel; but she was exceeded in both respects by some of the vessels of twenty years later.

Poop and forecastle were raised to give the crew some measure of dryness when working the ship, and the fore part of the poop was raised in two steps to break up the force of a boarding sea. When carrying coal, part of the cargo was taken on deck in obedience to the old maxim "keep the weights high," but when heavy perishable cargo such as sugar or nitrate had of necessity to be stowed all below deck, the West coast lumber vessel rolled at her miserable worst. In lumber capacity however, expressed in units of 1,000 board feet, the West coast vessel could carry 130% of her net tonnage, while her steel competitors stowed just under 100%, and the Down East wooden square-riggers with their three decks and appurtenant knees could not lift over 80% and required ballast underneath in addition. During the World War the West coast design was copied in some

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schooners built on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts; and even in the Baltic countries similar vessels were launched.

Places of Building—The geographical location of wooden shipyards on the Pacific coast has always been determined by the balance between two factors—nearness to the raw material, the forests of the Northwest, on the one hand; and nearness to centers of population, the sources of capital, labor and the many manufactured articles which go into shipbuilding, on the other. In the second category San Francisco was the only example until nearly the end of the period under review; for although the railroad reached Seattle in 1884 that city did not become of importance until the Klondyke rush in 1897, while Los Angeles and San Diego were still later in developing as centers of industry. Only one vessel in the list was built south of San Francisco, the schooner *Jennie Thelin*, at Davenport Landing, near Santa Cruz. Table 3 summarizes the geographical distribution of the ships in the list.

It will be observed that the greater part of the shipbuilding was carried on in the lumber country, where the timber could be selected from the choicest part of a mill's cutting, and the long planks necessary to add strength to a single-decked hull obtained with a minimum of expense. The San Francisco Bay yards contributed mostly smaller vessels except in boom times when their nearness to the sources of labor helped them in getting contracts for the larger classes. On Humboldt Bay the yards were helped by a slight preference for the Douglas fir of that region; and Coos Bay tapped the remarkable but restricted stand of Port Orford cedar, which was in great favor for frame timbers; with that single exception the universal shipbuilding material was Douglas fir, with laurel in the stem and rudder posts and other spots where hardwood was called for.

The Shipbuilders—Little is known of many of the men who pioneered the shipbuilding industry on the Pacific coast. The following paragraphs present all that could be learned of any builders credited in the list with two or more vessels.

L. S. ALLEN built the schooners *Bobolink* and *Sparrow* at Oakland in 1868-69 for the Simpsons. ROBERT BANKS built the barkentine *John C. Meyer* at Tacoma in 1902 in the yard of the Hardy

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Shipbuilding Co. Later the same year he and K. V. Kruse took over the old Simpson yard at Coos Bay. The Kruse & Banks Shipbuilding Co. is still engaged in building wooden vessels at North Bend, with Robert Banks as president. JACOB BELL built several small schooners at San Francisco in the '60's.

HANS DITLEY BENDIXSEN (1842-1902), a native of Denmark, came to San Francisco in 1863, and to Eureka in 1868. After working in the Cousins yard he started building on his own account in 1869, and moved across to Fairhaven in 1875. He was in partnership with Peterson for a time in 1878. In 1901 Bendixsen sold his plant, which was incorporated as the BENDIXSEN SHIPBUILDING Co., and continued to build vessels until 1916, when it was taken over by the Rolph Shipbuilding Co. The output of the yard up to that time had been over 150 vessels.

GEORGE BOOLE built the barkentine *Modoc* at Utsalady in 1873, and was established at San Francisco in the '80's with John Beaton. BOOLE & BEATON built steamboats and a few schooners. WILLIAM A. BOOLE (1830-1902) was a native of the Maritime Provinces and an old Samuel Hall apprentice. He came to San Francisco in 1853, working first at the Mare Island Navy Yard. In the '60's he was in partnership at San Francisco with one Simmons as shipwrights, while in 1870 he joined with George Middlemas. In 1901 he started a yard at Oakland with his son, building steamers and some large barkentines. About 1908 this plant was taken over by the Moore & Scott Iron Works, now Moore Drydock Co.

WILLIAM H. BRYANT launched a couple of small schooners at Navarro in the '60's, and then moved to Puget Sound, where he built several barks and barkentines. GEORGE BUCHART built small schooners at San Francisco in the '70's. EUPHRONIUS COUSINS, a native of Maine, first learned shipbuilding at Ellsworth, Maine. Coming to California in 1865, he established a yard at Eureka in partnership with a brother as E. & H. Cousins. He also engaged in lumbering operations, and in 1883 sold the shipyard to David Evans. After various business enterprises he returned to shipbuilding, starting a yard at Aberdeen, Washington, with Wm. H. McWhinney. He died there in 1901. JAMES C. COUSINS, apparently another brother of the above, was building at North Point in San Francisco in the '60's, and was later manager of the Merchants' Drydock Co.

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John Watson Dickie (1842-1927) and his brother James were Scots who came to San Francisco in 1870 and started shipbuilding there in 1871 as DICKIE BROTHERS. After building over 40 vessels they were forced into bankruptcy in 1883 when the Mexican Government failed to honor a \$350,000 contract for a gunboat under construction. James then became superintendent of the Union Iron Works (now part of Bethlehem Shipbuilding Co.), of which another brother, George, was manager, while John went with the Fulton Iron Works. In 1901 he started a yard at Alameda as JOHN W. DICKIE & SONS, building the schooner *Ruby* and several steamers and bay ferries.

HIRAM DONCASTER, a native of Nova Scotia, came to the Pacific coast in 1856, and built several vessels on Puget Sound as master builder for Middlemas & Boole, including the barks *Forest Queen* and *Cassandra Adams* and the ship *Olympus*; he also built the schooner *J. B. Leeds* on the Umpqua. J. H. FARNUM and JURGEN J. FRANSEN were San Francisco shipbuilders of the '60's and '70's.

The HALL BROTHERS, Isaac, Henry Knox, and Winslow G., were natives of Cohasset, Massachusetts, who came to San Francisco in the '60's. They engaged in ship carpentering and shipbuilding there until 1873, when Isaac was sent to Port Ludlow to build the schooner *Z. B. Heywood*. There the following year Isaac and Winslow established a yard, their first vessel being the schooner *Annie Gee*. Henry Hall joined the firm in 1875; Isaac died in 1879. In 1880 they moved to Port Blakely. Winslow Hall died in 1898; Henry retired in 1903 after building 108 vessels, and died in 1909. James W. Hall, of the second generation, moved the yard to Winslow in 1903, first as Hall Brothers Marine Railway & Shipbuilding Co.; by a later sale it became the Winslow M. R. & S. B. Co., and as such is still in operation.

JOHN A. HAMILTON (1827-1909), a native of New Hampshire, came to California in 1849. He built some schooners at Point Arena in the '60's, and was later a justice of the peace there. ALEXANDER HAY came from Nova Scotia to San Francisco in 1856. He first had a yard there, moving to Alameda about 1890, and later going into partnership with E. B. Wright. HAY & WRIGHT built several fine schooners, as well as the tanker *Fullerton*, largest vessel of the list.

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E. H. HEUCKENDORFF established a yard at Prosper, Oregon, about 1900, building schooners and steamers. GEORGE H. HITCHINGS, a son-in-law of Peter Mathews, was at Hoquiam in partnership with one Joyce from 1897 to 1906. Later he did contract work along the coast; and at his death in 1917 was manager of the Pacific American Fisheries shipyard at Bellingham, Washington.

D. HOLDEN was master builder in 1874-75 at the Marshfield yard of E. B. Deane & Co., and also built the schooner *Laura Madsen* at Gardiner in 1882. The Deane yard had been established in 1867, when James McGee was sent to Coos Bay by John Pershbaker to build a sawmill. With Howlett, McGee built three small schooners and a tug at the mill and Howlett built other vessels there until 1870. The property was sold by Pershbaker in 1871 and acquired by Deane in 1873. JOHN HAMILTON HOWLETT was born in Prince Edward Island in 1836 and had been building vessels on Coos Bay since 1862. He was drowned at Astoria, Oregon, in 1885.

JOHN KRUSE built some schooners on the Umpqua in the '60's. In 1872 he appears as master builder at the Simpson yard on Coos Bay, producing the ship *Western Shore*, four-masted schooner *Novelty* and five-masted schooner *Louis*, each the first of her type built on the coast. The *Louis* was the last vessel with which his name is associated. K. V. Kruse, no relation to the above, took over the old Simpson yard in 1902 with Robert Banks as KRUSE & BANKS. He died in 1935.

JOHN LINDSTROM established a shipyard at Aberdeen, Washington, in 1899. One of the leading business men of that city, he was twice mayor, and in 1907 bought the Bendixsen Shipbuilding Co. He was killed in a fall at Salem, Oregon, in 1908. There seem to have been more than one McDONALD engaged in shipbuilding on the Pacific coast. The name appears as builder of the brig *Arago* for the Simpsons in 1859; as builder of a schooner at San Francisco in 1869 and as a partner of Bendixsen at Eureka the same year; as builder of the *Annie Stoffin* in the Pershbaker yard in 1870; and as builder of the *Pioneer* and *Volunteer* for the Simpsons at Hoquiam in the '80's.

WILLIAM H. MCWHINNEY was in partnership with E. Cousins at Aberdeen, Washington, after 1900. DOMINGO MARCUCCI came to San Francisco in 1849 and engaged at once in shipbuilding. His

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products were mostly steamboats and small schooners, but they also included the schooner *Fanny*, and the *Monitor*, the Coast's first barkentine. Later he built and owned river steamers, and in the '90's was assistant inspector of hulls of wooden vessels at San Francisco. PETER MATHEWS had the old Cousins yard at Eureka in the '90's and later moved to Hoquiam, Washington, where first his son-in-law, Hitchings, and later his son (who spelled the name Matthews) continued the business.

GEORGE MIDDLEMAS came to San Francisco in 1854. He started shipbuilding in 1858 on Puget Sound, and established himself at San Francisco in 1860, building a number of steamers and schooners. He also prepared plans for the schooners *Sea Nymph* and *Ocean Pearl*, barks *Forest Queen* and *Cassandra Adams*, ship *Olympus*, barkentines *Kitsap* and *Skagit*, and four-masted schooners *Skagit* and *W. F. Jewett*. In 1870 he became a partner of W. A. Boole, and the firm of MIDDLEMAS & BOOLE, in addition to building ships, operated half a dozen square-riggers in the Cape Horn trade. The MORAN BROTHERS Co. of Seattle is better remembered as a steel shipyard, having built the *U. S. S. Nebraska*; but they also turned out the *James Johnson* and *Minnie A. Caine*. The business is still a going concern, having been successively the Moran Co., the Seattle Construction and Drydock Co., the Todd Shipyards Corp., and the Seattle-Tacoma Shipbuilding Co.

LUDWIG MORTENSEN was located at Maine Prairie, on the Sacramento, in the '70's, at San Francisco in the '80's, and at Seattle in the '90's. CHARLES MURRAY also moved often, appearing at San Francisco, Eureka, Coos Bay and Puget Sound. JOHN G. NORTH (1826-1874), a native of Norway, came to San Francisco in 1850 and after four months as a miner turned to shipbuilding. He built the Coast's first three-masted schooner, the *Susan and Kate Deming*, and 272 other hulls. Unlike most of the other shipbuilders of his day he was a trained naval architect. He died in California of fever contracted while building steamers and a railroad in Guatemala. JIREH S. NICHOLS came to San Francisco from Fall River, Massachusetts, in the '60's. He later moved to San Diego, where he won local fame as a yacht builder. The NORTH BEND MILL Co. was one of the units of the Simpson Lumber Co. The PACIFIC SHIPBUILDING Co. operated

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a yard at Marshfield, Oregon, after 1900, and built vessels for the Pacific Shipping Co., apparently a related concern, as well as for other owners.

Captain THOMAS H. PETERSON built some 20 small schooners along the Mendocino coast. He was also in partnership with Bendixsen for a brief period on Humboldt Bay, and built in addition at San Francisco, Umpqua, and Ballard, Washington. HANS H. REED, a native of Norway, came to San Francisco in 1860, and worked as a draftsman for North for seven years. In 1869 he helped with the *Jennie Thelin*, and then built with his brother at Port Madison. From 1874 to 1887 he built for the Deane yard at Marshfield; built the *Puritan* at Port Madison in 1888, and then moved to the Coquille where he built steamers and small schooners. OLAF REED built the *Jennie Thelin*, his brothers Edward and Hans working on her; then with Hans built the *W. S. Phelps*, *S. M. Stetson* and other vessels at Port Madison. Olaf then settled on Coos Bay, being owner and master of the river steamer *Ceres* and part-owner of a general store at the town of Norway. THOMAS C. REED started a yard at Ballard, Washington, about 1900, building steamers and schooners, including five large schooners under the name of the Globe Construction Co. for the Globe Navigation Co.

The SIMPSONS were natives of the State of Maine. A. M. Simpson started lumbering on the Coast shortly after 1850. By 1882 he had 7 mills in California, Oregon and Washington, and had built over 30 vessels in shipyards at North Bend, on the Columbia opposite Astoria, and at yards leased at San Francisco, Oakland and the Umpqua. Ebbridge Simpson, a brother, came out to build the brig *Blanco*; another brother, R. W. Simpson, drew the sail plan for the ship *Western Shore*, which was designed by A. M. Simpson and built by John Kruse. The yard of the North Bend Mill Co. continued to build ships until 1902, when it was taken over by Kruse & Banks; while the Simpson Lumber Co. also had a yard at Hoquiam in the '80's.

W. F. STONE started as a builder of yachts and small vessels at San Francisco in the '80's. After 1900 he built several large vessels, including the schooner *W. H. Marston*. About 1912 the yard was moved to Oakland, where it is still operated by his son and is still noted for its yachts. PATRICK H. TIERNAN was another San Fran-



BRIGANTINE "LURLINE"



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cisco shipbuilder of the '60's. MATTHEW TURNER (1825-1909), a native of Ohio, came to San Francisco in 1850. After three years in the mines he began trading with his own vessels. In 1868 he built the brig *Nautilus* in the Cousins yard at Eureka for his Tahiti trade, incorporating his own ideas in her design, and was so encouraged that he commenced building at San Francisco in 1875. In 1883 he moved to Benicia, and built in all some 220 vessels. CHARLES G. WHITE began shipbuilding at San Francisco in the '70's and moved to Alameda in 1890. About 1900 he moved to Everett, Washington, where he died in 1904 and the yard was discontinued.

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The annual *List of Merchant Vessels of the United States*, published by the government, was used as the chief source for the vessels built in 1885 and thereafter. This source does not give the names of builders, nor are vessels built for foreign owners included. These gaps have been filled from random volumes of various classification society registers, including *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*, *American Lloyd's Register*, and the *Register of the American Bureau of Shipping*. For American vessels built since 1900 a series of tables in *Merchant Vessels of the U. S.* from 1933 to 1937 lists the shipbuilders and their output; but this compilation is not very complete with respect to vessels lost before 1910. During the '80's, the *Annual Reports of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce* tabulate, with builders, the ships built at and for that port; and E. W. Wright, *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest* (Portland, Oregon: 1895), provides similar information for Oregon, Washington and British Columbia.

The files of *Pacific Marine Review* since 1914, particularly a series in 1917 on early Pacific coast shipbuilding, have proved of value.

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

Overland in 1895 had a series of reminiscences of early San Francisco shipbuilders. The *Marine Digest* of Seattle in June and July, 1940, carried an account of the Hall Brothers, with a complete list of their vessels. Thrum's *Hawaiian Annuals* contain much information on the merchant marine of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Some checking was done in the archives of the San Francisco Customs House, but for the most part the customs records of the Pacific coast remain untapped, and completion of the WPA project at present at work in the San Francisco archives, and its extension to other ports, will be of major importance. Bancroft's *Works* and other local histories too numerous to mention have yielded particulars of a few vessels not otherwise recorded, as well as much of the biographical material.

H. I. Chapelle, *History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: 1935), gives plans of schooners *Caroline* and *Inca* and barkentines *W. H. Dimond* and *James Tuft*, as well as contracts and specifications of the *Caroline* and *Tuft*. The Historic American Merchant Marine project has collected and deposited in the U. S. National Museum lines of the schooner *Lily* and complete plans of schooner *Commerce*, barkentines *Kohala*, *Amazon* and *Amaranth*, and bark *Newsboy*. Sail plan of the brigantine *Galilee* can be found in *Rudder*, January 1930, page 29. The Winslow Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Company have preserved the plans of a score or more of Winslow Hall's designs, and have generously allowed me to microfilm them.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the men who have assisted me with this list in their interest in preserving some of the maritime history of the Pacific coast, particularly Captain P. A. McDonald, Hugh M. Delanty, Nelson Andrews, R. E. Webb, L. D. Smith, and Jerry MacMullen.

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>A. B. Johnson</i>	4m.Sch.....	529.....	Aberdeen, Wash.....	1900	Lindstrom
<i>A. F. Coats</i>	4m.Sch.....	617.....	Hoquiam, Wash.....	1901	Hitchings
<i>A. J. West</i>	4m.Sch.....	543.....	Aberdeen, Wash.....	1898	McWhinney
<i>A. M. Baxter</i>	4m.Sch.....	516.....	Fairhaven, Calif.....	1898	Bendixsen
<i>Abbie</i>	2m.Sch.....	146.....	Eureka, Calif.....	1876	Bendixsen
<i>Active</i>	2m.Sch.....	147.....	Gardiner City, Ore.....	1872	Buchart
<i>Addenda</i>	4m.Bktn.....	602.....	North Bend, Ore.....	1895	
<i>Addie C. Hesselme</i>	2m.Sch.....	135.....	San Francisco, Calif.....	1885	W C. Wood
<i>Adelaide</i>	2m.Sch.....	130.....	San Francisco, Calif.....	1883	Boole & Beaton
<i>Admiral</i>	4m.Sch.....	683.....	North Bend, Ore.....	1899	
<i>Advance</i>	Brig.....	210.....	North Bend, Ore.....	1862	W. C. Robinson
<i>Advance</i>	3m.Sch.....	281.....	Parkersburg, Ore.....	1902	S. Danielson
<i>Advent</i>	4m.Sch.....	431.....	North Bend, Ore.....	1901	
<i>Aida</i>	4m.Sch.....	533.....	Port Ludlow, Wash.....	1890	
<i>Alaska</i>	2m.Sch.....	138.....	Port Townsend, Wash.....	1867	Calhoun Bros.
<i>Albert</i>	Bark.....	682.....	Port Blakely, Wash.....	1890	Hall Bros.
<i>Albert Meyer</i>	3m.Sch.....	459.....	Fairhaven, Calif.....	1896	Bendixsen
<i>Albion</i>	Sch.....	201 (o).....	San Francisco, Calif.....	1861	J. C. Cousins
<i>Alcalde</i>	3m.Sch.....	321.....	Port Blakely, Wash.....	1882	Hall Bros.
<i>Alert</i>	4m.Sch.....	623.....	Hoquiam, Wash.....	1902	Hitchings
<i>Alex T. Brown</i>	4m.Sch.....	788.....	Ballard, Wash.....	1903	T. Reed
<i>Alice</i>	Sch.....	146.....	Eden Landing, Calif.....	1863	S. Ligouri
<i>Alice</i>	2m.Sch.....	232.....	Bean's Point, Wash.....	1874	C. Saunders
<i>Alice Cooke</i>	4m.Sch.....	782.....	Port Blakely, Wash.....	1891	Hall Bros.
<i>Alice Haake</i>	2m.T.S.Sch.....	244.....	Port Blakely, Wash.....	1867	J. G. Haake
<i>Alice Kimball</i>	2m.Sch.....	107.....	Little River, Calif.....	1874	Peterson
<i>Allan A.</i>	3m.Sch.....	342.....	Fairhaven, Calif.....	1888	Bendixsen
<i>Aloha</i>	4m.Sch.....	814.....	Port Blakely, Wash.....	1891	Hall Bros.
<i>Alpena</i>	4m.Sch.....	970.....	Port Blakely, Wash.....	1901	Hall Bros.
<i>Alpha</i>	Sch.....	300.....	North Bend, Ore.....	1903	Simpson L. Co.
<i>Alumna</i>	4m.Sch.....	606.....	North Bend, Ore.....	1901	N. Bend Mill Co.
<i>Arena</i>	4m.Sch.....	772.....	Fairhaven, Calif.....	1901	Bendixsen
<i>Amanda Ager</i>	Sch.....	110.....	San Francisco, Calif.....	1866	Middlemas
<i>Amaranth</i>	4m.Bktn.....	1100.....	Benicia, Calif.....	1901	Turner
<i>Amazon</i>	4m.Bktn.....	1167.....	Benicia, Calif.....	1902	Turner
<i>Anelia</i>	3m.Bktn.....	307.....	Marshfield, Ore.....	1870	Murray
<i>American Boy</i>	2m.Sch.....	183.....	Seabeck, Wash.....	1882	Doncaster
<i>American Girl</i>	2m.Sch.....	225.....	Port Ludlow, Wash.....	1875	Hall Bros.

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NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>Andy Mahony</i>	4m.Sch.	566.	Aberdeen, Wash.	1902	Lindstrom
<i>Anna</i>	2m.Sch.	239.	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Turner
<i>Annie Gee</i>	2m.Sch.	154.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1874	Hall Bros.
<i>Annie Larsen</i>	3m.Sch.	376.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1881	Hall Bros.
<i>Annie Lyle</i>	Sch.	195.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1875	Hall Bros.
<i>Annie Stofin</i>	Sch.	119.	Marshfield, Ore.	1870	McDonald
<i>Annie E. Smale</i>	4m.Sch.	845.	Marshfield, Ore.	1903	
<i>Annie M. Campbell</i>	4m.Sch.	565.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1897	Hall Bros.
<i>Antelope</i>	2m.Sch.	123.	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Arago</i>	Brig.	185.	North Bend, Ore.	1859	McDonald
<i>Argonaut</i>	4m.Bktn.	498.	North Bend, Ore.	1891	
<i>Argus</i>	2m.Sch.	194.	San Francisco, Calif.	1880	White
<i>Ariel</i>	4m.Sch.	566.	Marshfield, Ore.	1902	Pacific SB. Co.
<i>Arilla</i>	4m.Sch.	726.	Benicia, Calif.	1900	Turner
<i>Arthur I</i>	Sch.	107.	Port Angeles, Wash.	1899	
<i>Augusta</i>	2m.Sch.	129.	Benicia, Calif.	1889	Turner
<i>Aurora</i>	Brig.	137.	Tillamook, Ore.	1872	Merrill & Co.
<i>Aurora</i>	2m.Sch.	193.	Eureka, Calif.	1873	Bendixsen
<i>Aurora</i>	4m.Bktn.	1211.	Everett, Wash.	1901	Everett SB. Co.
<i>Asalea</i>	3m.Sch.	344.	Eureka, Calif.	1890	Bendixsen
<i>B. H. Ramsdell</i>	Sch.	134.	San Francisco, Calif.	1866	Fransen
<i>Bainbridge</i>	4m.Sch.	566.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1900	Hall Bros.
<i>Balboa</i>	4m.Sch.	777.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1901	Hall Bros.
<i>Bangor</i>	4m.Sch.	511.	Eureka, Calif.	1891	Bendixsen
<i>Barbara</i>	2m.Sch.	117.	Little River, Calif.	1877	Peterson
<i>Barbara Heruster</i>	2m.Sch.	148.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1887	
<i>Bella</i>	Sch.	186.	Acme, Ore.	1896	
<i>Benicia</i>	3m.Bktn.	674.	Benicia, Calif.	1899	Turner
<i>Bertha Dolbeer</i>	3m.Sch.	242.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1881	Bendixsen
<i>Bertie Minor</i>	3m.Sch.	272.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1884	Bendixsen
<i>Berwick</i>	2m.Sch.	100.	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Beulah</i>	3m.Sch.	357.	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Dickie Bros.
<i>Big River</i>	2m.Sch.	160.	Freeport, Wash.	1872	Murray
<i>Blakely</i>	4m.Sch.	751.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1902	Hall Bros.
<i>Blanco</i>	Brig.	284(o).	North Bend, Ore.	1858	Simpson
<i>Bobolink</i>	2m.Sch.	170.	Oakland, Calif.	1868	Allen
<i>Bonanza</i>	2m.Sch.	135.	San Francisco, Calif.	1875	Nichols

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<i>Borealis</i>	4m.Sch.	764.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1002	Bendixsen SB. Co.
<i>Borehead</i>	2m.Sch.	108.	North Bend, Ore.	1891	
<i>C. A. Klose</i>	Sch.	407.	Alameda, Calif.	1902	
<i>C. A. Thayer</i>	3m.Sch.	453.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1895	Bendixsen
<i>C. C. Funk</i>	3m.Bktn.	539.	Marshfield, Ore.	1882	H. R. Reed
<i>C. S. Holmes</i>	4m.Sch.	430.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1893	Hall Bros.
<i>C. T. Hill</i>	2m.Sch.	140.	San Francisco, Calif.	1889	Hay
<i>California</i>	2m.Sch.	110.	San Francisco, Calif.	1860	I. Hall
<i>Canano</i>	4m.Sch.	730.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1902	Hall Bros.
<i>Canule</i>	2m.Sch.	118.	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Turner
<i>Caroline</i>	4m.Sch.	511.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1902	Hall Bros.
<i>Carrier Dove</i>	4m.Sch.	707.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1890	Hall Bros.
<i>Cassandra Adams</i>	Bark.	1127.	Seabeck, Wash.	1876	Doncaster
<i>Cassie Hayward</i>	2m.Sch.	107.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1875	Hall Bros.
<i>Catharine Sudden</i>	3m.Bktn.	386.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1878	Hall Bros.
<i>Cecilia Sudden</i>	4m.Sch.	643.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1902	Bendixsen SB. Co.
<i>Challenger</i>	3m.Sch.	279.	Eureka, Calif.	1883	
<i>Charles Hanson</i>	2m.Sch.	102.	Eureka, Calif.	1881	Bendixsen
<i>Charles E. Falk</i>	3m.Sch.	298.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1889	
<i>Charles F. Crocker</i>	4m.Bktn.	855.	Alameda, Calif.	1890	White
<i>Charles H. Merchant</i>	3m.Sch.	283.	Marshfield, Ore.	1877	H. R. Reed
<i>Charles R. Wilson</i>	3m.Sch.	345.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1892	Bendixsen
<i>Charlotte Frances</i>	Brig.	126(o)	San Francisco, Calif.	1863	Farnum
<i>Chcalis</i>	4m.Bktn.	690.	Hoquiam, Wash.	1891	T. McDonald
<i>Chetco</i>	2m.Sch.	106.	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Churchill</i>	4m.Sch.	655.	North Bend, Ore.	1900	Simpson
<i>City of Papeete</i>	3m.Bktn.	389.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1883	Bendixsen
<i>Clara Light</i>	2m.Sch.	170.	Steilacoom, Wash.	1868	
<i>Claus Spreckels</i>	2m.Sch.	246.	San Francisco, Calif.	1879	Turner
<i>Columbia</i>	4m.Sch.	684.	Hoquiam, Wash.	1890	Hitchings
<i>Comet</i>	3m.Sch.	420.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1886	Hall Bros.
<i>Commerce</i>	4m.Sch.	658.	Alameda, Calif.	1900	Hay & Wright
<i>Compeer</i>	3m.Sch.	347.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1877	Bendixsen
<i>Consuelo</i>	Bktn.	293.	San Francisco, Calif.	1880	Turner
<i>Coquelle</i>	Sch.	103.	Coquille River, Ore.	1883	
<i>Cora</i>	Sch.	155.	Port Orchard, Wash.	1867	
<i>Corona</i>	3m.Sch.	394.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1883	Hall Bros.
<i>Courser</i>	3m.Sch.	357.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1876	Hall Bros.
<i>Courtney Ford</i>	Brig.	401.	Benicia, Calif.	1883	Turner

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NAME	Tons	Place Built	Year	Builder
<i>Crescent</i>	1443	Fairhaven, Calif.	1904	Bendixsen SB. Co.
<i>Caar</i>	144	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Turner
<i>Carina</i>	230	Fairhaven, Calif.	1891	
<i>D. C. Haskins</i>	112	Vallejo, Calif.	1869	Benj. Walls
<i>Daisy Rowe</i>	122	Humboldt Bay, Calif.	1879	Bendixsen
<i>Dakota</i>	335	Marshfield, Ore.	1881	H. R. Reed
<i>Dare</i>	259	North Bend, Ore.	1882	Simpson
<i>Dashing Wave</i>	148	Eureka, Calif.	1867	Bendixsen
<i>Damitless</i>	548	Hoquiam, Wash.	1898	Hitchings
<i>David Evans</i>	821	Marshfield, Ore.	1901	Pacific SB. Co.
<i>Defender</i>	446	Fairhaven, Calif.	1896	Bendixsen
<i>Defiance</i>	604	Hoquiam, Wash.	1897	Mathews & Hitchings
<i>Del Norte</i>	100	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Discovery</i>	415	Port Discovery, Wash.	1874	Murray
<i>Dora Bluhm</i>	330	Port Blakely, Wash.	1883	Hall Bros.
<i>Dreadnaught</i>	183	Port Madison, Wash.	1866	
<i>E. B. Jackson</i>	682	Aberdeen, Wash.	1901	Lindstrom
<i>E. K. Wood</i>	520	Port Blakely, Wash.	1888	Hall Bros.
<i>Echo</i>	707	North Bend, Ore.	1896	Simpson
<i>Edward Parke</i>	147	Eureka, Calif.	1877	
<i>Edward R. West</i>	835	Aberdeen, Wash.	1902	McWhinney
<i>Eldorado</i>	881	Aberdeen, Wash.	1901	McWhinney
<i>Elida</i>	179	Port Madison, Wash.	1868	
<i>Eliza Miller</i>	156	San Francisco, Calif.	1883	White
<i>Ella</i>	259	Freeport, Wash.	1874	Bryant
<i>Ella Johnson</i>	112	Port Angeles, Wash.	1894	
<i>Ella Laurena</i>	223	Portland, Ore.	1895	
<i>Ellen Wood</i>		Umpqua, Ore.		
<i>Elmorah</i>	144	Newport, Ore.	1871	Jas. Munro
<i>Else Iversen</i>	122	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Elvencia</i>	148	Humboldt, Calif.	1872	Bendixsen
<i>Emma</i>	112 (o)	San Francisco, Calif.	1854	
<i>Emma Augusta</i>	284	San Francisco, Calif.	1867	
<i>Emma Claudina</i>	195	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Turner
<i>Emma Utter</i>	279	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1875	Hall Bros.
<i>Encore</i>	651	North Bend, Ore.	1897	N. Bend Mill

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<i>Endeavor</i>	4m.Sch.	565.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1897	Hall Bros.
<i>Ensign</i>	4m.Sch.	618.	Everett, Wash.	1904	White
<i>Enterprise</i>	2m.Sch.	189.	North Bend, Ore.	1863	Howlett
<i>Eric</i>	4m.Sch.	574.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1898	Hall Bros.
<i>Espada</i>	4m.Sch.	777.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1902	Bendixsen SB. Co.
<i>Esther Bulne</i>	3m.Sch.	200.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1887	Bendixsen
<i>Ethel Zane</i>	4m.Sch.	498.	Eureka, Calif.	1891	Mathews
<i>Eureka</i>	3m.Bktn.	295.	Humboldt Bay, Calif.	1868	Murray
<i>Eureka</i>	2m.Sch.	123.	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Eva</i>	3m.Sch.	277.	Seabeck, Wash.	1880	Murray
<i>Excelsior</i>	3m.Sch.	348.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1876	Bendixsen
<i>Expansion</i>	4m.Sch.	545.	Alameda, Calif.	1900	Hay & Wright
<i>F. M. Slade</i>	4m.Sch.	737.	Aberdeen, Wash.	1900	McWhinney
<i>F. S. Redfield</i>	3m.Sch.	469.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1887	Hall Bros.
<i>Falcon</i>	3m.Sch.	205.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1882	Bendixsen
<i>Fannie Adele</i>	3m.Sch.	234.	San Francisco, Calif.	1883	Dickie Bros.
<i>Fanny</i>	2m.Sch.	170(o).	San Francisco, Calif.	1861	Marcucci
<i>Fanny Dutard</i>	3m.Sch.	266.	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	White
<i>Fanny Hare</i>	2m.Sch.	163.	San Francisco, Calif.	1866	In. Daly
<i>Fanny Jane</i>	2m.Sch.	120.	Coos Bay, Ore.	1869	J. Sutherland
<i>Fearless</i>	4m.Sch.	736.	Hoquiam, Wash.	1900	Hitchings
<i>Fidelity</i>	3m.Sch.	192.	Eureka, Calif.	1882	
<i>Forest Home</i>	4m.Sch.	703.	Marshfield, Ore.	1900	Heuckendorff
<i>Forest Queen</i>	Park.	511.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1869	Doncaster
<i>Forester</i>	4m.Sch.	663.	Alameda, Calif.	1900	Hay & Wright
<i>Fortuna</i>	2m.Sch.	145.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1886	
<i>Francis Alice</i>	2m.Sch.	131.	St. Helens, Ore.	1881	W. J. Stevens
<i>Fred E. Sander</i>	3m.Sch.	463.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1887	Hall Bros.
<i>Fred J. Wood</i>	4m.Sch.	681.	Hoquiam, Wash.	1899	Hitchings
<i>Frithiof</i>	2m.Sch.	242.	Marshfield, Ore.	1874	Holden
<i>Fullerton</i>	4m.Bktn.	1554.	Alameda, Calif.	1902	Hay & Wright
<i>G. W. Prescott</i>	2m.Sch.	112.	Little River, Calif.	1874	Peterson
<i>G. W. Watson</i>	3m.Sch.	452.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1890	Bendixsen
<i>Galilee</i>	Bgrtn.	354.	Benicia, Calif.	1891	Turner
<i>Gamble</i>	4m.Sch.	726.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1901	Hall Bros.
<i>Garcia</i>	2m.Sch.	116.	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Turner
<i>Gardner City</i>	4m.Sch.	475.	North Bend, Ore.	1889	
<i>Gem</i>	Sch.	120.	Parkersburg, Ore.	1885	

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NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>Gen'l Banning</i>	2m.Sch.	177	Navarro River, Calif.	1883	Peterson
<i>General Miller</i>	2m.Sch.	108	San Francisco, Calif.	1874	Middlemas & Boole
<i>Genova</i>	Bgtn.	495	Benicia, Calif.	1892	Turner
<i>George C. Perkins</i>	3m.Bktn.	388	Marshfield, Ore.	1880	H. R. Reed
<i>George E. Billings</i>	5m.Sch.	1266	Port Blakely, Wash.	1903	Hall Bros.
<i>Geo. P. Haub</i>	Sch.	122	San Francisco, Calif.	1876	Buchart
<i>Georgina</i>	4m.Bktn.	998	Fairhaven, Calif.	1901	Bendixsen SB. Co.
<i>Gleaner</i>	3m.Bktn.	413	Hoquiam, Wash.	1892	T. McDonald
<i>Glen</i>	2m.Sch.	127	Marshfield, Ore.	1883	H. R. Reed
<i>Glendale</i>	3m.Sch.	296	Fairhaven, Calif.	1888	Bendixsen
<i>Golden Fleece</i>	2m.Sch.	127	Humboldt, Calif.	1875	
<i>Golden Shore</i>	4m.Sch.	699	Port Blakely, Wash.	1889	Hall Bros.
<i>Good Templar</i>	Sch.	126	Steilacoom, Wash.	1866	
<i>Gotoma</i>	2m.Sch.	198	North Bend, Ore.	1872	Murray
<i>Grace Roberts</i>	3m.Bktn.	268	Port Orchard, Wash.	1868	Roberts
<i>Greyhound</i>	2m.Sch.	148	San Francisco, Calif.	1869	J. E. Thayer
<i>Guide</i>	3m.Sch.	144	San Francisco, Calif.	1887	Farnum
<i>H. C. Wright</i>	3m.Sch.	290	Fairhaven, Calif.	1889	
<i>H. D. Bendixsen</i>	4m.Sch.	641	Fairhaven, Calif.	1898	Bendixsen
<i>H. K. Hall</i>	5m.Sch.	1237	Port Blakely, Wash.	1902	Hall Bros.
<i>H. L. Tiernan</i>	2m.Sch.	153	San Francisco, Calif.	1867	Tiernan
<i>Halcyon</i>	3m.Sch.	293	Eureka, Calif.	1881	
<i>Hannah Madison</i>	2m.Sch.	134	Little River, Calif.	1876	Peterson
<i>Harriet</i>	Sch.	118	Ballard, Wash.	1900	
<i>Harriet Rowe</i>	Sch.	114	San Francisco, Calif.	1866	Taylor & Rowe
<i>Hayes</i>	2m.Sch.	194	Umpqua, Ore.	1876	J. Kruse
<i>Helen</i>	2m.Sch.	121 (o)	Point Arena, Calif.	1864	Hamilton
<i>Helen N. Kimball</i>	2m.Sch.	192	Cuffey's Cove, Calif.	1881	Peterson
<i>Helene</i>	4m.Sch.	927	Port Blakely, Wash.	1900	Hall Bros.
<i>Henry Wilson</i>	4m.Sch.	472	Aberdeen, Wash.	1899	Lindstrom
<i>Herman</i>	2m.Sch.	105	Benicia, Calif.	1800	Turner
<i>Hesper</i>	Bar.	695	Port Blakely, Wash.	1882	Hall Bros.
<i>Hesperian</i>	Brig.	241	Eureka, Calif.	1865	E. & H. Cousins
<i>Hilo</i>	3m.Bktn.	644	Fairhaven, Calif.	1892	
<i>Honoipu</i>	4m.Sch.	564	Alameda, Calif.	1898	Hay & Wright
<i>Howard</i>	2m.Sch.	125	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Dickie Bros.
<i>Hueneme</i>	3m.Sch.	364	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1877	Hall Bros.

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<i>Hugh Hogan</i>	3m.Sch.	302	Marshfield, Ore.	1904	Kruse & Banks
<i>Humboldt</i>	2m.Sch.	138	Eureka, Calif.	1874	Bendixsen
<i>Ida McKay</i>	3m.Sch.	187	Fairhaven, Calif.	1880	Bendixsen
<i>Ida Schnauer</i>	2m.Sch.	215	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1875	Hall Bros.
<i>Inca</i>	5m.Sch.	1014	Port Blakely, Wash.	1896	Hall Bros.
<i>Irene</i>	4m.Sch.	772	Fairhaven, Calif.	1900	Bendixsen
<i>Irmgard</i>	3m.Bktn.	670	Port Blakely, Wash.	1889	Hall Bros.
<i>Isabel</i>	2m.Sch.	184	North Bend, Ore.	1864	Howlett
<i>Ivanhoe</i>	2m.Sch.	119	Marshfield, Ore.	1869	
<i>Ivy</i>	2m.Sch.	142	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Dickie Bros.
<i>J. Eppinger</i>	2m.Sch.	112	San Francisco, Calif.	1887	White
<i>J. B. Ford</i>	2m.Sch.	196	San Francisco, Calif.	1860	
<i>J. B. Leeds</i>	2m.Sch.	229	Umpqua, Ore.	1876	Doncaster
<i>J. C. Ford</i>	3m.Sch.	242	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Turner
<i>J. H. Lunsmann</i>	4m.Sch.	1090	Everett, Wash.	1902	White
<i>J. J. Fransen</i>	2m.Sch.	120	San Francisco, Calif.	1867	Fransen
<i>J. M. Colman</i>	3m.Sch.	463	Port Blakely, Wash.	1888	Hall Bros.
<i>J. M. Griffith</i>	3m.Bktn.	606	Seabeck, Wash.	1890	
<i>J. M. Weatherwax</i>	3m.Sch.	384	Aberdeen, Wash.	1890	J. M. Weatherwax
<i>J. W. Clise</i>	4m.Sch.	845	Ballard, Wash.	1904	T. C. Reed
<i>James Johnson</i>	4m.Bktn.	1149	Seattle, Wash.	1901	Moran Bros. Co.
<i>James Rolph</i>	4m.Sch.	586	Fairhaven, Calif.	1899	
<i>James Sennett</i>	4m.Sch.	766	Marshfield, Ore.	1901	Peterson
<i>James Townsend</i>	3m.Sch.	168	Novo, Calif.	1867	
<i>James Tuft</i>	4m.Bktn.	1274	Port Blakely, Wash.	1901	Hall Bros.
<i>James A. Garfield</i>	3m.Sch.	316	North Bend, Ore.	1881	J. Kruse
<i>James H. Bruce</i>	4m.Sch.	533	Fairhaven, Calif.	1898	Bendixsen
<i>Jane L. Stanford</i>	4m.Bktn.	970	Fairhaven, Calif.	1892	Bendixsen
<i>Jennie Stella</i>	3m.Sch.	202	Marshfield, Ore.	1876	H. R. Reed
<i>Jennie Thelin</i>	2m.Sch.	145	Davenport Landing, Calif.	1869	O. Reed
<i>Jennie Walker</i>	2m.Sch.	137	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1880	Hall Bros.
<i>Jennie Ward</i>	3m.Sch.	171	Marshfield, Ore.	1883	H. R. Reed
<i>Jessie Minor</i>	3m.Sch.	261	Fairhaven, Calif.	1883	Bendixsen
<i>Jessie Nickerson</i>	2m.Sch.	184	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1874	Hall Bros.
<i>Johanna M. Brock</i>	2m.Sch.	134	Little River, Calif.	1876	Peterson
<i>John A.</i>	3m.Sch.	282	Eureka, Calif.	1893	Mathews
<i>John Palmer</i>	4m.Bktn.	1187	Fairhaven, Calif.	1900	Bendixsen
<i>John Smith</i>	3m.Bktn.	588	Port Blakely, Wash.	1882	Hall Bros.

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>John A. Campbell</i>	4m.Sch.	545.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1895	Hall Bros.
<i>John C. Meyer</i>	4m.Bktn.	932.	Tacoma, Wash.	1902	Banks
<i>John D. Spreckels</i>	Bgtn.	266.	San Francisco, Calif.	1880	Turner
<i>John D. Tallant</i>	4m.Sch.	561.	Alameda, Calif.	1892	Hay
<i>John F. Miller</i>	2m.Sch.	179.	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Mortensen
<i>John G. North</i>	3m.Sch.	336.	Marshfield, Ore.	1881	H. R. Reed
<i>Joseph Perkins</i>	3m.Bktn.	296.	Vallejo, Calif.	1875	J. Perkins
<i>Joseph Russ</i>	3m.Sch.	247.	Eureka, Calif.	1881	E. Cousins
<i>Jos. L. Eviston</i>	3m.Bktn.	755.	Marshfield, Ore.	1900	Heuckendorff
<i>Juventa</i>	2m.Sch.	191.	North Bend, Ore.	1865	Howlett
<i>Kailua</i>	4m.Sch.	736.	Hoquiam, Wash.	1901	
<i>Katie Flickenger</i>	3m.Bktn.	472.	Seattle, Wash.	1876	Bryant
<i>Kauikaouli</i>	2m.Sch.	140.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1879	Hall Bros.
<i>King Cyrus</i>	4m.Sch.	717.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1890	Hall Bros.
<i>Kitsap</i>	3m.Bktn.	693.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1881	
<i>Kilsap</i>	4m.Sch.	791.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1887	
<i>Kittie Stevens</i>	2m.Sch.	130.	San Francisco, Calif.	1868	Fransen
<i>Kikital</i>	3m.Bktn.	493.	North Bend, Ore.	1881	J. Kruse
<i>Kodiak</i>	2m.Sch.	102.	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Turner
<i>Kodiak</i>	2m.Sch.	146.	Benicia, Calif.	1895	Turner
<i>Kohala</i>	4m.Bktn.	891.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1901	Bendixsen S.B. Co.
<i>Koko Head</i>	4m.Bktn.	1084.	Oakland, Calif.	1902	W. A. Boole
<i>Kona</i>	4m.Sch.	679.	Alameda, Calif.	1901	Hay & Wright
<i>La Gironde</i>	2m.Sch.	204.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1875	Hall Bros.
<i>Lahaina</i>	4m.Bktn.	1067.	Oakland, Calif.	1901	W. A. Boole
<i>Laura Madsen</i>	3m.Sch.	345.	Gardiner, Ore.	1882	Holden
<i>Laura May</i>	2m.Sch.	127.	Eureka, Calif.	1868	E. & H. Cousins
<i>Laura May</i>	3m.Sch.	246.	Marshfield, Ore.	1875	H. R. Reed
<i>Laura Pike</i>	2m.Sch.	145.	Eureka, Calif.	1875	Bendixsen
<i>Legal Tender</i>	Bark.	210.	Port Madison, Wash.	1863	
<i>Lena Sweasey</i>	3m.Sch.	256.	Eureka, Calif.	1875	Bendixsen
<i>Lila and Mattie</i>	2m.Sch.	105.	Albion River, Calif.	1888	J. F. Petersen
<i>Lillebonne</i>	2m.Sch.	218.	Eureka, Calif.	1883	E. Cousins
<i>Lily</i>	2m.Sch.	142.	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Dickie Bros.
<i>Lizzie Madison</i>	2m.Sch.	131.	Humboldt, Calif.	1876	Bendixsen
<i>Lizzie Marshall</i>	Bark.	454.	Maine Prairie, Calif.	1877	Mortensen

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

<i>Lizzie Vance</i>	3m.Sch.	442	Port Blakely, Wash.	1887	Hall Bros.
<i>Lola</i>	Sch.	192	Port Madison, Wash.	1805	
<i>Lolita</i>	2m.Sch.	119	Seattle, Wash.	1871	Hammond
<i>Lottie Bennett</i>	4m.Sch.	566	Port Blakely, Wash.	1899	Hall Bros.
<i>Lottie Carson</i>	3m.Sch.	286	Port Blakely, Wash.	1881	Hall Bros.
<i>Louis</i>	5m.Sch.	831	North Bend, Ore.	1888	J. Kruse
<i>Louise</i>	3m.Sch.	346	Fairhaven, Calif.	1892	Bendixsen
<i>Lucy</i>	3m.Sch.	309	Fairhaven, Calif.	1890	Bendixsen
<i>Ludlow</i>	4m.Sch.	762	Port Blakely, Wash.	1900	Hall Bros.
<i>Lurline</i>	Bgtn.	358	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Luzon</i>	4m.Sch.	545	Alameda, Calif.	1900	Hay & Wright
<i>Lyman D. Foster</i>	4m.Sch.	777	Port Blakely, Wash.	1892	Hall Bros.
<i>M. Turner</i>	4m.Sch.	816	Benicia, Calif.	1902	Turner
<i>Mabel Gale</i>	4m.Sch.	762	Port Blakely, Wash.	1902	Hall Bros.
<i>Mabel Gray</i>	3m.Sch.	205	Fairhaven, Calif.	1882	Bendixsen
<i>Maggie Johnston</i>	2m.Sch.	133	Navarro, Calif.	1866	Bryant
<i>Maggie C. Russ</i>	3m.Sch.	196	Eureka, Calif.	1881	E. Cousins
<i>Mahukona</i>	4m.Sch.	738	Hoquiam, Wash.	1901	Hitchings
<i>Maid of Orleans</i>	2m.Sch.	180	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Dickie Bros.
<i>Makah</i>	3m.Bktn.	699	Port Blakely, Wash.	1882	Hall Bros.
<i>Makaweli</i>	4m.Bktn.	899	Oakland, Calif.	1902	W. A. Boole
<i>Malolo</i>	2m.Sch.	133	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1879	Hall Bros.
<i>Manila</i>	4m.Sch.	731	North Bend, Ore.	1899	Simpson
<i>Marconi</i>	4m.Sch.	693	North Bend, Ore.	1902	
<i>Margaret Crockard</i>	Sch.	169	Port Madison, Wash.	1870	Bryant
<i>Maria E. Smith</i>	3m.Sch.	365	Port Blakely, Wash.	1881	Hall Bros.
<i>Maria G. Atkins</i>	2m.Sch.	100	Point Arena, Calif.	1868	Hamilton
<i>Marietta</i>	Sch.	142	Port Discovery, Wash.	1872	J. Foster
<i>Marion</i>	2m.Sch.	235	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Turner
<i>Martha W. Tuft</i>	2m.Sch.	173	Eureka, Calif.	1876	Bendixsen
<i>Mary Buhe</i>	2m.Sch.	147	Eureka, Calif.	1876	Bendixsen
<i>Mary Dodge</i>	3m.Sch.	243	Eureka, Calif.	1882	Murray
<i>Mary Swann</i>	2m.Sch.	143	Eureka, Calif.	1875	Bendixsen
<i>Mary Winkelman</i>	3m.Bktn.	522	Seabeck, Wash.	1881	Doncaster
<i>Mary D. Pomeroy</i>	2m.Sch.	114	Little River, Calif.	1879	Peterson
<i>Mary E. Foster</i>	2m.Sch.	116	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1877	Hall Bros.
<i>Mary E. Foster</i>	4m.Sch.	950	Port Blakely, Wash.	1898	Hall Bros.
<i>Mary E. Russ</i>	Sch.	235	Eureka, Calif.	1875	E. Cousins
<i>Mary and Ida</i>	2m.Sch.	183	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Dickie Bros.

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NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>Maaveema</i>	3m.Sch.	453	Fairhaven, Calif.	1895	Bendixsen
<i>Marim</i>	2m.Sch.	117	Humboldt Bay, Calif.	1876	Bendixsen
<i>May Queen</i>	2m.Sch.	123	Eureka, Calif.	1867	E. & H. Cousins
<i>Melancthon</i>	3m.Bktn.	298	North Bend, Ore.	1867	Murray
<i>Melrose</i>	4m.Sch.	615	Hoquiam, Wash.	1902	Hitchings
<i>Metcor</i>	4m.Sch.	600	Port Blakely, Wash.	1891	Hall Bros.
<i>Metha Nelson</i>	3m.Sch.	460	Fairhaven, Calif.	1896	Bendixsen
<i>Mildred</i>	3m.Sch.	464	Fairhaven, Calif.	1897	Bendixsen
<i>Mindoro</i>	4m.Sch.	679	Alameda, Calif.	1901	Hay & Wright
<i>Mina Bell</i>	Sch.	123	San Francisco, Calif.	1865	Bell
<i>Minnie A. Caine</i>	4m.Sch.	880	Seattle, Wash.	1900	Moran Bros. Co.
<i>Modoc</i>	3m.Bktn.	452	Utsalady, Wash.	1873	Geo. Boole
<i>Monitor</i>	3m.Bktn.	235	San Francisco, Calif.	1862	Marcucci
<i>Monterey</i>	2m.Sch.	126	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Moro</i>	Sch.	111	Alameda, Calif.	1804	
<i>Muriel</i>	4m.Sch.	537	Alameda, Calif.	1895	Hay & Wright
<i>N. L. Drew</i>	2m.Sch.	120	San Francisco, Calif.	1869	Nichols
<i>Nanaimo</i>	Bark.	407	Nanaimo, B. C.	1882	Alex. Allen
<i>Nautilus</i>	Brig.	173	Eureka, Calif.	1868	Turner & Cousins
<i>Neptune</i>	2m.Sch.	184	Fairhaven, Calif.	1882	
<i>Newark</i>	2m.Sch.	120	Benicia, Calif.	1887	Turner
<i>Newsboy</i>	Bark.	588	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Dickie Bros.
<i>Nokomis</i>	4m.Sch.	545	Port Blakely, Wash.	1895	Hall Bros.
<i>Nomad</i>	4m.Sch.	565	Port Blakely, Wash.	1897	Hall Bros.
<i>Nome</i>	2m.Sch.	231	Benicia, Calif.	1900	Turner
<i>Nora Harkins</i>	2m.Sch.	209	Parkersburg, Ore.	1882	
<i>Norma</i>	3m.Sch.	326	San Francisco, Calif.	1883	White
<i>North Bend</i>	3m.Bktn.	376	North Bend, Ore.	1877	J. Kruse
<i>Northwest</i>	Bark.	515	Port Madison, Wash.	1868	Bryant
<i>Norway</i>	2m.Sch.	192	San Francisco, Calif.	1870	Bell
<i>Novelty</i>	4m.Sch.	592	North Bend, Ore.	1886	Simpson
<i>Noyo</i>	Sch.	195 (o)	San Francisco, Calif.	1861	J. C. Cousins
<i>O. M. Kellogg</i>	3m.Sch.	393	Fairhaven, Calif.	1892	
<i>Oakland</i>	3m.Sch.	418	San Francisco, Calif.	1902	Stone
<i>Occident</i>	3m.Bktn.	297	North Bend, Ore.	1865	Simpson
<i>Occidental</i>	3m.Bktn.	209	Fairhaven, Calif.	1884	Bendixsen

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<i>Ocean Pearl</i>	Sch.....	Navarro, Calif.	195	1868	
<i>Oceania Vance</i>	3m.Sch.	Port Blakely, Wash.	445	1888	Hall Bros.
<i>Okanagan</i>	4m.Sch.	Port Blakely, Wash.	721	1895	Hall Bros.
<i>Ola</i>	4m.Sch.	Eureka, Calif.	498	1889	Bendixsen
<i>Oliver J. Olson</i>	4m.Sch.	Aberdeen, Wash.	667	1900	Lindstrom
<i>Olympus</i>	Ship.....	Seabeck, Wash.	1110	1880	Doncaster
<i>Omega</i>	Bktn.....	North Bend, Ore.	584	1894	
<i>Oregon</i>	3m.Sch.	Prosper, Ore.	343	1905	Heuckendorff
<i>Oregonian</i>	Sch.....	North Bend, Ore.	246	1872	J. Kruse
<i>Orion</i>	2m.Sch.	Humboldt Bay, Calif.	117	1878	Bendixsen
<i>Otelia Pedersen</i>	4m.Sch.	Everett, Wash.	789	1901	White
<i>Ottlie Fjord</i>	3m.Sch.	Fairhaven, Calif.	261	1892	Bendixsen
<i>Pacific</i>	Sch.....	Umpqua, Ore.	148	1865	J. Kruse
<i>Pacific Slope</i>	Bark.....	San Francisco, Calif.	824	1875	Middlemas & Boole
<i>Paloma</i>	Brig.....	Humboldt, Calif.	223	1875	Bendixsen
<i>Pannonia</i>	2m.Sch.	Marshfield, Ore.	206	1875	H. R. Reed
<i>Papete</i>	2m.Sch.	Benicia, Calif.	127	1891	M. Turner
<i>Parallel</i>	2m.Sch.	San Francisco, Calif.	148	1868	
<i>Parkersburg</i>	2m.Sch.	Parkersburg, Ore.	123	1883	Parker
<i>Pathfinder</i>	Sch.....	Astoria, Ore.	105	1891	
<i>Peerless</i>	3m.Sch.	Gardiner, Ore.	244	1878	Peterson
<i>Phil Sheridan</i>	2m.Sch.	Little River, Calif.	158	1868	Peterson
<i>Philippine</i>	4m.Sch.	Alameda, Calif.	523	1899	Hay & Wright
<i>Pio Benito</i>	3m.TS.Sch.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	277	1873	Hall Bros.
<i>Pioneer</i>	3m.Sch.	Hoquiam, Wash.	418	1886	T. McDonald
<i>Pitcairn</i>	2m.Sch.	Benicia, Calif.	121	1890	Turner
<i>Planter</i>	3m.Bktn.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	524	1886	Murray
<i>Polaris</i>	4m.Sch.	Marshfield, Ore.	790	1902	
<i>Portland</i>	3m.Bktn.	North Bend, Ore.	493	1873	J. Kruse
<i>Premier</i>	3m.Sch.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	397	1876	Hall Bros.
<i>Prosper</i>	4m.Sch.	Port Blakely, Wash.	605	1891	Hall Bros.
<i>Prosper</i>	3m.Sch.	Persbaker's Mill, Ore.	241	1892	
<i>Puako</i>	4m.Bktn.	Oakland, Calif.	1084	1902	W. A. Boole
<i>Puritan</i>	4m.Sch.	Port Madison, Wash.	614	1888	H. R. Reed
<i>Queen</i>	3m.Sch.	San Francisco, Calif.	277	1882	White
<i>Queen of the Bay</i>	2m.Sch.	Portland, Ore.	107	1883	
<i>Quickstep</i>	3m.Bktn.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	423	1876	Hall Bros.

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NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>R. C. Slade</i>	4m.Sch.	673.	Aberdeen, Wash.	1900	Lindstrom
<i>R. K. Ham</i>	3m.Bktn.	569.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1874	Bryant
<i>R. W. Bartlett</i>	4m.Sch.	521.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1891	
<i>Rebecca</i>	2m.Sch.	161.	Empire City, Ore.	1875	Murray
<i>Repeat</i>	3m.Sch.	455.	North Bend, Ore.	1897	Simpson
<i>Reporter</i>	3m.Sch.	350.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1876	Hall Bros.
<i>Resolute</i>	4m.Sch.	684.	Hoquiam, Wash.	1902	Hitchings
<i>Retriever</i>	3m.Bktn.	547.	Seabeck, Wash.	1881	Doncaster
<i>Robert Cowan</i>	Brig.	220 (o)	Sooke, B. C.	1867	
<i>Robert Levers</i>	4m.Sch.	732.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1889	Hall Bros.
<i>Robert Seales</i>	4m.Sch.	608.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1888	Hall Bros.
<i>Robert Sudden</i>	3m.Bktn.	616.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1887	Hall Bros.
<i>Robert R. Hind</i>	4m.Sch.	564.	Alameda, Calif.	1899	Hay & Wright
<i>Rosalind</i>	3m.F.S.Sch.	288.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1883	Hall Bros.
<i>Rosamond</i>	4m.Sch.	1030.	Benicia, Calif.	1900	Turner
<i>Rosario</i>	2m.Sch.	148.	San Francisco, Calif.	1878	Turner
<i>Roy Somers</i>	3m.Sch.	314.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1891	Bendixsen
<i>Ruby</i>	3m.Sch.	345.	Alameda, Calif.	1902	J. W. Dickie
<i>Ruby A. Cousins</i>	3m.Sch.	192.	Eureka, Calif.	1882	E. Cousins
<i>Ruth E. Godfrey</i>	4m.Sch.	597.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1900	Hall Bros.
<i>S. G. Wilder</i>	3m.Bktn.	604.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1889	Hall Bros.
<i>S. M. Stetson</i>	Bktn.	707.	Port Madison, Wash.	1874	Reed Bros.
<i>S. N. Castle</i>	3m.Bktn.	514.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1886	Hall Bros.
<i>S. T. Alexander</i>	4m.Sch.	779.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1899	Bendixsen
<i>Sacramento</i>	2m.Sch.	130.	San Francisco, Calif.	1868	
<i>Sadie</i>	3m.Sch.	310.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1890	Bendixsen
<i>Sailor Boy</i>	3m.Sch.	328.	Southbend, Wash.	1883	Patterson
<i>St. George</i>	2m.Sch.	100.	San Francisco, Calif.	1878	Turner
<i>Salem</i>	4m.Sch.	767.	San Francisco, Calif.	1902	Stone
<i>Salvator</i>	4m.Sch.	467.	Eureka, California	1890	
<i>Samar</i>	4m.Sch.	710.	Alameda, Calif.	1901	Hay & Wright
<i>Samson</i>	2m.Sch.	217.	Alameda, Calif.	1890	Hay
<i>San Buenaventura</i>	2m.Sch.	180.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1876	Bendixsen
<i>Santa Paula</i>	4m.Sch.	650.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1900	Bendixsen
<i>Sarah</i>	2m.Sch.	105.	Utsalady, Wash.	1861	J. W. Crowell
<i>Sausalito</i>	3m.Sch.	367.	San Francisco, Calif.	1903	Stone
<i>Sehome</i>	4m.Sch.	680.	New Whatcom, Wash.	1900	C. E. Sutton

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<i>Selma</i>	Bgtn.	349.	San Francisco, Calif.	1883	Turner
<i>Sequoia</i>	3m.Sch.	341.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1890	Bendixsen
<i>Sevena Thayer</i> ..	2m.Sch.	206.	Port Discovery, Wash.	1872	Turner
<i>Seven Sisters</i> ..	2m.Sch.	120.	Benicia, Calif.	1888	Turner
<i>Siberia</i>	Brig.	126.	San Francisco, Calif.	1876	Turner
<i>Skaqit</i>	3m.Bktn.	506.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1883	Doncaster
<i>Solano</i>	4m.Sch.	728.	Benicia, Calif.	1901	Turner
<i>Sophia Sutherland</i>	3m.Sch.	156.	Tacoma, Wash.	1889	Hall Bros.
<i>Sophie Christenson</i>	4m.Sch.	675.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1901	Stone
<i>Soquel</i>	4m.Sch.	707.	San Francisco, Calif.	1902	Allen
<i>Sparrow</i>	2m.Sch.	107.	Oakland, Calif.	1869	Hall Bros.
<i>Sparlane</i>	4m.Sch.	630.	Port Blakely, Wash.	1890	Howlett
<i>Stag Hound</i>	2m.Sch.	136.	Marshfield, Ore.	1868	Hay
<i>Staghound</i>	2m.Sch.	151.	Alameda, Calif.	1890	Hay
<i>Stanley</i>	3m.Sch.	355.	Fairhaven, Calif.	1900	Hay
<i>State of Sonora</i> ..	Sch.	320.	Seabeck, Wash.	1880	Hay
<i>Stimson</i>	4m.Sch.	603.	Pallard, Wash.	1900	T. C. Reed
<i>Stranger</i>	2m.Sch.	124.	San Francisco, Calif.	1869	W. G. Hall
<i>Sunshine</i>	Sch.	326.	Marshfield, Ore.	1875	Holden
<i>Susan and Kate Deming</i>	3m.Sch.	148.	San Francisco, Calif.	1854	North
<i>Susie Merrill</i> ..	3m.Sch.	148.	Noyo, Calif.	1866	Peterson
<i>Tahiti</i>	Bgtn.	200.	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Turner
<i>Tam O'Shanter</i> ..	3m.Bktn.	502.	North Bend, Ore.	1875	Simpson
<i>Tamaru Tahiti</i> ..	Sch.	145.	Benicia, Calif.	1889	Turner
<i>Taracea</i>	2m.Sch.	152.	San Francisco, Calif.	1890	Hay
<i>Taurus</i>	4m.Sch.	551.	Marshfield, Ore.	1902	Pacific SB. Co.
<i>Teavaroa</i>	Sch.	110.	Benicia, Calif.	1892	Turner
<i>Thomas</i>	Brig.	115.	San Francisco, Calif.	1867	North
<i>Thomas P. Emigh</i> ..	4m.Bktn.	1040.	Tacoma, Wash.	1901	Tacoma SB. Co.
<i>Tidal Wave</i>	Bark.	603.	Port Madison, Wash.	1869	Bryant
<i>Tolo</i>	Sch.	123.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1861	Peterson
<i>Transit</i>	4m.Sch.	547.	Ballard, Wash.	1891	Peterson
<i>Tropic Bird</i>	3m.Bktn.	347.	North Bend, Ore.	1882	J. Kruse
<i>Truckee</i>	2m.Sch.	147.	San Francisco, Calif.	1869	Tiernan
<i>Trustee</i>	3m.Sch.	280.	North Bend, Ore.	1878	J. Kruse
<i>Twilight</i>	2m.Sch.	184.	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1874	Hall Bros.

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

NAME	RIG	TONS	PLACE BUILT	YEAR	BUILDER
<i>Una</i>	3m.Sch.	207	Port Blakely, Wash.	1874	Bryant
<i>Uncle John</i>	3m.Bktn.	314	Eureka, Calif.	1881	Murray
<i>Uncle Sam</i>	2m.Sch.	113	Big River, Calif.	1873	Peterson
<i>Undine</i>	2m.Sch.	144	Eureka, Calif.	1870	Bendixsen
<i>Uranus</i>	3m.Sch.	152	San Francisco, Calif.	1894	
<i>Vega</i>	3m.Sch.	245	Fairhaven, Calif.	1881	Bendixsen
<i>Venus</i>	2m.Sch.	118	Point Arena, Calif.	1874	Jacob Whitehouse
<i>Vesta</i>	3m.Sch.	285	San Francisco, Calif.	1882	Turner
<i>Viking</i>	2m.Sch.	146	Marshfield, Ore.	1882	H. R. Reed
<i>Vine</i>	2m.Sch.	228	Gig Harbor, Wash.	1890	
<i>Virginia</i>	4m.Sch.	585	Alameda, Calif.	1902	Hay & Wright
<i>Volant</i>	3m.Sch.	172	Fairhaven, Calif.	1883	Bendixsen
<i>Volante</i>	2m.Sch.	125	North Bend, Ore.	1891	G. L. Hobbs
<i>Volunteer</i>	4m.Sch.	585	Hoquiam, Wash.	1887	T. McDonald
<i>W. F. Jewett</i>	3m.Sch.	476	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1887	Middlemas & Boole
<i>W. H. Dimond</i>	3m.Bktn.	300	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Turner
<i>W. H. Marston</i>	5m.Sch.	1169	San Francisco, Calif.	1901	Stone
<i>W. H. Meyer</i>	2m.Sch.	246	San Francisco, Calif.	1869	Buchart
<i>W. H. Talbot</i>	4m.Sch.	816	Port Blakely, Wash.	1891	Hall Bros.
<i>W. J. Patterson</i>	4m.Sch.	645	Aberdeen, Wash.	1901	Lindstrom
<i>W. S. Bowne</i>	3m.Sch.	421	Port Blakely, Wash.	1885	Hall Bros.
<i>W. S. Phelps</i>	2m.Sch.	101	Port Madison, Wash.	1870	Reed Bros.
<i>Watson A. West.</i>	4m.Sch.	818	Aberdeen, Wash.	1901	McWhinney
<i>Wawona</i>	3m.Sch.	468	Fairhaven, Calif.	1897	Bendixsen
<i>Web Foot</i>	3m.Bktn.	361	North Bend, Ore.	1869	Simpson
<i>Western Belle</i>	3m.Bktn.	275	Humboldt, Calif.	1867	E. & H. Cousins
<i>Western Home</i>	2m.Sch.	135	Main Prairie, Calif.	1874	Mortensen
<i>Western Shore</i>	Ship	1177	North Bend, Ore.	1874	J. Kruse
<i>Wilbert L. Smith</i>	4m.Sch.	848	Ballard, Wash.	1902	T. C. Reed
<i>Wildwood</i>	Ship	1099	Port Madison, Wash.	1871	A. J. Westervelt
<i>Wm. Bowden</i>	4m.Sch.	778	Port Blakely, Wash.	1892	Hall Bros.
<i>William Carson</i>	Bktn.	890	Fairhaven, Calif.	1899	
<i>Wm. Nottingham</i>	4m.Sch.	1204	Ballard, Wash.	1902	T. C. Reed
<i>William Olsen</i>	4m.Sch.	523	Alameda, Calif.	1900	Hay & Wright
<i>William Renton</i>	3m.Sch.	447	Port Blakely, Wash.	1882	Hall Bros.
<i>William F. Bowne</i>	Sch.	136	Umpqua, Ore.	1864	J. Kruse

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

<i>Wm. F. Garms</i>	4m. Sch.	1094	Everett, Wash.	1901	White
<i>Wm. F. Witzemann</i>	4m. Sch.	473	Fairhaven, Calif.	1887	
<i>William G. Irwin</i>	Bgtn.	318	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	Turner
<i>Wm. H. Smith</i>	4m. Sch.	566	Port Blakely, Wash.	1899	Hall Bros.
<i>Wm. H. Stevens</i>	2m. Sch.	146	San Francisco, Calif.	1869	J. McDonald
<i>William L. Beebe</i>	3m. Sch.	296	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1875	Hall Bros.
<i>Willie R. Hume</i>	4m. Bktn.	665	North Bend, Ore.	1890	
<i>Willis A. Holden</i>	4m. Sch.	1188	Ballard, Wash.	1902	T. C. Reed
<i>Winchester</i>	2m. Sch.	118	Prosper, Ore.	1893	
<i>Wing & Wing</i>	2m. Sch.	141	San Francisco, Calif.	1881	White
<i>Winslow</i>	4m. Sch.	566	Port Blakely, Wash.	1899	Hall Bros.
<i>Wrestler</i>	3m. Bktn.	470	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1880	Hall Bros.
<i>York</i>	2m. Sch.	231	Benicia, Calif.	1900	Turner
<i>Z. B. Heywood</i>	2m. Sch.	107	Port Ludlow, Wash.	1873	I. Hall
<i>Zampa</i>	3m. Sch.	385	Port Madison, Wash.	1887	Hughes

SAILING VESSELS OF PACIFIC COAST AND BUILDERS

TABLE 1
VESSELS BUILT BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS

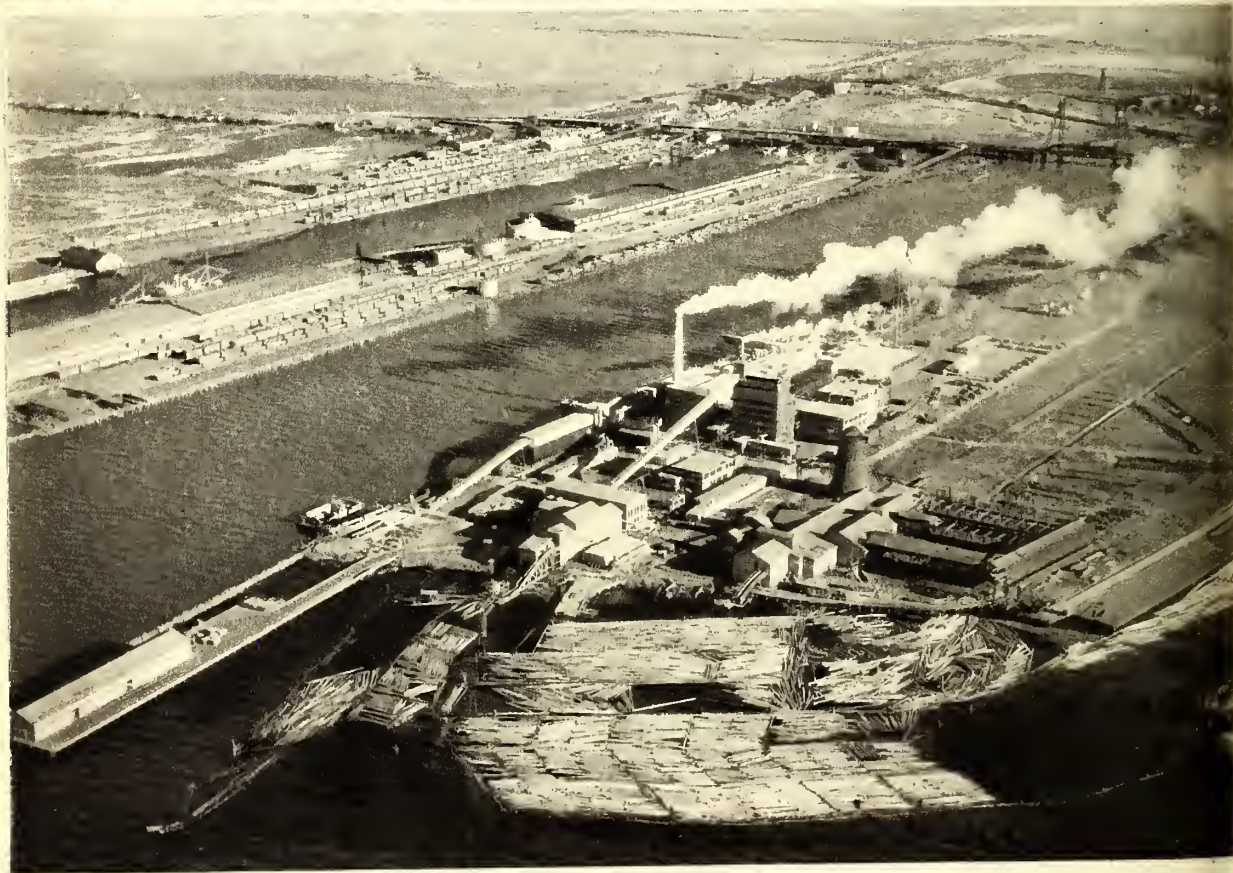
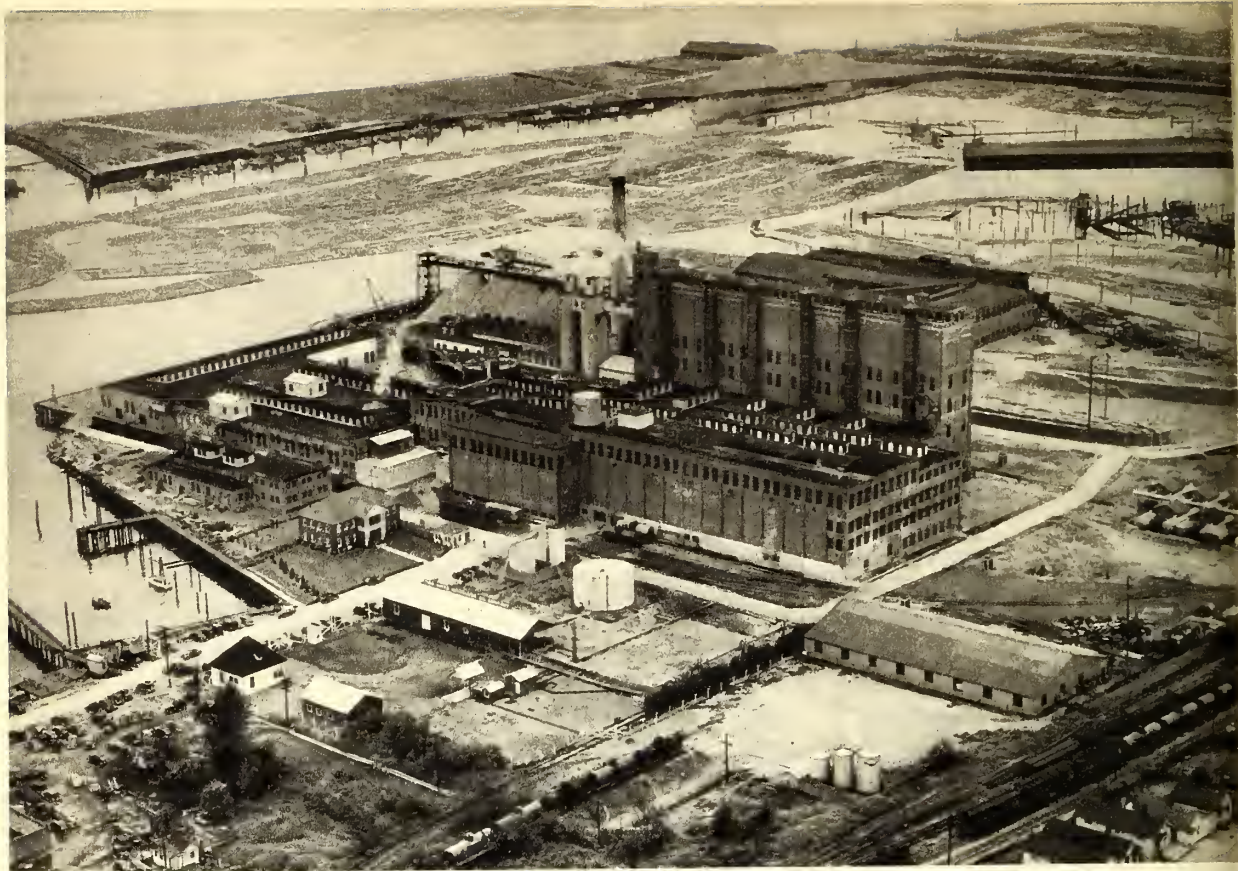
YEARS	NUMBER	GROSS TONNAGE
Unknown	1	
1851-55	2	
1856-60	4	
1861-65	19	
1866-70	57	10,795
1871-75	55	14,826
1876-80	48	13,268
1881-85	90	25,599
1886-90	70	26,862
1891-95	47	20,684
1896-1900	66	40,398
1901-05	76	61,073

TABLE 2

		DISTRIBUTION BY RIGS			
RIG	NUMBER	SMALLEST	TONNAGE	LARGEST	TONNAGE
Ships	3	<i>Wildwood</i>	1099	<i>Western Shore</i>	1177
Barks	11	<i>Legal Tender</i>	210	<i>Cass. Adams</i>	1127
Four-mast Bktns. .	24	<i>Arago</i>	498	<i>Fullerton</i>	1554
Three-mast Bktns..	46	<i>Monitor</i>	235	<i>Jos. L. Eviston</i>	755
Brigs and Bgtns...	21			<i>Geneva</i>	495
Five-mast Schs. ...	6	<i>Louis</i>	831	<i>Crescent</i>	1443
Four-mast Schs. ...	130	<i>C. S. Holmes</i>	430	<i>Wm. Nottingham</i> ...	1204
Three-mast Schs. ...	112	<i>Guide</i>	144	<i>W. F. Jewett</i>	476
Two-mast Schs. ...	182			<i>Claus Spreckels</i>	246

TABLE 3

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION		
CALIFORNIA		257
Southern California	1	
San Francisco Bay.....	138	
Mendocino	18	
Humboldt Bay	100	
OREGON		90
Coos Bay	67	
Columbia River	4	
Elsewhere	19	
WASHINGTON		186
Grays Harbor	28	
Puget Sound	157	
Elsewhere	1	
BRITISH COLUMBIA		2
Vancouver Island	2	
TOTAL		535



Bleached Sulphite Plant, Everett, Washington
Bleached Kraft Plant, Tacoma, Washington

A Saga of Pulp and Paper Making

BY EDWIN PIERSON CONKLIN, NEW YORK CITY



GUESS as to the antiquity of paper is seldom hazarded by historians and scientists. It may have been made first by skin-clad primitives before the art of weaving had been well developed. There are evidences that paper was used for what might be called wrapping purposes when cloth was hard to make and therefore precious. Papyrus has been found with the most ancient of mummies. Ossian Anderson* described the manufacture by the Egyptians of this material: "The people of Egypt discovered that by cutting the stems of the papyrus plants into strips, laying them one layer over the other on a hard surface, then soaking the layers in water, followed by hammering, drying in the sun and then rubbing the whole preparation with shell or ivory, they had a smooth, soft pliable product. . . . This then was the forerunner of paper as we now know it."

Mr. Anderson was describing a highly perfected product probably the result of a thousand or more years of improvement, for he comments: "It was a suitable medium for transmitting written records and messages." Incidentally, the name "papyrus" was given to this material, and the plant from which it was derived, by the Romans. What the Egyptians called it in the distant past is not known. In the above phrase Mr. Anderson has brought out the reason for the improvement of ancient papers and their increased use, for when thin durable paper proved a worthy successor to stone and clay tablets, the important phase of its history had begun. When in relatively modern times, moveable type was invented, there began a demand for more and cheaper papers that never has lost its initial impetus. The forests of all the continents now are called upon to appease the hunger of writing and reading peoples. Written language

*Grateful acknowledgment is made for the use of the title and much of the content of this article to Ossian Anderson, an outstanding pioneer and executive in the pulp and paper industry of the State of Washington.

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was born about 3400 B. C., according to the scientists. The Chinese knew how to utilize wood and plant fibres to make paper more than two thousand years ago. But the printing press was the outstanding factor in the development of the paper industry.

Paper (French *papier* from the Latin *papyrus*) may be described as a general name for a substance commonly used for writing or printing purposes, and for wrapping things in. Of course, it now has a thousand other uses. Probably the knowledge of mixing fibrous material was known long before the time of which we have any record, but as indicated the manufacture of this kind of paper is credited to the Chinese in the second century, B. C. Quoting Ossian Anderson once more: "Using bark, rags, hemp and similar products as raw material, beating the fibres to pulp, restoring the fibres to an artificial cohesion by suspension in water, then shaking, straining and drying, the Chinese made paper, not of the quality produced today, but true paper nevertheless." Ts'ai Lun (145 B. C.) is the reputed Chinese inventor of this process, and might even be called the "father of the wood pulp industry."

However remote the manufacture of paper in the Orient, the process did not become available to the rest of the world until the middle of the eighth century, A. D. History relates that in 751 the Arabs, who had occupied Samarkand earlier in the century, were attacked by Chinese, who were beaten off. In the pursuit that followed, Chinese prisoners were captured, among whom were some skilled in paper making. These, willingly or otherwise, taught their trade to the Arabs, and Arabian paper became a valuable commodity in the Occident. Some authorities hold that this initiated a literary period in human cultural development. At least it is true that this new cheap, light and thin material seems to have encouraged a great deal of writing, and many of the ancient manuscripts extant. Some of the oldest (paper) still preserves dates from the middle of the ninth century, as for example, "Gharibu 'l-Haidth," a treatise on the sayings of the prophet Mahomet, 866, is just about the most antique dated manuscript on paper, now in existence. Incidentally, it is in a good state of preservation, which is more than can be said of some books a thousand years younger. One reason for this will become evident as we go further into the manufacture of wood pulp and paper.

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It is fair to indicate that while historians know the names of many different types of Arabian papers, they still are puzzled as to what the terms mean. One named "damascena," may be a description of very fine quality, but probably simply indicates that it was sold in the famous market center, Damascus. It long was held that the untranslatable Arabic terms indicated that this type of paper was based on cotton fibres. Modern research seems to prove that flax was the favorite material then as it has been since. Flax was a common plant in Arabia, Persia, and the land which first gave Europe paper. Evidently the new writing material entered the western countries by way of Greece, and as late as the twelfth century A. D., it was referred to as "Greek parchment."

The actual manufacture of paper in Europe seems to have been started by the Moors in Spain in the twelfth century. They made an inferior product. Italy became the paper making center not so many years later and served many of the Mediterranean countries and South Germany as late as the end of the fourteenth century. France, which learned paper making from Spain, furnished quantities to western Germany, The Netherlands and England. In brief, by 1450 the art of paper making was known and practiced in Europe, and within a hundred years was fast superseding the use of vellum for literary purposes. Some MSS. of that period contain both vellum and paper, sometimes in alternating sheets, but more frequently as the outer and inner leaves of a quire. The beginning of paper manufacture in England is somewhat obscure because it was so near to European exporters, and when it did start it became what is now called "a neighborhood" industry, that is, every little settlement has its own producer. Possibly the latter is one of the reasons for the variety of papers that seem to have been invented, or devised, by the Britains, for brown paper sold in bundles was on sale there in the middle sixteenth century. Blotting paper (blotting paper) was in use before Christopher Columbus set off on his voyages of discovery; and about that time there was a very fair quality of white paper of firm texture with different finishes. Prices were comparatively low, two to three pence a ream.

The outstanding factor in the development of paper making as an industry, or the thing that gave it an impetus that never has been lost,

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was the rediscovery, or practical use, of moveable types in the Western World. Ancient Ts'ai Lun had all the means for printing when he invented paper, but one almost unsurmountable difficulty stood in the way—the enormous number of Chinese characters. His race used carved wooden blocks to make impressions on paper or other materials for centuries, and were printing books on paper while the European monks were still writing on vellum. In the fifteenth century, however, printing conquered Europe, and when Columbus returned to relate his adventures to the Spanish Queen, “there were more than eleven thousand printing plants in Europe that had published . . . a total of twelve million volumes.” Printing had conquered the Old World and its hand-maid was the manufacturer of printing material.

The early development of paper manufacture in America was relatively slow, not because the pioneers of our country were unprogressive, but for the simple reason that all manufacturing was discouraged in all European colonies in the New World. There was a printing press brought to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639. Every other Colony on this side of the Atlantic possessed presses before seventeen hundred. What was the first paper mill in what is now the United States was built by one William Ryttinghuisen (Rittenhouse), a Mennonite preacher from Holland, who, in 1690, established his plant in a little glade near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. So far as the writer knows the next paper mill was set up at St. Andrews, Canada, in 1703. Later there were other little shops opened in several of the settlements along the coast, but paper history was not made until the following century, or a number of years after there had been a Revolutionary War and the United States of America organized.

The whys and wherefores of the slowness of Colonial America to become industrial was not the fault of those who migrated from the Old Country, but that of the political policy, of which Great Britain was the chief exponent, initiated for the expansion of its own dominions in new lands. This was known as the “mercantile system,” which may be explained as a scheme by which colonies could, even must, send their raw products only to England and in exchange receive articles that the British manufactured. The colonies wanted to make the textiles worn by the poorer people, their own agricultural implements

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and household utensils and, incidentally paper for their presses. Mother Britannia said "No," and began to put the screws down on the colonies as early as 1660, when orders were issued that exports and imports from America must be transported on English vessels. To a limited extent the Americans ignored some of these requirements and smuggling became an honorable profession in which quite a number of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were deeply involved.

Somehow tea has come to be associated with the initiation of the American Revolution. This was accidental, rather than important, and it would be a fine and sound subject for some future historian to relate how large a part paper played in this rebellion. Printers and paper makers were thoroughly indignant because restrictions were not only placed on the manufacture of paper, which could be made more inexpensively on this side of the Atlantic, but right down to the end of its sway, England imposed a heavy tax upon this material. The press, even on taxed English paper, loudly proclaimed the injustice of the whole "mercantile system," and the press assuredly swayed public opinion more than any other medium of the 1770s. It is also noteworthy that in every one of the principal ports of that period from Massachusetts to Georgia there were demonstrations against the tax on imported paper, and the ban against the Colonial product that had a significance far above the throwing of a few cases of tea into Boston and Philadelphia harbors.

The little Rittenhouse paper mill was destroyed by a freshet in 1790, that not only took out the dam from which it derived its power, but the building itself. However, it was almost immediately rebuilt and continued its honorable history for more than another century. By 1790 there were a number of paper mills in all the thirteen original states and in Canada as well. They seem to have turned out a product equal to the imported, but even after the American Revolution, foreign countries used America as a dumping ground for manufactured articles, and it was not until well after the War of 1812 that the United States was able to meet this competition.

During the early period of which we have been writing, it should be understood that the making of paper was essentially a hand process, and the pulp from which it was manufactured had been derived mainly

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from rags, linen, and cotton. Such power as was used served only to clean these rags and reduce them to a macerated pulp. This was "laid" or made into sheets manually, and a great deal of hand work and much time were required to turn out even a small quantity. In 1798, one Louis Robert, a clerk in the employ of the Essonne Paper Mills, in France, invented a paper machine that gave a new impetus to pulp and paper making during the following century. With additions and improvements by Donkin, Dickinson, Causon, Crompton and others, the Robert machine was brought to a high state of perfection down the years. Under various names it embraces a series of most ingenious continuous operations that produce in minutes what once took hours, the choicest types of paper. Machine made paper has now replaced that made by hand except those in which extreme durability is the main requisite. Henry Fourdrinier introduced the Robert machine into England, in his mill at Dartford, Kent, and it became known as the Fourdrinier machine. Wrote Ossian Anderson: "Its only rival even today is a cylinder type machine which was brought out about ten years later."

In the modern sense [says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*] paper may best be described as a more or less thin tissue composed of any fibrous material, whose individual fibres, first separated by mechanical action, are then deposited and felted together on wire cloth while suspended in water. The main constituent in the structure of all plants is the fibre or cellulose which forms the casing of walls of the different cells; it is the woody portion of the plant freed from all foreign substances, and forms, so to speak, the skeleton of vegetable fibre to the amount of 75 to 78%. Its forms and combinations are extremely varied, but it always consists of the same chemical elements, carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, and in the same proportions. It is the object of the paper-maker to eliminate the glutinous, resinous, siliceous and other intercellular matters and to produce the fibre as pure and as strong as possible. Linen and cotton rags, having already undergone a process of manufacture, consist of almost pure fibres with the addition of fatty and colouring matters which can be gotten rid of by simply boiling under a low pressure of steam with a weak alkaline solution; but the substitutes for rags, esparto, wood, straw, etc., being used as they come from the soil, contain all the intercellular matter in its original form, which has to be dissolved by strong chemical treatment under a high temperature. The vegetable fibre or cellulose,

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being of a tougher and stronger nature, is untouched by the action of the chemicals, unless the treatment be carried too far, whilst animal fibres or other organic matters are rendered soluble or destroyed by it. The cellulose, after its dissolution by chemical treatment, is still impregnated with insoluble colouring matters, which have to be eliminated or destroyed by treatment with a solution of chlorine or bleaching-powder. The object of the paper-maker in treating any one particular fibre is to carry the action of the dissolving and bleaching agents just so far as to obtain the fibre as free from impurities and as white in colour as is desired. The usefulness of a plant for a good white paper depends upon the strength and elasticity of its fibres, upon the proportion of cellular tissue contained in them, and upon the ease with which this can be freed from the encrusting and intercellular matters.

In the foregoing technical explanation of paper manufacture just once is wood mentioned as a basic pulp material and then only as a substitute for rags, yet the forests are the largest present-day sources of pulp and paper. Even so long ago as the building of the first paper mill in America, it was realized that linen and cotton rags were not in sufficient supply to satisfy the rapidly increasing demands of the printing trade. In his interesting and informative style, Ossian Anderson has written:

While engaged in research for other possible types of raw materials, Reamur, a French physicist accidentally observed that wasps, in gathering materials for their nests, extracted fibres from common wood and that the walls of these nests bore a striking resemblance to a very fine paper. This led to his experiment with wood pulp, which was continued and finished by a Bavarian, Jacob Schaffer, in 1765. During that same century, the first mechanical beating machine was developed, known as the Hollander. This type of beater, although improved, is generally in use today.

Another Frenchman, Nicholas Louis Robert, mention of both himself and his invention in 1799 having already been made, built the first practical paper making machine that replaced the old sort of hand operations of moulding, pressing, drying and the like. With the advent of the paper making machine, the production of large quantities of paper became possible, but also brought the realization that new fibres must be discovered and methods of utilizing well-known sources, such as trees, be devised. In what strikes one as a

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very intelligent way of going about this was the direct appeal made by governments and manufacturers to inventors to seek new materials and methods. In 1841 Gottfried Keller, of Saxony, invented what is called the ground-wood process of making pulp. This was just what it sounds, a way of grinding cleaned wood against a revolving stone to small particles. The best example of the paper made from this "mechanical pulp" as distinguished from chemical pulp, is the paper upon which your newspaper is printed. The advantage of the mechanical pulp papers is cheapness; the disadvantages all newspaper readers know—the ease with which it tears or breaks, tendency to discoloration, increasing brittleness with age, inequalities in taking of ink—all of which are due to the shortness and inflexibility of the ground-wood fibres and its relatively poor felting qualities. To offset these disadvantages practically all newsprint contains percentages of chemical wood pulp to give it strength.

It seems rather strange that the making of satisfactory wood pulp and paper is less than a century old. Not until 1850 was this result attained when the chemical treatment of certain woods was introduced in England by Hugh Burgess. Within a few decades "chemical pulp" was the popular basis of papers made wholly from forest materials without the addition of linen or cotton rags. The chemical process is simply the treatment by "cooking" or digesting in chemical solutions wood chips to separate, or completely dissolve, the binding materials leaving, in most processes, the pure cellulose fibre. The principal wood pulps are named for the chemical employed—soda, sulphate and sulphite—each of which produce paper of varying characteristics.

Hugh Burgess employed caustic soda and patented his process in 1853. Like many other inventors, he met with difficulties in his own land in finding anyone who had faith in his idea. Coming to America to try his luck, he found people in the "land of the great forests" who were willing to take a chance on anything that would increase the utilization of the greatest natural resource. In 1854 some paper was made in Massachusetts from pulp of the caustic soda variety produced in Canada. Whether this came from the poplar tree, which was the kind of wood he experimented with in England, is uncertain; more likely it was spruce, of which there was too much for the logger, to whom pine and hardwoods were then of chief value. Hugh Burgess is

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sometimes called "the father of the wood pulp industry in America." Assuredly he served Canada particularly well, and was the founder of its immense pulp and paper production.

In the year that the first Canadian mill was erected to make wood pulp and paper (1870), the Angus and Logan plant at Windsor Mills in the Province of Quebec, over in Germany was developed a sulphate pulp. This method differed from the caustic soda method principally in the use of sodium sulphate. In both cases the digestive liquor was alkaline in character. Another process widely in use is the sulphite process, discovered by Benjamin Tilghman, of Pennsylvania, in 1886. The re-agent in this method is sulphurous acid and lime, being acid in character. The pulp produced by this process is naturally more purified than the result of other methods, and can be used in the production of fine writing and printing papers. However, each process is employed by the pulp and paper mills of our country in modified and improved forms. Each has its advantages, or is better fitted to the individual manufacturer, kind of wood used, or market. The perfect, all-purpose wood pulp has never yet been made or its production even approached, and probably never will be. Possibly one reason for this is the infinite variety of papers and the extraordinary uses to which they are put. The writer started counting the kinds of paper named in a technical book, now nearly twenty years old. He stopped at the figure two hundred. Each type, whether parchment, bond, newsprint, bristol, tag or other boards, has its own peculiarities, combinations and deficiencies. Each pulp or paper mill since the Chinese of 145 B. C., has made use of the same basic mechanical principles, but there is no end in sight of the new services they may render, or of the industry itself which has become one of outstanding importance in the modern world.

A non-technical description of the manufacture of wood pulp and paper, from forest to newsprint, written by an expert, is hard to obtain by reason of the multiplicity of operations involved, machines used, the part science plays in several phases of production, and the difficulty the expert finds in finding substitute words for the highly specialized vernacular of the industry. We are fortunate, however, in receiving articles from Samuel W. Craig, Scottish engineer, now of New York, long identified with the pulp and paper industries of Canada and the

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Northeastern United States, especially in the design and installation of machinery in modern mills. What follows is a compilation from two of his unpublished papers on the subject.

The production of wood pulp is, of course, the back-bone of the industry, and one must start the story with the methods of harvesting and preparing the raw material, *i. e.*, in the forest.

Cutting pulpwood is much like any other lumbering operation. Camps are built in the forest where the pulpwood is to be cut, tote roads swamped out and supplies sent in. From forty to fifty men live in one camp, and are made up of boss, cooks, lumbermen, timekeepers, scalers and teamsters. Such a camp will cut from two thousand five hundred to three thousand five hundred cords in a season.

The trees are felled by axes or crosscut saws handled by two men, and are then trimmed of their branches and cut into logs, twelve, fourteen, or sixteen feet in length, provided the cut is to be driven down a sizable stream. If the streams in the locality are small, or the wood is to be hauled to a railroad, the logs are "bucked" into four-foot lengths and "yarded," ready for hauling, in regular cordwood piles. When cut in log lengths, the logs are piled at "skidways," then hauled on heavy sleds over tracks in the snow which have been iced to "landings" on the banks of rivers or lakes, ready for the spring break-up and the drive to the booms of the mill or the wood-preparing plant.

The operations described are those taking place in the winter, and the wood has the bark still on. A considerable quantity of pulpwood is cut in the summer and the bark peeled off, which can be done readily between May and the middle of August, when the sap is running. All bark, knots and blemishes have to be removed from pulpwood before it can be made into pulp, and this is done either on a disk-barker or in a drum.

The disk-barker is a revolving disk about four feet in diameter with knives set in its surface like the cutting edge in a jack-plane and radiating from its center. There are usually four of these knives, which smoothly cut away the bark and any knots as the stick of pulpwood is pressed against the face of the rapidly turning disk and slowly revolved by a simple device. Pulpwood treated in this manner is known as "rossed" wood.

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The barking drum, as large as twelve feet in diameter and forty-five feet in length, is made of long slats of steel riveted longitudinally on huge hoops. The drum, in one or several sections, rests on trunnions with one end slightly higher than the other, and the rough wood, in four-foot lengths, is introduced at the higher end with some water and is tumbled over and over as the drum is slowly revolved. This action removes practically all of the bark by the rubbing of the pieces of wood against each other and the slats of the drum, and the "drummed" wood is crowded out of the lower end of the drum into water, or mechanical conveyors.

"Drummed" wood is not as free from blemishes and defects as wood that has been "rossed," and is, therefore, used in the manufacture of newsprint and wrapping papers, while "rossed" wood is demanded for the finer grades. After the pulpwood has been prepared, *i. e.*, cut into two or four-foot lengths and "drum-barked" or "rossed," it is then ready to be converted into mechanical or chemical pulp.

Mechanical pulp is known in the industry as "ground wood," but sulphite only will be considered here.

The name "ground wood" is descriptive, as the wood is literally ground to a pulp against a rapidly revolving grindstone. These grindstones, of a gritty texture, are fifty-four inches in diameter with faces twenty-seven or fifty-four inches wide, depending on the length of wood used, two feet or four feet. They are mounted on strong shafts direct-connected with water wheels or electric motors which revolve them with great rapidity inside of casings, usually provided with three pockets for holding the wood. A hydraulic plunger for each pocket keeps the wood pressed firmly against the revolving stone. Water is introduced into the grinders, both to prevent too great heat and to serve as a vehicle for the ground wood, and the fresh pulp oozes out of the lower part of the grinder to be conveyed to the screens. After a thorough screening, the pulp is either pumped ("slushed") direct to the paper machines or is converted into thick blankets by "wet machines" and then folded into "laps" to be stored for later use, or to be transferred to another mill.

One grinder requires about five hundred horse power to produce eight tons of air-dry pulp every twenty-four hours, and as many

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grinders are installed on a shaft as the water wheel has power to operate. Usually two grinders are mounted on a shaft, and this constitutes a "grinder line."

"Sulphite," or chemical pulp, is made from pure wood fibre or cellulose, which is secured by cooking wood chips under pressure in an acid which dissolves all ligneous and soluble matter and leaves the pure fibre free.

A machine called a "chipper" is used to reduce the pulpwood to chips about an inch long for the "Cook." This machine consists of a heavy, rotating disk with three or four strong knives set in its surface, radiating from the center, similar to the "disk barker" described heretofore. The sticks of pulpwood are fed to this through a chute at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and are rapidly reduced to chips of the proper size. These chips are put through a coarse screen to remove long slivers and knots, and are then conveyed to the chip-bin in the top of the sulphite plant, from which the "digesters," in which the cooking is done, are filled by gravity. "Digesters" are large boiler-plate cylinders, set vertically, and lined with acid-resisting brick. They may be as large as fifty-six feet in height and sixteen feet in diameter, and the largest sizes will produce twenty tons of sulphite in an eight-hour cook.

The acid used is bisulphite of lime and is made at the plant, usually by the tower system. Tall round towers, as much as one hundred feet in height and ten feet in diameter, are filled with blocks of limestone. Sulphur dioxide gas, made by burning sulphur in special ovens, is introduced at the base of the tower. This gas rises and meets water trickling down through the blocks of limestone from a source at the top of the tower, and the resulting chemical reaction forms bisulphite of lime.

In making sulphite, the digester is filled with chips, the bisulphite of lime is introduced and, after being closed tight, steam is forced in at the bottom at a pressure of about eighty pounds and a temperature of 325 degrees. The cook lasts about eight hours and then a valve is opened at the bottom of the digester and the pressure of the steam forces the contents into a "Blow pit" which has a screen bottom. Here the sulphite is thoroughly washed until free of all acid, and then goes to the screening operation, after which it is ready for use in the paper mill.

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A cord of spruce pulpwood gives yields of both kinds of pulp, as follows:

	<i>Groundwood</i>	<i>Sulphite</i>
Rough Wood	1,800 lbs.	900 lbs.
Peeled Wood	2,150 lbs.	1,080 lbs.
Rossed Wood	2,300 lbs.	1,200 lbs.

From 200 to 250 pounds of sulphur are used in making one ton of sulphite.

The methods of manufacturing paper of all grades are so similar in fundamentals that a brief description of the making of newsprint should give the reader a good general idea of the whole business. Paper mills are of two kinds, one directly connected with a wood-pulp plant; the other located at some other point, quite possibly several thousand miles distant. The latter sort buys its ground wood or sulphite (or other chemical pulp) in "laps" as described, which have to be reduced to small pieces in a "shredder." These shreds are dissolved into a fluid pulp by a "beater," a vat with rounded ends in which the shredded laps are ground between a heavy roll with knife-like ribs fixed on its surface. There are similar ribs on the fixed concave bed plate, and as the central roll rotates the fibres are reduced in length and the sides and ends of the minute fibres become so frayed as to lock together, or "felt" strongly in succeeding processes. Sometimes China clay, talc, alum, size, or color are added to the mixture, depending upon what sort of paper is to be made. The net result in any case is to have fluid pulp for the next step, manufacture into paper. This pulp is stored and piped into a storage vat, or "stock chest," from which it is drawn upon by the "Fourdrinier," a most elaborate paper making machine upon which the highest inventive genius has been expended, but which simply applies in continuous operation the principles of the two thousand-year-old hand methods of making paper.

For different papers, different proportions of the various pulps are used. In newsprint the average is eighty per cent. ground wood and twenty per cent. sulphite. The larger the proportion of sulphite pulp, the stronger the sheet. The prepared pulp stock is now, let us suppose, ready to go on its way to the paper machine "head" or "flow-box," usually passing through a paddle pump in order to further mix the stock, before entering the "proportioning mixer"—another

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descriptive term. (This mixer allows sufficient prepared stock to flow into the paper machine head box of the proper consistency which may be approximately around one per cent. of pulp stock to say ninety-nine per cent. water.)

The "acid box" of a paper machine usually extends the full width of the paper machine and comprises a series of vertical baffles running the entire width of the box where the stock is caused to flow alternately over and under each succeeding baffle before finally passing through what is sometimes known as an "evenner," sometimes made of hardwood or bronze metal with a series of staggered holes or thin blades spaced closely together, the purpose of which is to effect a uniformity of flow of stock through the "slice." The slice is a device extending the full width of the flow box and is used for regulating the thickness of the stock flowing on to the Fourdrinier wire; this is accomplished by the raising or lowering of the slice depending upon the weight or thickness of the sheet to be made.

The pulp stock upon emerging from the slice passes on to an endless Fourdrinier wire screen extending the full width of the paper machine and traveling at a speed of anywhere from one thousand to one thousand five hundred feet per minute, the stock being held on the wire screen by what is known as deckle straps carried on the wire running at the same speed. These Fourdrinier wires may be anywhere from two hundred to sometimes over three hundred inches in width on the larger machines making newsprint paper, depending upon the size and capacity of the machine. Here is where the sheet of paper is formed, namely, on the Fourdrinier wire, where a considerable quantity of the water is drained through the wire mesh, leaving a thin wet sheet of pulp.

During the process of the sheet being carried on the wire the sheet in turn must pass over a series of flat suction boxes that may carry as high as from ten to fifteen inches of vacuum, also in addition sometimes must pass over a rotating perforated cylindrical shaped roll extending the full width of the paper machine and known as the "suction couch roll," the purpose of which is to remove moisture. This roll also may carry as high as twenty inches of vacuum and in addition to being made to remove a considerable portion of moisture from the wet sheet it also serves as a return roll for the endless Fourdrinier wire on its way to the flow box outlet.



Forest Products

Unbleached Sulphite Pulp Plant, Bellingham, Washington

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Since the sheet still contains considerable moisture it next must pass through between a series of press rolls. There are usually three sets of these rolls comprising two each, one above the other between which is carried a heavy woolen endless felt on which is carried the wet sheet. The first set of these press rolls usually comprise a lower cylindrical shaped perforated bronze roll (similar to that of the aforementioned suction couch roll); on top of this roll is another hard rubber covered roll between which the felt carrying the wet sheet passes, thus squeezing out more moisture.

The second or third sets of press rolls usually comprise a bottom roll covered with hard rubber and a top roll covered with a highly polished granite stone, on the top of each top roll in a position about forty-five degrees from the top center is a scraper blade usually known as a doctor. This blade is held against the fast moving top roll in the opposite direction of rotation, and is for the purpose of scraping any small particles of pulp that may adhere to the top roll after being in contact with the sheet. The purpose of these press rolls is for removing additional moisture from the wet sheet, before finally passing from the third set of press rolls to the dryer part.

After the paper has passed through the third set of press rolls on to the steam heated rotating cylinders (known as dryers), the paper may still contain as high as seventy per cent. of moisture, approximately sixty-two per cent. of which must be removed by evaporation during its passing over some forty or more steam heated drying cylinders. These drying cylinders may be of a size from 48 to 72 inches in diameter and as wide as 234 inches in width or larger, and are made of cast iron construction with a smooth cylindrical surface. A single drying cylinder of 72 inches diameter and 234 inches in width will weigh approximately around thirteen tons, and on the more modern, fast running newsprint paper machine may rotate at a surface speed anywhere from 1,000 to 1,500 feet per minute, while a paper machine may produce anywhere from 100 to 175 tons of newsprint per day.

It is usually the practice to try to retain from seven to eight per cent. of moisture in newsprint paper after leaving the dryer part, and therefore it is quite obvious that some form of steam control must be used. The most common types of steam controls used are: (1) A

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tension roll that rides on the sheet being dried and extends the full width of the dryers. This roll in turn is connected through the medium of compound levers and wire cable to the steam control valve; the tension of the paper actuates the valve depending upon its dryness. (2) The temperature type of control is one in which a thermostatic bulb is inserted inside one of the drying cylinders near the dry end of the paper machine.

This bulb is of the vapor tension type, whereon the steam surrounding the bulb acts upon the expansive fluid within the bulb, which in turn transmits a vapor tension through a flexible capillary tube, the expansion through a flexible capillary tube, the expansion or contraction of this thermal liquid within the bulb actuates a small automatic air valve in the control instrument and will vary according to the temperature within the drying cylinder.

The control instrument is connected to an air actuated diaphragm steam control valve by means of a small air pipe connected to the top of this diaphragm; opposing this diaphragm is a spring that tends to keep the valve in an open position, as the temperature increases within the dryer the air pressure is automatically transmitted to the steam valve diaphragm tending to close the valve and *vice versa*.

The paper upon coming off the drying cylinders finally is made to pass through a series of calender rolls, one or more of which may have steam or cold water circulating through them.

These rolls extend the full width of the paper machine and are stacked horizontally one above the other with the largest diameter roll being at the bottom. The bottom calender roll is the only one that is driven by power, while the other rolls are driven by riding upon each other.

The action of the paper passing between these calender rolls from top to bottom roll results in a more or less glazed finish being added to the paper, before finally being wound into a large roll on a reel winder. This reel or drum winder, as it is sometimes called, is a cast iron cylindrical rotating mechanically driven drum upon which rises another metal roll. Between these rolls the paper is passed after leaving the calenders where the paper is built up into large rolls.

The paper now finally passes through the slitters. These comprise a series of sharp circular knives driven at high speed and spaced

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apart according to the width of sheet required. The paper upon emerging from the slitters is again rewound into rolls of the required widths on a machine called a rewinder, after which they are securely wrapped, weighed, and ready for shipment to the newsprint publisher.

During the whole process of manufacture of paper from the pulp mill to the finished product, the pulp stock is tested for the proper quality and consistency, while the sheet of paper going on the drying cylinders and upon being wound on the reel (after having passed through the calender), must be frequently tested, for moisture content, tensile strength, pop test, and basis weight, usually thirty-two pounds. The basis weight of newsprint paper is usually based upon a sheet of paper size twenty-four by thirty-six inches with five hundred sheets to a ream and weighing thirty-two pounds.

When one contemplates the enormous amount of newsprint, and some two hundred and more other types of papers sold in the United States, not to mention the great quantities used in the other parts of the world, one wonders where all the raw material comes from and how soon it will be exhausted. In July, 1937, when the industry was reasonably stable, the United States Pulp Producers Association published exceptionally comprehensive official statistics "showing the relationship of the United States pulp industry to the world's production, consumption, imports and exports of wood pulp . . . prepared with a view to bringing together in one publication all the obtainable essential data on this basic industry." Only a few outstanding and pertinent figures will be quoted, a further study of the publication being suggested for those who wish to go into the subject more deeply.

The world production of all grades of wood pulp in 1936 was 23,189,000 short tons (2,000 pounds). This was a rise from less than 15,645,000 tons in 1932, the lowest tonnage since 1926 and all previous years. Of the 1936 production, that in the United States was 5,715,000, slightly more than one-quarter of the world production; Canada was closest with 4,550,000; Sweden came next with 3,478,000; Germany's figure was 2,550,000, then Finland almost as much with 2,086,000, and Norway made 1,047,000. No other country manufactured wood pulp to the amount of one million tons, with Japan, U. S. S. R., Austria, Newfoundland, Czechoslovakia and France coming next in order of products, twenty-two countries being

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considered, all figures being those of the respective nations. It will be seen from the above statistics that Scandinavia, the United States, Canada and Germany were the important wood pulp sections in order of quantities. A decade earlier was: United States first, Scandinavia second, Canada third, and Germany fourth. The world production in 1925 was 13,962,000, as compared with the total for 1936 of 23,189,000. During all this decade, and probably during every earlier year, the United States consumption of wood pulp was from more than double that of any country above named, to four times over the last decade and possibly this disproportion was even greater prior to 1925.

The question naturally arises: Was it because other countries had larger natural resources (forests) than the United States that we had to import wood pulp? We imported, in 1936, about one-third of the wood pulp consumed. Are foreigners so much better makers of pulp, that in 1936 we imported 2,277,000 tons and exported only 193,000 tons? Sweden, in that same year exported to all countries more than we imported, and little Finland shipped practically a million and one-half tons. The United States has long been the best customer in this trade of the Scandinavian countries and Canada. Has America fallen behind in technical and mechanical developments, so that in these respects it has been outdistanced by foreign competitors?

The answer to these and several other allied questions can be found in a report by Ossian Anderson, made late in 1935 or early in 1936, from which the following excerpts are derived. This report was entitled comprehensively: *A Statement of Facts Pertaining to One of Our Largest Resource Industries and the Reasons Contributing to Its Elimination from the Productive Field in the United States.*

To show the importance of our pulp and paper industry and its possibilities for future expansion, it is necessary to review the history of production and consumption over the past twenty years in the United States and thus clarify the trend as affecting this industry.

In 1910 we consumed approximately four and one-half million tons of paper products of every kind. The materials used for producing this quantity were practically one hundred per cent. secured from domestic sources. By 1929 the domestic consumption had more than trebled, amounting to slightly in excess of thirteen million tons,

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but instead of manufacturing this requirement ourselves, we have permitted other countries to supply the bulk of this increased consumption.

To make up this increased requirement, we imported approximately 1,900,000 tons of wood pulp, 2,800,000 tons of newsprint paper, 1,250,000 cords of pulpwood, and 100,000 tons of other paper products. We paid out approximately \$200,000,000 for these products to foreign labor and foreign ships conveying the products to our shores. The imports above listed were wholly produced from wood and represented approximately 9,000,000 cords, or in the terms of board feet, equal to four and one-half billion feet of saw logs.

Aside from the paper and pulp products, our imports of lumber and other forest products added to the total. The value of imported forest products of all kinds, including pulp and paper, from 1911 to 1933, inclusive, aggregated the staggering sum of \$3,700,000,000 paid out to foreign labor, and a loss to American economic welfare.

The first question that probably arises in the minds of those unfamiliar with the products would be: Have we the raw materials for producing sufficient to care for our own requirements? A direct answer to this question is that the United States is the only nation in the world which is absolutely self-contained in the supply of raw materials for manufacturing these products, not only our present total requirements, but any anticipated increase in the future.

A more detailed answer to this question is offered as follows: (1) According to recent surveys made by the United States Forest Service, our annual cut of pulpwood is less than our imports. We have an annual wastage in our forests equal to our total annual requirements of pulpwood. This wastage is in the form of logging and sawmill waste, and natural decay of over-matured virgin stands. Our present stands of softwood timber, suitable for pulp and paper manufacturing, equal 280 times our annual cut. Of the 956,000 cords of pulpwood consumed in the State of Washington in 1929, 387,000 cords consisted of slabs or other sawmill waste. In that State alone we destroy annually in logging operations 3,000,000 cords which is suitable for pulp and paper manufacturing. Alaska alone can produce annually a minimum of one million tons of newsprint paper from natural regrowth.

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Summing up the wood question, the United States has an oversupply of timber seeking an economical outlet of some kind, sufficient to care for all possible present and future requirements. In this connection, it might be well to consider that virgin or mature crops of timber should be harvested like any other crop of the soil and not allowed to decay and die. When an economical outlet is provided, with a minimum wastage of our virgin stands, we then will automatically permit self-sustained forest growth and thereby perpetuate a new supply. The cycle required to grow a crop of pulp timber in the South and on the Pacific Coast is twenty years.

(2) Sulphur is mined in Louisiana and Texas. Limestone and lime products are available all over the United States. In chemicals we are the only country which has a supply for all phases of pulp and paper production. Practically all other pulp producers outside of the United States must purchase sulphur either in the United States, Italy or Japan.

(3) No other nation exceeds us in available hydro-electric power resources. Our government is spending hundreds of millions of dollars in further development of this resource in the hope of encouraging its further use. It is estimated that the hydro-electric constant load factor required to produce domestically the imported tonnage would exceed one million horsepower.

(4) The imported tonnage of pulp and paper now moves in foreign ships to our shores. Foreign seamen are paid one-quarter the wage of American seamen. The result is that the Swedes and Finns can and do lay down wood pulp from the Baltic ports to Atlantic and Pacific ports at a total shipping cost of \$3.70 per ton. These same foreign producers ship the product in foreign bottoms from Finland to Chicago and other American lake ports *via* the St. Lawrence for \$5.00 per ton. We, on the other hand, must ship our inter-coastal tonnage in American ships and pay \$5.70 per ton average freight. This is as it should be, provided the foreigners would have to pay the same wage that we pay our American seamen. The loss in freight to American railroads and steamships through failure to produce and ship these imported products in our own facilities exceeds \$100,000,000 annually when wood and chemical transportation that would be required, is included.

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(5) The direct and indirect labor lost through the purchases of pulp products in foreign lands is difficult to accurately estimate. A minimum figure would be two hundred and fifty thousand Americans that would be thus directly or indirectly permanently employed in producing a product which we ourselves consume. The purchasing power created by this enormous new stable employment would remain one hundred per cent. within the United States. It might be said that under the best conditions the billions of dollars paid out for this unnatural import has not resulted in any definite guarantee as to commensurate sale to these foreign suppliers of other products of American labor.

(6) The labor required to erect and maintain the increased plant capacity which we should have built to care for our own requirements over the past twenty years is enormous, and in this branch we are probably the only country which is equipped to produce all of the types of machinery and maintenance materials ourselves. In this connection a general estimate could be best stated as follows:

To produce these products and make ourselves independent of importation would require the expenditure of \$350,000,000 in new plants. From this total should be deducted the plant capacity, now lying idle, which has been forced out of business due to drastic foreign competition. It is estimated that \$75,000,000 of excess plant capacity exists in the production of paper, mainly located in the Great Lakes and New England states. The actual maintenance, upkeep, and caring for obsolescence in producing the imported tonnage would exceed \$20,000,000. It is difficult to visualize a construction business that would offer more private employment, if we set about on a program to build up our plant capacity for the production of our own requirements of these products.

With the above general statement of facts, the reasons for having allowed this deficiency in production to gain on us since 1910 deserve consideration.

Up to 1911 it had been recognized as a national policy that forest products industries were the second largest employers of labor as a class in the United States. The difference in American labor costs and those of foreign countries required protection, which had been provided on all these imported items, generally equal to the difference in cost of labor and transportation.

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In 1911 a general idea seemed to prevail in the United States that we were rapidly denuding our forests. American investors were led to believe that we would experience increase in the value of timber. Advantageous concessions were offered in Canada to build up the industry there. This, no doubt, had a large bearing on the pressure, right or wrong, that was put on Congress to remove from the dutiable list wood pulp, and newsprint papers. The original sparsely timbered regions east of the Mississippi naturally could not and never would be valuable for reproduction of second crops of timber. When the original crop was cut, the land was more valuable for farm and industrial purposes, in the densely populated East. The arguments as to loss of our timber resources naturally were easily put over where people had not seen or had no facts to reveal the natural timber resources of the South, West and Rocky Mountain states. Mountainous terrain made these southern and western lands suitable only for timber production, and the original stands per acre are from five to ten times that of the original virgin stands of the East.

Fortunately, recent national surveys completely reveal that this propaganda was unfounded on facts and that the United States still possesses more softwood timber suitable for the manufacture of these products than all of the foreign countries combined, excepting Russia.

Immediately after removal of protection, expansion in the industry in the United States ceased, and we began paying out money to foreign labor for that which we ourselves should logically have produced, resulting in a tremendous national economic loss. The removal of protection resulted in a continued downward trend in prices for pulp and paper products, except for the war and post-war period. As an example—in 1923 we imported from Sweden alone 201,000 tons of one grade of chemical sulphite pulp and paid \$12,000,000 or about \$59 per ton. In 1934 we imported 420,000 tons of this same particular grade and the price was slightly in excess of \$13,000,000, or an average of \$31 per ton. This indicates how impossible it is for American producers to meet this kind of competition when our wages and living standards have gone upward and ninety per cent. of the cost of the product is represented in labor, directly or indirectly. The Swedes and Finns pay from eight cents to fifteen cents per hour as against an average wage in the United States pulp industry in 1940 of seventy-eight cents per hour.

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The reasons for permitting this national economic loss to continue can be blamed on correct information having been denied Congress, and when available, failure to give it consideration. Regional self interests refused to recognize the benefits to the Nation as a whole.

We repeat that the foregoing "statement" was of the year 1935. During the last five years there has been no improvement in the political policy of the present Washington administration, although there has been an immense change in world affairs. A single European country has taken over the control of all the principal nations importing pulp and paper to the United States, except Sweden, U. S. S. R. and Canada, and another empire prevents the shipment of these products except those of Canada. It is worthy of more than passing note that in recent years the United States has greatly increased both the number of its pulp mills and capacities for production enlarged. Only in 1938 did Canada increase its capacity for making sulphite pulp above our own country, the same year in which our country marked up an increase in sulphate pulp of nearly six times that of our northern neighbor. For the statistically minded it can be recorded that in 1938 the proposed increase in capacities of sulphite and sulphate production was: for the United States, 339,450 tons; for Canada, 149,575 tons. Other countries were hardly in the running. In 1937 the scheduled expansion of productive capacity in the United States was almost three times that of all other countries combined. All this was in face of an administration policy that was in nowise interested in the protection of the growth of pulp and paper manufacturing in the United States. Since this article is written after the end of the first year of what may be known as the Second World War, no figuring of the present status of the pulp and paper industry is either available or, if so, would serve any useful purpose. The United States can take care of its own requirements. It can even meet the subsidized competition of Canada. Whether it can meet a *post bellum* "dumping" of countries where cheap and conscript labor is employed, depends largely upon our own government.

The trend of the wood pulp industry from East to West in the United States is a noteworthy feature of the history of this industry. Its story is inextricably intertwined with that of logging, and in all cases and regions pulp was a secondary or subsidiary development.

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This was due to the relatively late discovery that wood fibres could be made into good paper; but also to the depletion of the near and larger trees and thereby the destruction of the most popular varieties. These included the hardwoods, the pines, but because the demand for it was less, left a great deal of standing softwood timber such as spruce, hemlock, balsam and the like. In other words, the pulp mill, the junior and much younger partner of the sawmill, came into its own only when the demand for newsprint and other types of paper, not to mention rayon and some synthetic products, grew large.

It is well to remember that the early settlement of the New World was by people from Europe, where the fast disappearing forests were presenting the problem of how to get enough wood for fires in the home and shop and for building purposes. Whatever the *motif* of the migrants, and this was not, at first, finding forests, they were glad to find woods beyond all reckoning, trees to destroy, standing timber so tall and straight that when the English King learned about it he ordered them saved to mast the Royal Navy. The "Mayflower" Pilgrims unfortunately landed upon one of the most poorly forested sections of the Atlantic Coast. But the Puritans and the second generation of the founders and the immigrants of the late seventeenth century soon spread to the better-wooded parts of New England. "Boards," squared lumber, ships and anything made of wood became among the most valuable imports. Burned logs made pot-ash salts and fertilizer. Little sawmills built by every little falling stream turned out lumber, first for local use and then for shipment. The forest resources enabled New England to gain such a lead over the later settlements to the South in manufacturing that only in the present century has it been overtaken. The toll taken from the forests was enormous, especially of its hardwoods. Thus New England wrote the first chapter in the now familiar story of American lumbering, too rapid depletion of the best, and the subsequent trek of its lumbermen to newer and better regions. One thing it had done, however, during this period—founded a paper industry, first based on rags and then, before it was too late, on pulpwood. It still is an important pulp and paper district, but even this has spread to nearby northwest New York. Now Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and upstate New York depend more and more on material from the eastern Canadian provinces.

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To Canada goes the palm in the pulp industry for a number of "firsts." It was first in the settlement of nothern America; first and largest in the utilization of its forests; first in large lumbering operations; first in the making of pulp on a commercial scale; first to export both pulpwood and newsprint. Some of these claims are debatable, such as the "largest utilization of its forests," for while the French were making good use of them before the Pilgrims and Puritans arrived in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the "large" cutting and export of timber did not come until after 1760, when the English took possession of the country, and the work of getting out great rafts of squared logs for England and the British Navy began. New England was already doing a big business in the shipment to Europe of various types of lumber, and it was more populous than Canada. The Dominion can still claim the largest area of timber in the world outside of Russia. It is doubtful, however, whether it has as large a stand of timber that can be used profitably, as the United States. Canada claims that it is the largest producer of newsprint on our continent and the major exporter of pulp and pulpwood, more than half of this coming from the Province of Quebec. It can be said of this Province, and all those in the eastern part of the Dominion, that their principal natural resource has been and is the woods, and that the forest was and still remains the major basis of its industrial development, and that pulp production overshadows all other forest products. In the 1920s it started a huge program of water power projects which in the 1930s was carried out to an extent that now gives a large excess of hydro-electric power. Like most other forest areas, the larger timber and the kinds most in demand, have been cut over in the closer-in regions where river transportation was available. Even the trees that furnish pulp are becoming so far removed from mills that costs are mounting. One authority estimated that by 1948 there would be no commercial wood pulp species available. Things seldom turn out according to scientific schedules; man steps in and upsets some factor. In Canada this consists in part of better protection of forests, the encouragement of replanting, and various laws that will enable Canadians to obtain more money for less material used. This is true of pulpwood, pulp and papers. Since timber is one of the indispensable bases of Canadian prosperity, no means of taking care of its

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forest industries, especially pulp, are being neglected, whether simple stumpage and tax regulation, indirect subsidies or direct tariffs, which as has been pointed out to our government by Ossian Anderson and other American pulp manufacturers, is evidently not the policy of the United States.

We have gone astray from the discussion of the trends in forest industries from East to West, but not so far that the implications of the depletions of eastern timber resources as the casual effect of a trek to newer and easier lumbering have been forgotten. The fine stand of pines in the northern Great Lakes Region, and west of Lake Superior became a mecca to the lumbermen of the East and Canada, and for an extended period this section controlled the softwood market. About this time the southern yellow pine and cypress became popular and still is as one of the more inexpensive forms of lumber. Neither the Great Lakes Region nor the South has ever become important producers of wood pulp, although the southern "slash" and softer pines may rise to marked heights in the pulp and paper industry. The fact is that a crop of pulpwood may be grown within twenty years in the South, while a similar crop of trees would take twice as long in most of Canada, and even then would be much smaller. The resin and other chemical contents of the southern pines, together with the less valuable fibres, still stand in the way of the production of high quality pulp south of the Mason and Dixon Line.

The most interesting and perhaps important trend in the forest industries is that to the Pacific Coast. This is modern in so far as being less than a century old. In 1840 Canada, New England, and even the Great Lakes forest regions were retrogressing, or at their heights, and the Pacific Northwest had yet to come into its own, although it was in the process of being "discovered" once more. The Spanish Mission Fathers knew and had reported upon the great trees from California to Canada. The famous Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803-06) to the Columbia River, penetrated enormous stands of gigantic timber, which for extent and size of trees existed nowhere else in the world. Their stories were received with skepticism. Nearly a third of a century passed before adventurous lumbermen crossed the continent and realized that not half of the truth had been told. "From Alaska on the north to southern California, reaching a hun-

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dred miles and more back from the coast, extended an almost continuous body of splendid timber waiting to be drawn upon in the building of cities and for use in the advancement of civilization. . . . Lying midway in this belt and containing the cream of the commercial woods, is Puget Sound with its Douglas fir, cedar, spruce, and hemlock timber, in its primeval stage, a forest magnificent."

Some of the oldtime loggers believed these tales, and from New England, Canada and the Middle West drifted to the distant Northwest, especially after gold had been discovered in California and, by 1850, sawmills appeared like mushrooms on a warm and moist morning. Not until after the end of the War Between the States were really large operations put into effect; and it was not until after the turn into the present century that mechanical logging devices were invented and put into practical service that the giant firs and cedar, spruce and other woods were cut and marketed on a profitable basis, despite the disadvantages of freight rates and limited local consumption. Here as elsewhere logging operations were first confined to the woodlands bordering streams. By the 1880s it became necessary to build railroads to reach the receding timber. (They were at first only tramways over which oxen hauled logs to the larger rivers and smaller bays.) Eventually there were real steam railroads and motorized equipment of many kinds.

Less wasteful ways of getting out timber and the mill sawing of it became a general practice, and attention was paid to the conservation of new-growth timber. There are few regions, if any, in the United States that a crop of softwood trees can be grown more quickly. As the logging reached the higher altitudes, with their hemlock in such large supply that the sawed lumber trade could not absorb it, and with such an abundance of small material upon the higher levels that must be utilized or logging stopped; then came the day when the sawmill, the shingle mill, machinery for producing something from the smallest cuts, moved out nearer the source of supply. Economies thus initiated helped, but there was still an enormous wastage of the smaller standing trees and in logging and mill processes. It was not until the building of pulp mills, capable of manufacturing high grade pulps suitable for making many grades of paper, synthetic materials like rayon and the countless forms in which wood fibres are

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now used, much of it in the Pacific Northwest derived from the somewhat despised hemlock, was the vigor of lumbering in this part of the world revived.

The manufacture of wood pulp does not dominate logging as it does in eastern Canada. As yet it is a most powerful partner, who joined the firm when most needed. If, as we have tried to show, the trends of the forest industries have been down the decades from East to West, so also has been the trend of pulp production followed closely in their wake. Today the forest industries have reached their western frontier in the United States.

Ossian Anderson, expert logger and lumberman before he became a pioneer and leader in the pulp industry, has repeatedly been a spokesman for his fellow-industrialists in the Pacific Northwest. Upon an occasion when he was replying to a questionnaire of the United States Timber Conservation Board, relating specifically to the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Colorado and California, he wrote *Relation of Our Western Pulp and Paper Industry to Our National Forest Industries*. From this valuable report comes the following excerpts:

1. The total production of pulp, paper, newsprint, paper board and allied products in the western states enumerated, during the year of 1930 equalled approximately 1,378,000 tons, of which 350,000 tons represented surplus production of bleached and unbleached sulphite and sulphate pulps sold in the eastern paper manufacturing centers of the United States.

Contrary to the practice in similar producing regions in our country, this was wholly produced from our own domestic wood, consuming approximately 2,180,000 cords of spruce, hemlock, silver fir, white fir and Douglas fir, the pulpwood species available in these states.

2. The expansion in the industry has been very rapid from 1924 to 1929, inclusive, showing an increase of 151% during the five years. . . . The future trend of the industry is solely dependent on increase in demand for paper in our own domestic markets, particularly dependent on increased outlet for chemical pulps, both domestic and foreign. . . .

3. The timber supplies in the western states have never been accurately surveyed but are generally known to be the largest single stands of softwood in existence, comprising in excess of 93 million

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acres of virgin timber with a density surpassing any other forest regions in the world.

The stand per acre of virgin timber in Washington and Oregon, in terms of usable pulpwood, equals an average of 60 to 70 cords per acre, and often reaches a total of 200 cords.

Other pulpwood producing regions of the world, such as Eastern United States, Eastern Canada, Scandinavian countries, and Russia, never have a stand in excess of 20 cords per acre. The western forests generally have a reproducing capacity far in excess of any other forest regions, annual natural reforestation being estimated at in excess of one and one-half cords per acre per year.

A timber shortage cannot be anticipated with a virgin stand of timber in excess of eleven hundred and thirty billion, three hundred million (1,130,300,000,000) feet seeking an outlet. The annual wastage due to lack of markets and economical outlets, in terms of pulpwood, 5,000,000 cords per year, is in excess of our total annual consumption of domestic pulpwood and we have a natural reforesting capacity greater than any country in the world. Alaska, not covered by this report, has a large additional stand of excellent spruce.

The western forests, therefore, can supply all the newsprint paper now being imported duty free and in addition thereto supply the 2,000,000 tons of pulp imports yearly entering the United States (also duty free) if we but practiced ordinary utilization and a slightly greater care in protecting natural reforestation. Based upon the normal increase in consumption during the past twenty years our *total* consumption of these wood fibre products in 1940 will have reached a total of 20,000,000 tons, equivalent to 30,000,000 cords of pulpwood annually.

Only a small part of the report of Mr. Ossian Anderson has been quoted—just enough to depict some ideas of the part the Northwest plays in national pulp and paper production and its own vast potential possibilities and future. It appears that this part of the United States can furnish, if necessary, all the wood pulp requirements of our country under fair trade conditions and reasonable conservation policies. As regards American pulp and paper as a whole, there is no reason for not accepting Mr. Anderson's assurance, as expressed to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt:

Recent national surveys . . . have conclusively proven that the nation without question has all the timber resources necessary to manufacture in *perpetuity* all of our requirements of pulp and paper

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and allied products. No other country is as completely supplied with raw material—wood, fuel, power and chemicals—that make up a ton of pulp paper—as we are. No other country has any superior skill or technical knowledge involved in this industry. In fact, we have taught the world how to make paper on mass production.





Quinn Anderson

Ossian Anderson, Industrial Leader

BY J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

HE magnificent forest resources of the upper Pacific Coast had been seen by the Spanish Mission Fathers when they came to California 250 years ago. The reports of the immense stands of giant timber there, brought East by the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803-06, were received with incredulity. It was only about a century ago that an occasional pioneer actually penetrated the wooded land that for extent and size of trees exists nowhere else on the globe. When once the facts were publicized, lumbermen from the Northern States, Canada, Scandinavia and Europe, swarmed into the new region a decade before the War Between the States and began to log the forests of the Pacific Northwest. The Puget Sound section was especially popular. Over a period of fifty years the timber close to the streams and harbors was cut, and there came the time when operations became more distant and expensive. A new generation of lumbermen was in order, men who could utilize to the limit the products of the forests, men who were industrialists rather than loggers practicing outmoded methods; men who saw in the production of wood pulp a valuable partner of lumbering.

Among those who were the pioneers in the State of Washington, of modern wood industries, were the Anderson brothers of Sweden. Ossian Anderson, with whom this record is primarily concerned, was the third born of this family of seven boys and two girls, eight of whom have made a close-knit group in Washington affairs and outstanding in the upbuilding of two of the State's greatest industries—the production of lumber and the manufacture and distribution of wood pulp. All the members of the Anderson family were born at Ursviken, Sweden, and all but one crossed to the United States and eventually made their way to Washington State, the parents following the children to Olympia in 1920. The youngest son, Dan Martin, remained in Sweden to look after the family interests, although he

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visited the United States in 1933 to help celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of the mother.

The parents were Anton and Matilda (Forsberg) Anderson, natives of Ursviken, the father being a lumberman of extensive timberland holdings in Sweden. The sons were: 1. Arthur, born in 1888, arrived in New York City in 1906 to complete his education. After four years in the American metropolis he returned to Sweden, but again came to America in 1912 and conducted a contracting business in Fort Dodge, Iowa, until 1918, when he became a citizen of Olympia, Washington. He died in October, 1939, and until his death he was president of the Tumwater Lumber Mills and secretary and manager of the Olympia Harbor Lumber Company. On October 30, 1918, he married, at Seattle, Washington, Emma Osterlof, daughter of Nelson and Wanda (Suslin) Osterlof. They had a daughter: i. Amy Malene, born September 11, 1919; and a son: ii. Kenyon, born July 22, 1927. 2. Sten, born in 1890, who also came to New York City in 1906, was graduated from Cooper Union Institute, in 1913, and became an engineer with the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, at East Pittsburgh, until 1920, when he located at Olympia, where he was associated with the Anderson Brothers lumbering activities to his death in 1925. At Wilkesburg, Pennsylvania, on October 21, 1915, he married Helen Hanson, and they were the parents of a son: i. Sten, Jr., born June 23, 1916, who died October 1, 1935. 3. Ossian Anderson, of whom further. 4. Edward, born in 1893, arrived in New York City in 1912. He found employment on piloting yachts out of the city; and from 1914 to 1919 was connected with carpentry and cabinetmaking at Fort Dodge, Iowa. In 1918 he went to Seattle, from which he sailed to Alaska as executive supervisor for the Northwestern Fisheries Company, cannery building in the Territory. After a few months he joined the United States Army for World War service, and spent sixteen months under arms. He then joined his brothers, Arthur and Ossian, at Olympia, where the three initiated the lumber and pulp industries in which they became notable figures in Washington State. Edward Anderson, at Stockholm, Sweden, married, on February 19, 1920, Helena Wickstrom, daughter of Edward and Christiana (Ogren) Wickstrom, and they have two sons: i. Roy, born February

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24, 1922. ii. Richard, born January 4, 1926. 5. Karl, born in 1895, who in 1922 came to Olympia to engage in business with his brothers. Already, from 1914 to 1918 he had been associated with his brothers Edward and Arthur, at Fort Dodge, Iowa, before returning to Sweden. He is now president and manager of the Tumwater Lumber Mills Company. In Sweden, in 1917, he married Charlotte Wickstrom, daughter of Nils and Ida (Hagglund) Wickstrom, and their three children are: i. Harriett, born June 23, 1919. ii. Lillian, born February 22, 1921. iii. Karl, Jr., born July 30, 1932. 6. Dan Martin Anderson, who has remained in Sweden, where he managed the family interests, and is now associated in the lumber business there. 7. Olof, born in 1898, came from his native Ursviken to Olympia, to join the family alliance in industry, thus rounding out one of the exceptionally strong and progressive groups in the State. At Olympia, in 1928, Olof Anderson married Evelyn Sandberg, daughter of John and Ella (Olson) Sandberg, and they are the parents of two daughters: i. Dolores Marie, born March 11, 1929. ii. Eleanor Louise, born July 30, 1932.

In addition, there are two sisters in this Anderson family, Amy, who long has been associated with the enterprises founded and operated by her brothers; Lily, who in October, 1923, married Victor Wickstrom, of Olympia, who is associated with the Anderson brothers. They have two children: i. Ralph Victor, born January 30, 1925. ii. Catherine Eleanor, born January 18, 1927.

These brief biographical notes on members of a large family and references to its close coöperation in large industrial activities, will be expanded in an outline of the career of Ossian Anderson, and the part it played in the development of important enterprises, and the contributions made to the progress and prosperity of a State. There is no implication that he was the "brains and brawn" of the family organization, however outstanding he has become as an organizer and leader of lumber and pulp business. Certainly it is true that he started life with no particular advantages either over his brothers or his fellowmen. Born at Ursviken, Sweden, in 1891, he was the third son as regards age, and also in coming to America. Upon his arrival in Seattle, Washington, in 1910, he was several years behind his brothers, Arthur and Sten, in education in the American language, professions

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and customs. He, like the others, was descended from a line of ancestors for centuries identified with Scandinavian lumbering.

Ossian Anderson's first four years in the Pacific Northwest were spent mainly attending Washington schools and college. Only during the summers and infrequent vacations was he able to work on the vocation of which he was to make a career. When his academic education was completed, he joined an uncle, Nils Anderson, in logging. It was an opportunity, of which he made the most, to begin to lay the foundations upon which he later built so successfully. Nils Anderson was a logger of long experience and high standing. He had been in the forests of Washington since 1882, a pioneer in timber operations. There could have been but few better teachers for the young man.

The life of a logger is no easy one, as Ossian Anderson discovered. Over a period of five years he worked in the lumber camps as swamper, faller, sawyer, lumberman and "boss." In the vernacular of the woods these are terms covering a full range of operations in the cutting and getting out of logs, the names of jobs requiring intestinal fortitude, courage and "drive." It so happened that these years in the woods coincided with the period of transition logging practices when the old ways, some of them a thousand years old, were giving place to new and better methods—the use of mechanical devices, of steam and gas power, of better camps, less waste of trees, and of logging in the more distant and higher altitudes where there was more hemlock that the trade would purchase. Mr. Anderson came in practical contact with a phase of modernization of forest industries in the Northwest and with a multiplicity of problems that are still in a process of solution. He learned a great deal and foresaw more, that was to affect his life and activities. It seems likely that Mr. Anderson is secretly more proud of his rise as a young man from "swamper" to "boss-logger," than of his later remarkable achievements as a pulp and paper pioneer and executive.

The year 1919 marked the second stage in the career of Ossian Anderson, for in that year, he and his brothers Arthur and Edward, joined forces and capital in Olympia, to buy a small sawmill and timber rights above Tumwater Falls, not far from the city. The World War had come to an end, and such prosperity as the lumber industry had enjoyed during the last year or two of the conflict was fading into



*Arthur Anderson
Ossian Anderson
Olof Anderson*

*Ben Anderson
Edwards Anderson
Karl Anderson*

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what appeared to be a serious reaction. The forest resources of this southern part of the Puget Sound country had been depleted somewhat, but still were large. One had to know his way about and take long chances in initiating any new mill enterprise.

In 1920 the "big three" were joined by the brothers Sten, Karl, and soon by Olof. The business operations of the Anderson Brothers, a group of unique and potent solidarity, we can discuss but briefly. In 1920-21, the brothers embarked upon logging activities in Lewis County, at Mud Bay, Olympia, and Shelton. They built a new and large mill at Mendota, Lewis County. In 1922 they branched out in the production of pre-fabricated houses, which became world-known as "Tumwater Ready-Cut Homes." It was the first venture of its kind in the West and when people came to understand that one could purchase all the wood materials for a house—cut, shaped and marked so that they could be erected without the skilled labor in record time—the Anderson productions attained popularity all over the United States and many were shipped to foreign countries.

In 1924 the brothers founded another concern known as the Olympia Harbor Lumber Company, which purchased and rebuilt a great "cargo" mill, in the city area. This was continued under the direction of Arthur Anderson until his death and is now managed by Edward, who is president of this company. In 1928 the Anderson Brothers built the first Swedish gang-saw mill in the Northwest, equipped with machinery from their native land, and incorporated as the Tumwater Lumber Mills Company. The importance of this mill in its contribution to the western forest industries as a whole is that it was designed to utilize the small timber that were being wasted in the lumbering operations of that time, when only the big trees were logged off, and even small parts of these were left in the woods, a fire hazard to the forest and a preventive of reforestation. There are now a number of similar mills in this part of the United States that were patterned after this Old World idea.

In 1924, the brothers Anderson, six by now, made a new departure. With other outside capital, they started manufacturing pulp, creating the first sulphite pulp mill in the Pacific Coast States, making chemical wood pulp for sale to paper mills. This was at Anacortes, Washington, and the company was called the Fidalgo Pulp Manufacturing

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Company. It was formed for the utilization of small hemlock and hemlock sawmill wastage. The enterprise met with almost immediate success and was the forerunner of the important West Coast wood-pulp industry. Within a year another and larger plant was built at Bellingham, which was known as the San Juan Pulp Manufacturing Company. On March 11, 1929, they incorporated these two plants as the Puget Sound Pulp and Timber Company, and in 1930 built the big bleached pulp plant at Everett, Washington. In 1932 the Everett and Snohomish County operations were separated and thereafter known as the Sound View Pulp Company.

All partners of Anderson Brothers had the rich inheritance of ancestry that was identified with the timber industry of Sweden before the Pilgrims and Puritans settled New England. Even at that period, Europe lived in the fear of the time when there would not be wood enough to keep industries going, or a sufficient source of material to keep homes warm during the bitter winters (coal was then unknown as a fuel and hydro-electric power and heat not even envisioned). Scandinavia had gradually become the source of supply in Europe, but its forested hills could not be depended upon to furnish wood forever. Economy in use and conservation of the forests grew to be watchwords that were adopted by the Anderson family long before its members sought new opportunity and timber in the New World. It is worthy of more than passing note that the Andersons in Washington never engaged in the destructive "mining" of the Pacific Northwest forests, although they appeared to be of indestructible immensity. The making of small lumber into ready-cut houses, their cargo mills, the Swedish gang-saw mills, the interest in pulp-manufacture, all reflect the principle of economical utilization of wood. This fine objective, however, would have been of no avail had not the brothers organized to work out methods and means to this desirable end.

It fell to the lot of Ossian Anderson to stand out as an organizer, to persuade men of his family and of outside capitalists to center their endeavors. This was partly due to his natural qualifications; it was partly due to his experience. At any rate he did a good job, both for his family and the forest industries of the Northwest.

The height of his leadership has not yet been reached. What he is to these industries is well illustrated by the very brief summary of his career as outlined by the editor of "The Northman" in 1940:

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Mr. Anderson's achievements as a leader in the almost miraculous growth of the pulp and paper industry in the State of Washington places him among the great industrial leaders of the West. Born in Sweden of a line for centuries identified with the lumber and timber industries in that country, he started his career in Western Washington in 1910.

He built the Anacortes and Bellingham pulp mills in 1924-25, the two original pilot plants, forerunners of the West Coast pulp industry. These were merged by him into the Puget Sound Pulp and Timber Company of Everett, where Mr. Anderson built the first modern, complete bleached pulp plant, now known as the Soundview plant at Everett. In 1936, Mr. Anderson built the first bleached kraft (sulphate) mill at Tacoma and in 1937 the new unbleached sulphite plant at Bellingham, Washington.

The capacity of these plants represents approximately forty-five per cent. of the total West Coast industry, representing 385,000 tons annual production of the four grades of chemical pulp: unbleached sulphite, bleached sulphite, unbleached sulphate, bleached sulphate.

As is to be expected, Ossian Anderson has frequently been called upon to represent his fellow-industrialists and to be their spokesman upon many national occasions. He is, and has been, a staunch advocate of conservation of natural resources, of the protection of the lumber, pulp and paper industries of the United States, and of all things vital to his chosen field. Noteworthy among his speeches and writings are "The Relation of the Western Pulp and Paper Industry to our National Forest Industries," containing answers to the information desired by the "Timber Conservation Board," in June, 1931; "A Letter" to the President's Organization for Unemployment Relief, October, 1931; "Suggested Discussion" at the National Chamber of Commerce meeting at San Francisco, California, May, 1932; "A Five Year Plan for the Relief of Unemployment and Enhanced Industrial Activity in the United States," June, 1932; a letter to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on the conservation of forests and their use in the solution of the problem of unemployment, April 1, 1933; "A Statement of Facts Pertaining to One of Our Largest Resource Industries, and the Reasons Contributing to Its Elimination from the Productive Field in the United States." "Saga of Pulp and Paper Making" published in 1940, is the best brief story of the manufacture of paper from the days when man began to make records on this mate-

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rial to its present enormous development. No doubt there are many other of his papers and addresses deserving of mention, but enough has been named to indicate the breadth of his knowledge, his endeavors to further a great industry, and his vigorous Americanism. He has fought for justice and understanding, for breadth of view and national progress. What he has said and written are marked by comprehensive information, clarity of expression, and the will to serve.

Ossian Anderson is president of the Puget Sound Pulp and Timber Company, its plant at Bellingham, Washington, being the largest unbleached sulphite pulp mill in the world; executive vice-president in charge of operations of Craft Pulp Division of the St. Regis Paper Company, Tacoma, Washington, and is financially and officially interested in other corporations. The Puget Sound Pulp and Timber Company, in addition to its mills, owns much valuable timber on the Skagit watersheds, where they also operate the Puget Sound and Cascade Railroad. The capacity of the Bellingham mill is one hundred and fifty thousand tons annually; the St. Regis Mill, ninety thousand tons yearly; and the Sound View mill, at Everett, one hundred and eighty thousand tons daily. This is the largest bleached sulphite mill in the world. Altogether these plants produce forty-five per cent. of the very large pulp production of Washington State.

At Seattle, Washington, on October 30, 1918, Ossian Anderson married Mabel Anderson, daughter of Nils and Johanna (Hellman) Anderson, of Comano Island, Washington. They are the parents of three children: 1. Robert Ossian, born December 9, 1919. 2. Eugene Richard, born February 15, 1921. 3. Lois May, born July 7, 1925.

As is sometimes true of prominent industrialist leaders, Ossian Anderson is a living exemplar of the simple old-fashioned virtues despite his modernity. His career refutes the fallacy that thrift, industry, courage, are out-moded in the present age. His is a story of difficulties overcome, of obstacles brushed aside, of defeats turned into victories, and a clear exposition of the truth too seldom recognized, that whoever achieves major success in industry, of necessity benefits his fellowmen as much as he benefits himself. Without ostentation, Mr. Anderson is liberal in his philanthropies, civic activities and his contributions to the betterment of the Commonwealth of which he is a loyal, progressive citizen.



Henry Doefinger

Henry Dolfinger, Business Leader

BY M. F. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA



FOR years Henry Dolfinger was engaged in the milk business in Philadelphia, his native city, where he served through the closing years of his life as chairman of the board of directors of Abbotts Dairies, Inc. His half-century of service along these lines and his continuing contribution to social, civic and religious life earned for him the respect and admiration of his contemporaries in all walks and departments of life. And his kindness, generosity and fair-mindedness were qualities for which he was honored, trusted and loved.

Mr. Dolfinger was born February 19, 1858, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, son of Charles Dolfinger, who emigrated from Germany to America. As Karl Dolfinger, he was born at Ergenzingen in Baden, Germany, January 27, 1829, and baptized on that date according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. He was the great-grandson of Jakob Dolfinger of Ergenzingen, and his wife Maria (Grammerin) Dolfinger. Their son, Felix de Valois Dolfinger, citizen and master-weaver of Ergenzingen, was born and baptized on November 19, 1744, and died in the same parish on May 8, 1800. He married, June 13, 1769, Katharina Teuffel, who was born and baptized at Ergenzingen on February 19, 1748, and died there May 26, 1837, daughter of Joseph and Christina (Kleindienst or Kleindienstin) Teuffel. Her name appears also in such forms as Teufel, Teufflin, Deufflin, Deufel, Deifel and Deiflin. They were the parents of Vincentz or Vincentius Dolfinger, citizen and master-weaver of Ergenzingen, who was born and baptized at Ergenzingen on April 5, 1785, and died there November 14, 1858. He married, May 9, 1810, Maria Fischer or Fischerin, who was born and baptized at Ergenzingen on July 1, 1789, and died there December 23, 1863, daughter of Gregor Fischer, citizen and weaver of Ergenzingen, and his wife Franziska (Bäurin) Fischer. They had one daughter and eight

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sons, of whom one was Karl or Charles Dolfinger, later of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

("Register of Families of the Roman Catholic Parish of Ergenzingen, Germany," Book I, p. 105B. "Parish Register of Ergenzingen," Vol. II, p. 1744, No. 29, p. 1748, No. 8; Vol. III, pp. 1785, 1789; Vol. V, p. 154, No. 4. "Register of Deaths," Vol. III, p. 1800; Vol. VI, p. 16, No. 29; p. 1858, No. 34; p. 1863, No. 38. "Register of Marriages," Vol. II, p. 1769; Vol. V, p. 6, No. 4—registers examined in the Roman Catholic Parish Office at Ergenzingen.)

Philadelphia public schools furnished Henry Dolfinger's early formal education, and at the age of eleven years he went to work on his own account. Most of his education thus came to him in the practical school of life itself, through his extensive business and friendly contacts. When he was only sixteen years old, Mr. Dolfinger was engaged in the milk business with a Mr. Haench, who operated a business in Sixth Street, above Pine, in Philadelphia. Indomitable perseverance made itself felt early in his career, and boldness of operation carried him forward in his plans and undertakings. For seven years Mr. Dolfinger patiently served the route assigned him. Then he purchased it from his former employer in 1873, paying \$1,000 for it. Thereafter he was continuously engaged in the milk business, only withdrawing from the more active phases of the work in 1927. His enterprise prospered and grew, causing him to be recognized as one of the outstanding distributors of dairy products in the city of Philadelphia, and in all Mr. Dolfinger's work was reflected the great energy that breathed forth from this man.

His unusual initiative was accompanied by a kindly temperament that won for him a host of friends in every quarter in which he was known. He was liked by employees, customers and competitors, and held the respect of all with whom he was associated. Loyal to high principles and to those with whom he worked, Mr. Dolfinger inspired loyalty in others. He was successful in promoting the steady advancement of those interests with which he was connected. For more than fifty-three years he served as a director of the Philadelphia Milk Exchange, acting for almost fifty years as its treasurer. He was one of the original inspectors of the exchange, and through it and by every other means at his disposal he used his influence to raise the stand-



Philadelphia Residence and Dairy of Henry Delfinger - 1884

HENRY DOLFINGER, BUSINESS LEADER

ards of the whole milk industry, particularly as to the quality of the product sold to consumers. On September 1, 1927, his own milk business was merged with Abbotts Dairies, Inc., and Mr. Dolfinger himself was made chairman of the board of directors of the enlarged organization, a position that he held until the state of his health compelled his resignation. Through this period, as before, he served the Philadelphia Milk Exchange in countless ways and had his full part in the upbuilding of one of Philadelphia's important industries. The board of directors of the exchange, at a meeting held July 26, 1939, adopted resolutions on the occasion of Mr. Dolfinger's passing, recording their deep regret that "one of the original incorporators" of the exchange had taken his departure from this life. The statement went on to sum up his long service with the organization and his courageous work in a great industry, then said:

We offer these facts as testimony to his sterling qualities as a man, his unusual business leadership, and as a product of a life guided by a firm, conscientious and industrious hand; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this board extend to his family its sincere sympathy, and as individuals record their loss in the death of their friend and associate, Henry Dolfinger; also

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be sent to his family.

The document was signed by Frank B. Baldwin, president of the exchange.

Though Mr. Dolfinger achieved business success and rejoiced in the benefits and opportunities which wealth brings, he was too broad-minded a man to rate mere wealth above its true value; and in all his mammoth business and other undertakings he found the enjoyment that comes of mastering a situation—the joy of doing a job at hand. He took the liveliest interest in civic affairs in Philadelphia, and had other business affiliations aside from his activities in the milk trade. He was a director of the Colonial Trust Company, and at its merger he became a member of the advisory board of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities. The board of directors of this company, meeting June 19, 1939, adopted resolutions recording deep regret at the death of Mr. Dolfinger, "an incorporator and a director of the Colonial Trust Company until the time of that company's merger with the Pennsylvania Company." This

HENRY DOLFINGER, BUSINESS LEADER

document went on to say, in part: "His interest and helpfulness were unflinching; his loyalty and belief in this company were evidenced by his continued substantial investment in its shares until, at the time of his death, he had become one of its largest stockholders." The resolutions were signed by William Fulton Kurtz, president of the Pennsylvania Company.

In politics Mr. Dolfinger was a staunch Republican. He belonged to the Union League of Philadelphia, the Seaview Golf Club, the Boca Raton Club of Florida, and the Free and Accepted Masons. In the Masonic Order he was affiliated with many branches and acted as a trustee of the Shriners' Hospital for Crippled Children, in this city. He was an initiate in Lu Lu Temple of the Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. A trustee also of the United Presbyterian Church, he was long active in the Wynnefield congregation, at Fifty-fourth Street, below Wynnefield Avenue, Philadelphia. This church, in the leaflet announcing its activities for Sunday, November 5, 1939, included a copy of the wording of a memorial tablet erected in his memory:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD

And in Memory of

HENRY DOLFINGER

This Tablet Is Affectionately Dedicated.

We mourn his passing but we rejoice in his
life which carried blessings to many.

We pause today to pay respect to the memory of a member of the Board of Trustees of this Church whose life reflected honor not only upon himself, but also upon his Church. He was a loyal friend of our Wynnefield Church long before he became a member of it. He was one of those friendly neighbors, of whom we had several, who, although not members of our Church, yet contributed generously to the fund for the erection of the present church buildings. From that time, more than thirteen years ago, Mr. Dolfinger was a consistent supporter of it and regularly attended its services.

He did not wear his religion upon his sleeve or parade publicly what he did. He shunned publicity—his was a life of unostentatious good-will and helpfulness for his fellowman, many of his benefactions being unknown, except to the recipients, until after his death. He





The American Historical Company Inc.

From painting by Frank B.A. Linton.

Mezzotint by G.W. Finkle

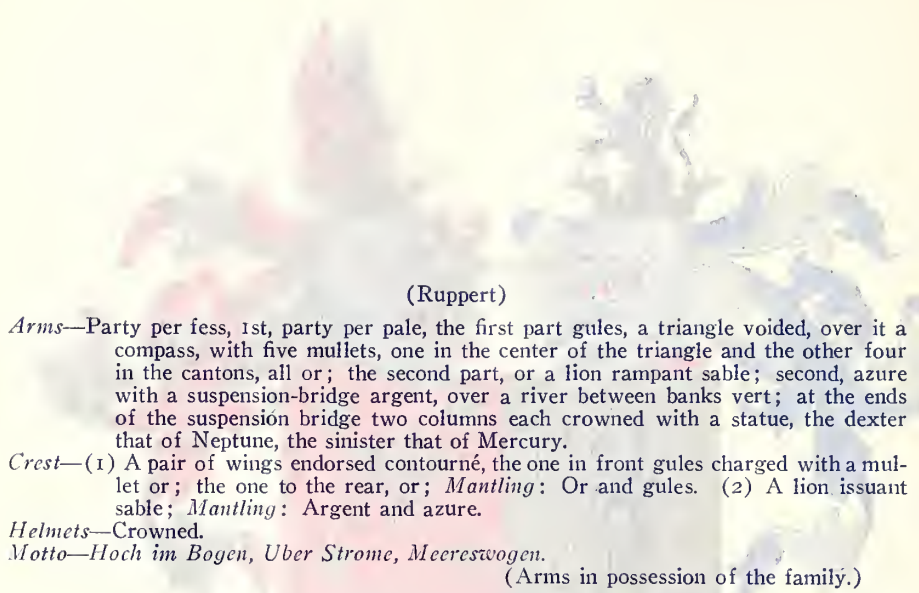
Matilda R. Dolfinger



Caroline Dolfinger Mc Mahon
(Mrs. J. Edward Mc Mahon)



Ruppert



(Ruppert)

Arms—Party per fess, 1st, party per pale, the first part gules, a triangle voided, over it a compass, with five mullets, one in the center of the triangle and the other four in the cantons, all or; the second part, or a lion rampant sable; second, azure with a suspension-bridge argent, over a river between banks vert; at the ends of the suspension bridge two columns each crowned with a statue, the dexter that of Neptune, the sinister that of Mercury.

Crest—(1) A pair of wings endorsed contourné, the one in front gules charged with a mullet or; the one to the rear, or; *Mantling*: Or and gules. (2) A lion issuant sable; *Mantling*: Argent and azure.

Helmets—Crowned.

Motto—*Hoch im Bogen, Uber Strome, Meerestwogen.*

(Arms in possession of the family.)

Symbolism—The shield is divided into a number of parts; the first is red; in heraldry this denotes boldness, daring, blood and fire, "a burning desire to spill one's blood for God and country. The jewel is the ruby. The triangle and compass probably symbolize a man who has traveled far in this world, one who has traveled to other countries. The mullets represent stars and symbolize fame, brilliancy and happy conditions. The second part of the shield is gold; in heraldry this denotes nobility, wealth and authority. The jewel is the topaz. The lion represents strength, courage and generosity, and symbolizes these qualities in the armsbearer. The third part of the shield is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The bridge represents that the armsbearer let nothing stand in his way; regardless of what happened he bridged all things to gain his ends. Of the two statues, that of Neptune symbolizes King of the Sea, that of Mercury ingenious men and arithmeticians. The helmets are crowned and symbolize loyal attachment given the "crown" in time of great need. The wings of the first crest indicate the rise in the world by meritorious deeds. The mullet on the front wing denotes the same as the mullets in the arms. The lion of the second crest has the same significance as the lion in the arms. *Motto*—*Hoch im Bogen, Uber Strome, Meerestwogen.*



(Teuffel)

Arms—Azure, a lion gules holding a sword argent.

Crest—The lion issuant.

Mantling—Gules and azure.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Symbolism—The shield of blue stands for loyalty and truth. Red denotes military valor and courage. The lion ranks first among heraldic charges and indicates a warrior who is strong, wise and fearless. The sword is the emblem of knightly honor and integrity. The lion of the shield is repeated as the crest with the same symbolic meaning.

(Kleindienst)

Arms—Quarterly, 1 and 4, per bend sinister gules over argent, a wolf rampant counter-changed; 2 and 3, or a chevron ployé sable, between three cocks' heads of the same.

Helmet—Crowned.

Crest—A wolf issuant argent.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Symbolism—The shield displays in quarters the arms of two families united by marriage. The first is composed of red, signifying valor and courage, and silver, denoting purity and justice. The wolf is symbolic of a warrior who is dangerous to thwart and almost sure to gain his objective regardless of obstacles. The second coat has a field of gold, indicating generosity and trust, and black denotes constancy. The chevron was often awarded for outstanding achievement, and the cocks' heads are symbolic of leadership and authority. The wolf of the crest, like that of the shield, alludes to a warrior.

(Fischer)

Arms—Argent, an arrow proper, the point in base passing through a crown or, between two fishes proper palewise.

Helmet—Crowned.

Crest—A fish issuant proper between two wings conjoined argent.

Mantling—Argent and gules.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Symbolism—The shield of silver signifies purity and justice, and the arrow is an ancient bearing often considered to be a weapon of vengeance. The crown indicates authority and the fishes simply refer to the bearer's name. It is a common practice in German heraldry to repeat a charge of the shield as the crest, hence the fish, and the wings denote speed and protection.

(Bäurlin [Bäurin])

Arms—Or, a man issuant, habited gules, holding in the dexter hand a sickle argent and under the sinister arm a garb or.

Crest—The man issuant.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Symbolism—The shield of gold stands for generosity and trust. The human figure, in various costumes and poses, is a prominent feature in German coats-of-arms. In this instance the man with the sickle and garb may be an allusion to occupation or may signify that the bearer was always ready to offer hospitality and service. Here again the charge of the shield is repeated in the crest.

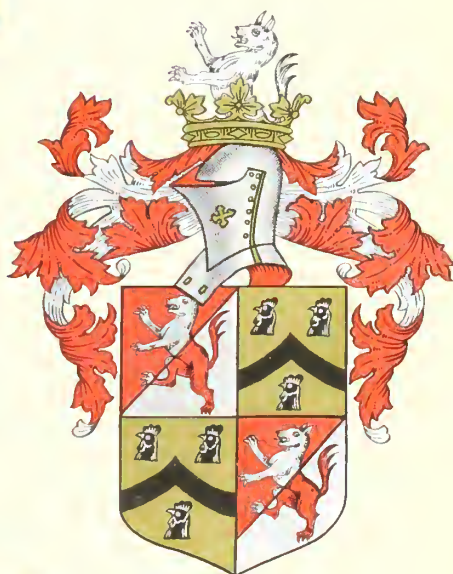




Teuffel



Fischer



Weindienst



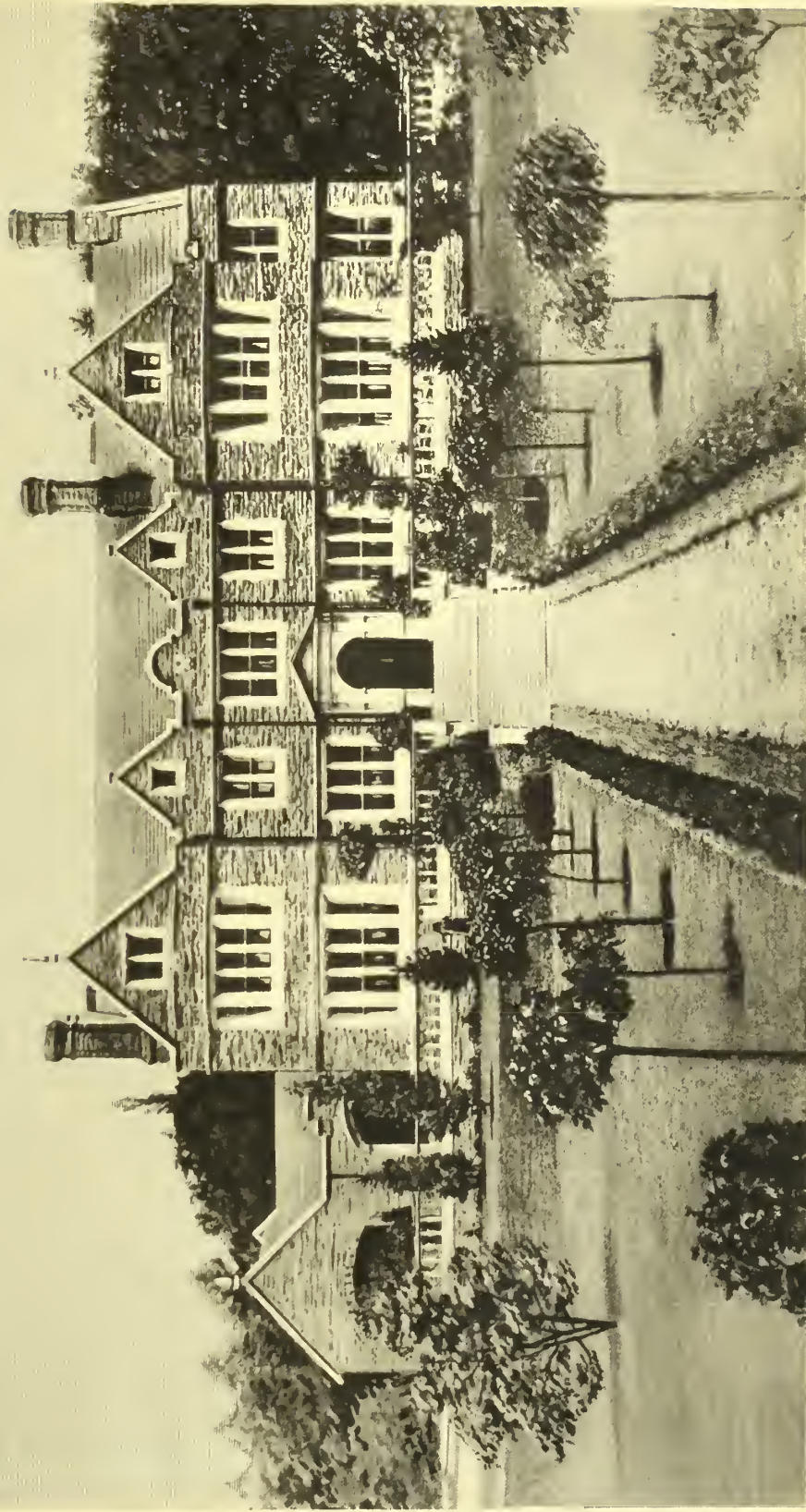
Baurlin
(Baurin)



Mezzotint by W. F. Price

Charles Rastold

The American Historical Company, Inc.



*Linden Hall, Merion, Pa.
Residence of Mr. and Mrs. Henry DeFoy*



The American Historical Company, Inc.

From painting by Frank B.A. Linton.

Monza artist b

Henry Doehring



Mary Mc Mahon



Henry Dolfinger



Matilda Dolfinger

HENRY DOLFINGER, BUSINESS LEADER

helped the aged and contributed substantially to the welfare of crippled children. His was a life of sunshine for many.

Recognizing the worth of the man, and of his value to our Church, the Board of Trustees unanimously resolved to place in our church a tablet to his memory, and also adopted the following minute:

"It is with deep, heartfelt sorrow that the Board of Trustees of the Wynnefield United Presbyterian Church records the sudden death on June 10, 1939, of our friend and fellow-member, Henry Dolfinger.

"Modest and self-effacing to an unusual degree, despite his exceptional business success; a man of sterling character and business integrity, he proved his worth and loyalty to our Church in many ways and was respected and honored by every member of our board.

"In appreciation of his fine character as a man, of our friendship for him and his for us, and of his general helpfulness in our Church, we desire to place on our minutes this tribute of gratitude for his life and for what he accomplished and of our affection for him."

Henry Dolfinger married, April 4, 1881, at the Lutheran Church, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Matilda Rasbold, daughter of Charles and Margaret (Ruppert) Rasbold. The one child of this marriage, Caroline M. Dolfinger, became, on April 4, 1905, the wife of J. Edward McMahon, son of George McMahon. Mr. McMahon is at the time of writing vice-president of Abbotts Dairies, Inc. The McMahons have a daughter, Mary McMahon, who was born April 30, 1907.

The life of Henry Dolfinger was truly rich in service to his contemporaries, and the city where he lived and the industry in which he was so important a figure are the richer for his work and his life. He was of that group of citizens who, undemonstrative in their natures, nevertheless form the character and mould of the society of the communities in which they live; those citizens who develop our great manufacturing interests, spread our commerce and replace the rude hamlets of our forefathers with magnificent business palaces. Such men are the builders of our cities, our steamboats and railways and airplanes; of all our business life. And they merit the credit for their achievement. Mr. Dolfinger's accomplishments reflected honor upon Philadelphia and advanced her interests. He was a man of stainless character in every relation of life. His motives were never questioned. His influence and power will be felt as a continuing force for good, though he is no longer among us in mortal form.

The Weber Family

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, RIDGEWOOD, NEW JERSEY



HE German family name Weber is of occupational derivation, originally used to designate a weaver.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

Arms—Per bend sinister, azure and argent, over the line of division a bend gules cottised or, between a seven-pointed star argent, above, and a clover leaf vert, below. Helmet crowned.

Crest—A lion issuant, or, holding a sword between both paws.

Mantling—Azure and argent.

Motto—*Wohin uns das Schicksal führt.* (Wherever fate leads us.)

(Siebmacher: "Wappenbuch," Vol. V, Part 7, p. 59, table 58.)

I. Carolus Weber, the first of this line of whom record is found, was born at Hatgenstein, Germany, about 1700-10, and died at Feckweiler, Germany, February 4, 1779. He married Anna Maria, who died at Sauerbron, Germany, May 5, 1777. They were the parents of: 1. Johann Stephan, of whom further.

(Parish Registers of the Roman Catholic Church at Birkenfeld, near Oldenburg, Germany.)

II. Johann Stephan Weber, son of Carolus and Anna Maria Weber, was born at Dienstweiler, Germany, May 24, 1739, and died at Abentheuer, April 7, 1773. He married, February 8, 1763, Anna Maria Weis, who was born at Abentheuer, December 20, 1741. They were the parents of: 1. Adam, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Adam Weber, son of Johann Stephan and Anna Maria (Weis) Weber, was born at Dienstweiler, Germany, June 6, 1765, and died at Abentheuer, Germany, January 19, 1834. He married Maria Elisabeth Maurer, born at Berglangenhach, Germany, in 1755, died at Abentheuer, October 25, 1830. They were the parents of: 1. Johann Nicolaus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

THE WEBER FAMILY

IV. Johann Nicolaus Weber, son of Adam and Maria Elisabeth (Maurer) Weber, was born at Abentheuer, Germany, January 28, 1804, and died there, January 22, 1840. He married Anna Maria Burr (or Bohr). They were the parents of: 1. Catharina, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Catharina (or Mary) Weber, daughter of Johann Nicolaus and Anna Maria (Burr or Bohr) Weber, was born at Abentheuer, near Birkenfeld, Oldenburg, Germany, January 14, 1838, and died in Hermann, Missouri, in May, 1904, and was buried in the City Cemetery at Hermann. She came to America at the age of fifteen years, joining her parents who had preceded her and were living in Chicago, Illinois. In 1861, four years after her marriage, she and her husband came to Hermann, Missouri. In writing of her at the time of her death, a local newspaper said that she "was the model of a true and affectionate wife, a loving and devoted mother. Modest and unassuming in her demeanor and of a true, womanly disposition, she found her chief source of happiness in the fulfillment of the duties of her domestic sphere." Her religious affiliation was with the Roman Catholic Church.

Catharina (or Mary) Weber married, in Chicago, Illinois, January 1, 1857, Henry Honeck, born in Baden, Germany, in 1833, died at Dallas, Texas, June 25, 1920. He came to America as a young man of about eighteen years. In Germany he had become an expert mechanic, having learned general wagon making, blacksmithing, painting, upholstering, furniture making and buggy making. After being employed for about four years in Chicago, he came to Hermann, Missouri, where he opened a blacksmith and wagonmaker's shop and dealt in farm implements. By hard labor and good business policy he made a great success of his business and became well-to-do. After the death of his wife he withdrew entirely from business. For a number of years one of his daughters, Mrs. Mary Mertens, resided with him and attended to him in his advancing years. About two years prior to his death and after he had sold his real estate interests in Hermann, he accompanied his daughter to Dallas, Texas, where he made his home until his death. During his residence in Hermann he was

THE WEBER FAMILY

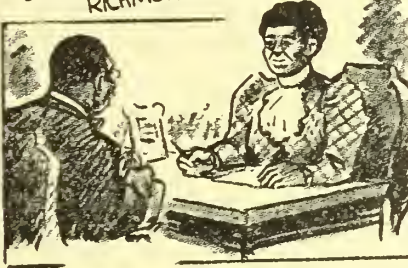
one of that town's most prominent business men, known and esteemed highly throughout the county. He took an active part in all the civic affairs of the town and was a faithful member of every organization formed for the advancement of its interests as well as for the good of the citizens. He was also prominent in the social life of the town. For over forty years he was president of the Hermann Fire Insurance Company and for many years he was president of the Mutual Savings Society. He was also a member of the Harmonie, a male chorus that was the center of all social life in Hermann until its dissolution about 1905. He was one of the oldest members of Robert Blum Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, at Hermann, under whose auspices his funeral was held at Hermann, where he was buried in the City Cemetery beside his wife. His religious affiliations were with the Lutheran Church. He became the father of eleven children and he taught his trade to all of his six sons. In reporting his death a Hermann newspaper said of him:

Mr. Honeck was an exemplary citizen. His was a life of good deeds, rebounding to the welfare of the community in which it had been granted him to spend so many useful years. He was one of the pioneer citizens who helped to build and mold the present Hermann.

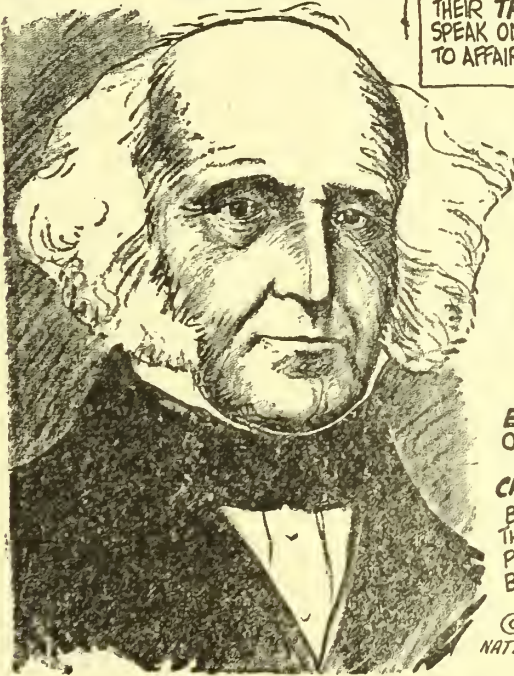
(Ibid.)

ODDITIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE FIRST
WOMAN BANK PRESIDENT
WAS MRS. MAGGIE LENA WALKER,
A NEGRESS, WHO FOUNDED THE
ST. LUKE PENNY SAVINGS BANK IN
RICHMOND, VA. IN 1903.



THE MAINE LEGISLATURE
ALWAYS INCLUDES TWO INDIANS.
THEY ARE PRESENT TO SAFEGUARD
THEIR **TRIBAL RIGHTS** AND
SPEAK ONLY ON MATTERS RELATED
TO AFFAIRS OF THE RESERVATION.



**MARTIN
VAN/
BUREN**

THE
EIGHTH PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES,
WAS THE FIRST
CHIEF EXECUTIVE
BORN A CITIZEN OF
THE UNITED STATES. ALL
PRECEDING HIM WERE
BORN BRITISH SUBJECTS!

© HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
NAT'L. COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF U.S.



JAMES OGILVIE IS BELIEVED TO HAVE SERVED AS THE MODEL FOR R. C. LESLIE'S
"DON QUIXOTE."

This is a reproduction of M. J. Danforth's engraving, which is the property of the Fine Arts
Division of The Library of Congress.

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AMERICANA

JULY, 1941



Colonel William Fleming

County Lieutenant of Botetourt, 1776-1779*

By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., PH. D., ALDERMAN LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA



HISTORIANS of the American Revolution have described at length two phases of the war in Virginia: the campaigns in the eastern part of the State, and George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois country. They have neglected almost completely a phase which fell between the others, geographically speaking, but which certainly equalled them in vital importance: the defense of the frontier. Tidewater citizens were alarmed when British fleets landed troops at their doors, for they were faced with widespread destruction of property. Clark's expedition into the wilderness, involving many colorful incidents, was a spirited offensive against British operations in the Ohio Valley, and it added thousands of acres to the territory open for distribution and settlement. Both East and West played their parts in the war, but what has escaped attention is the fact that the frontier was, perhaps, the crucial point.

*Colonel William Fleming (1729-95) was a Scots physician who came to America in 1755. He landed in Norfolk, Virginia, and went immediately to the frontier to fight under George Washington against the French and Indians. When the campaigns were over, he settled in the Valley, first at Staunton, where he practiced medicine for five years, and then in Botetourt County. He became one of the leaders of the western region and commanded a division of the Colonial forces at the battle of Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War, 1774. Wounds received in that encounter kept him from active service in the Revolutionary Army, and so he was entrusted with the defense of his section of the frontier. His service as county lieutenant was typical of that performed by others in similar positions, and as such it provides an interesting subject for study.

COLONEL WILLIAM FLEMING

1. *Warfare Renewed*—Peace was not permanently established at the end of Dunmore's War in 1774. Had the leading object of that campaign—the destruction of the Indian towns—been fully accomplished, it might have been years before the frontier settlements were bothered by red-skin attacks. But the failure to do this left the Indians free to resume their raids, and within eighteen months Fleming and his colleagues faced a renewal of the fighting. The warfare which ensued was a vital phase of the American Revolution itself, for had the foe on the frontier triumphed, had the border inhabitants been wiped out, not only would George Rogers Clark's successes in the Illinois country have availed nothing, but the way would have been open for Indian assaults on easterners who were utterly unprepared to defend themselves; and there is no telling how far the destruction might have gone.¹

The people of Virginia did not accept the situation lying down. The royal government had been succeeded by a democratic administration in which the Council and the House of Burgesses were replaced by a State Convention whose members were elected by the people of the districts they represented. This Convention took steps to ward off the blow, and in the autumn of 1775 commissioners were sent to Fort Pitt to negotiate a treaty with the Indians.² The Convention did not rely entirely, however, on the persuasive abilities of its representatives, nor did it count on the Indians keeping any treaty agreed upon. The first ordinance passed at the session of July, 1775, provided for the "raising and embodying" of two regiments of troops for the defense of the Colony, and in addition several companies for the protection of the western frontiers. Of the latter, two hundred men were to be stationed at Pittsburgh, twenty-five at the mouth of Wheeling on the Ohio, one hundred at Point Pleasant, and another hundred at various posts on the border of Fincastle County. The ordinance went on to divide the entire Colony into sixteen districts, each of which (except the two on the Eastern Shore) was to enlist a

1. A good running account of conditions on the frontier during the Revolution is to be found in Alexander S. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, ed. by R. G. Thwaites (Cincinnati, 1895), pp. 187-293.

2. Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, Wisc., 1908), gives the record of the conferences with the Indians, including the British report on the treaty. (Hereafter cited as Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*.)

COLONEL WILLIAM FLEMING

battalion of five hundred men split equally among ten companies. The region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains was to contain three of these districts, one in the northern part, one in the middle, and the third to the south. Botetourt County, thrown into the southern district by this arrangement, was to provide the company to be stationed at Point Pleasant.³

The raising of troops in the western country did not progress as rapidly as was expected. This was due, not so much to lack of patriotism, or to indifference to the dangers which threatened the frontier, as to other factors. The expense accounts of Dunmore's War remained unsettled, and the people were hesitant about contributing further to the public cause without definite assurance of compensation.⁴ The inhabitants of the border country felt that another campaign, on top of that of the previous year, was unnecessary when no crisis was at hand. Besides, it was harvest season, and then winter, and the men were slower to enlist than they would have been at other times of the year. Progress was sufficient, however, for the Committee of Safety to appoint militia officers for the counties.⁵ Among them was Colonel William Fleming, "Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia of the County of Botetourt," whose commission was dated at Williamsburg, April 4, 1776.⁶

Fleming, when he was put in command of all the Botetourt forces, was at home on his estate. Since the close of Dunmore's campaign in the autumn of 1774, he had stayed at "Belmont" recuperating from the severe wounds he received at the battle of Point Pleasant. He had recovered sufficiently to get about the neighborhood, but the state of his health was such that he could not perform active service. He was not well enough to undertake the hardships of regular campaigns

3. William W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond, 1819-23), IX, 9-35.

4. A petition to the Convention from sixty-one inhabitants of Frederick County and other settlements west of the mountains, drawn up just as efforts were being made to recruit the number of soldiers provided in the July ordinance, set forth the grievances arising from the failure to settle the 1774 claims. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 161-63.

5. Journal of the Committee of Safety of Virginia, *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, ed. Henry R. McIlwaine (Richmond, 1931-32), II, 481; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts* (Richmond, 1875-90), VIII, 152.

6. The original commission, signed by Dudley Digges, Paul Carrington, J. Mercer, Thomas Ludwell Lee, W. Cabell, and Thomas Walker, MS., Fleming Papers, Washington and Lee University Library. It was certified on the back by David Mays, Clerk of the Botetourt County Committee, May, 1776, that Fleming took the oath required by the Convention (see Hening, IX, 32).

COLONEL WILLIAM FLEMING

or to withstand the privations of marching and camp life. He was, therefore, chosen to direct the defense of the important frontier region which extended from the tops of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Ohio River and embraced much of what is now West Virginia.

Fleming was well aware of the steps being taken to defend the frontier against enemy attacks. He was always a prolific letter-writer, and his correspondents kept him well informed of what took place. He received communications from virtually every field of action: Williamsburg, Fort Pitt, Kentucky, etc., and each item contained in them was added to an already extensive knowledge of conditions in the western country. For instance, in July, 1775, when the Virginia Convention passed its ordinance providing troops to be stationed at the various border posts, Mrs. Fleming's brother-in-law, Colonel Stephen Trigg, wrote a full account of the measures adopted.⁷ Thus, when Fleming received his commission as county lieutenant of Botetourt, he realized the unpreparedness of the frontier regions, and he had a fair idea as to the resources at his command.⁸ His first duty was to enroll in the militia every man between the ages of sixteen and fifty and to form companies for training and discipline.⁹

2. *Military Operations, 1776-77*—The outbreak of the organized fighting of the Revolution had no direct effect on the border country. The chief impress of events was the increased effort by British agents to stir up the savages beyond the mountains. As a result, the first major move in the campaign on the frontier was directed against the Cherokees, who began hostilities on the southern edge of the Colony. An expedition under Fleming's brother-in-law, Colonel William Christian, marched into the Indian country, destroyed the Cherokee towns, and laid waste the crops. This decisive action had the desired effect, and a treaty in the spring of 1777 removed the fear of further invasions from the minds of the people in the lower counties.¹⁰ Fleming's

7. Trigg to Fleming, Manchester, July 26, 1775, MS., Fleming Papers, WL.U.

8. Fleming to unknown, undated, draft in *ibid.*

9. Hening, IX, 27-28.

10. The story of the Cherokee expedition is told in the series of letters written by Cols. Christian and Lewis to Governor Henry, reporting the events of the campaign as they occurred. "Virginia Legislative Papers," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1909), 52-64; *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, ed. William L. Saunders (Raleigh, 1886-90), X, 837-39, 842-43, 844-47; William W. Henry, *Patrick Henry; Life, Correspondence and Speeches* (New York, 1891), III, 15-18, 20-29.

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connection with the Cherokee expedition was slight. But the fact that his wife's brother commanded the troops gave him an unusual interest in the affair, and he was convinced that carrying war into the enemy territory was "the only way to secure our Frontiers and make us respected."¹¹

Fleming was not long idle, however, for in August, 1776, reports came in that a large number of savages were headed for the border settlements. Captain John Stuart, who was in command along the Greenbrier River, wrote Fleming as soon as he heard the news, and added a word of caution to the effect that the hand to hand manner of the rumors made the truth doubtful. At the same time, he would do everything in his power to put his men in a posture of defense, and he advised that should the people pen themselves in little forts as they did formerly, "it will be the Readiest method of having themselves Destroyed."¹²

Fleming was ready to act the instant he received word of the actual Indian approach, and when he got Stuart's letter, he wrote immediately to all the militia officers on the Greenbrier. He told them that there was reason to apprehend an attack, and instructed them to have their respective companies in the best order possible for defense. They should send Fleming immediate notice if the enemy were discovered or if any mischief was done.¹³ To Stuart, Fleming replied that he thought it very necessary to have prepared places of defense to which the inhabitants might retire in case of necessity, and that these forts should be located as centrally as convenience would allow. Stuart was, therefore, to select the most suitable place and build a fort. Fleming then remarked that he thought the Indians discovered might be a party from the western tribes on their way home, but the above step—the erection of a fort—would allay any apprehensions among the people.¹⁴

No more was heard of the Indian invasion for a while, but preparations for defense went ahead as ordered. Captain Stuart wrote Fleming, a week after the first report, that he had drafted twenty

11. Fleming to Preston, August 2, 1776, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 174-76.

12. Stuart to Fleming, Greenbrier, August 2, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

13. Fleming to Militia Officers on Greenbrier, August 4, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

14. Fleming to Stuart, August 4, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 179-80.

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men and expected to have a fort soon completed at Camp Union. This would be large enough to hold most of the inhabitants of the levels, and a body of men would be kept there for its protection. He mentioned that he had posted men to watch the passes, and suggested that small detachments be sent to various places to quiet the fears of the people.¹⁵ Fleming was unable to concur in these arrangements because, until there was more reason to suspect an actual invasion, his power was limited by ordinance. He did, however, think it prudent to keep a small command at the fort to preserve it when finished.¹⁶

Stuart was not alone in his fears for the future of the frontier region. Virginia's Commissioners of Indian Affairs at Fort Pitt were also disturbed by reports from the westward and, on August 31, sent a circular letter to the lieutenants of all the border counties urging them to be prepared. Word had come, said the letter, that a general confederacy of the western tribes had been formed to strike the frontier settlements. The Indians were reported to be waiting only until their scattered young men were called in and the corn was riper for the subsistence of the war parties. It was recommended in the strongest terms that the county militia be held in readiness to march on the shortest notice.¹⁷ Evidently, the Commissioners wrote to the government at Williamsburg, too, for a week later Lieutenant-Governor John Page wrote Fleming to hold a body of men in readiness to march to the assistance of the Commissioners at Fort Pitt if they asked for help.¹⁸

Then, just as the garrisons all along the frontier braced themselves to repel the anticipated assault, reports drifted in that the Indians were withdrawing. Stuart sent word that the war party near Point Pleasant had left, and that the people were much less apprehensive than formerly.¹⁹ Captain William McKee repeated that the Shawnees seemed adverse to hostilities, and added the pious wish

15. Stuart to Fleming, August 10, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

16. Fleming to Stuart, August 24, 1776, *ibid.*, p. 184.

17. Indian Commissioners to county lieutenants, Pittsburgh, August 31, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 190-91. The Commissioners were Thomas Walker, John Harvie, John Montgomery, and Jasper Yeates.

18. Page to Fleming, Williamsburg, September 9, 1776, *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia* (Richmond, 1926-29), I, 38-39; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 196-97.

19. Stuart to Fleming, Greenbrier, September 16, 1776, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 197-99.

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that "God Grant that temper may long Continue with them."²⁰ Indeed, the Indians did not attack, and instead withdrew definitely from the vicinity of the settlements. Everybody breathed more freely, and the post commanders made preparations to 'sit out' the cold season. The policy adopted was one of watchful waiting, with all steps taken for the proper protection of the border until the Indians made the first move.

The winter of 1776-77 was an anxious one, and reports of alarm among the settlers or of skirmishes with the Indians continually disturbed the people just back of the advance lines. The approach of spring and dry weather would have been more welcome if it was not realized that along with those pleasant conditions would come renewed attacks by the red men. A call was sent to Congress for an experienced officer, and General Edward Hand of the Continental Army was appointed to take command of the frontier situation.²¹ He swiftly came to the conclusion that the best remedy was to lead an expedition against the enemy, and he determined to do this as soon as he could obtain provisions and men enough to ensure success.²² Preparations went forward at a snail's pace, and it was autumn before even a handful of troops was gathered together. Fortunately, there was no concerted move by the Indians during the summer, and activity was restricted to raids at widely scattered places.²³ Then doubts arose as to whether it would be wise to conduct a campaign so late in the season, and finally Hand, after consulting the chief men on the frontier, cancelled the entire affair.²⁴

But if anybody expected affairs on the frontier to quiet down after the abandonment of the offensive campaign, he was to receive a rude awakening. On November 10, 1777, took place an event which was to alter materially the tone of Indian relationships. This was the deliberate murder by members of the garrison at Fort Randolph

20. McKee to Fleming, Greenbrier, September 30, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 204-05.

21. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-34), VII, 247, 252, 256, 270, 272. General Hand's headquarters were to be at Fort Pitt.

22. Hand to Thomas Wharton, President of the Pennsylvania Council, Fort Pitt, July 24, 1777, Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, Wisc., 1912), pp. 24-25. (Hereafter cited as Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*.)

23. Col. John Gibson to Hand, August 1, 1777, *ibid.*, p. 35; Capt. Samuel Moorhead to Hand, Kittanning, August 19, 1777, *ibid.*, p. 46.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36, 145-48.

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of the friendly Shawnee chief Cornstalk, his son Elinipsico, the old chief Petalla, and the young warrior Redhawk.²⁵ The effect of this unnecessary and unjustifiable deed was instantaneous. All the Indians on the western frontier, except a handful of Delawares, became bitterly hostile to the whites and entered upon a war of revenge and retaliation. Every previous effort to negotiate treaties was brought to nought, and the tribes joined without dissension to assail the settlers of Virginia.

The probable result of Cornstalk's murder did not escape the attention of those who were responsible for the defense of the frontier. They realized only too well the serious effect of such an action. Colonel Preston told Fleming that he was apprehensive that the murder would result in a war with the revengeful and warlike Shawnees and their allies.²⁶ General Hand, who was on his way to Fort Randolph at the time of the murder, expressed great concern at "this horrid act," and said it would prevent reconciliation with the Shawnees.²⁷ Fleming suggested that those responsible for the deed—presumably the soldiers of the garrison at Fort Randolph—be apprehended and punished.²⁸ The Governor himself said the murder would no doubt bring on hostilities, and directed Fleming and Preston to have every gun in their counties ready for action.²⁹ Colonel John Gibson, reporting on the temper of the western tribes a month after Cornstalk's death, indicated the trend of events. All the nations, he said, except White Eyes and a few Delawares, had taken up the tomahawk against the Americans. They would strike in the spring, and meanwhile seven war parties were out to harass the frontiers.³⁰ The prospect was far from encouraging, and doubtless Fleming, along with Hand and others, had sinking feelings at the thought of what was ahead.

25. Capt. John Stuart's narrative of the murder and a deposition of eye witnesses are given in *ibid.*, pp. 157-63.

26. Preston to Fleming, Smithfield, December 2, 1777, *ibid.*, pp. 168-70.

27. Hand to Henry, Staunton, December 9, 1777, *ibid.*, pp. 175-77; Hand to Richard Peters, Secretary of the Board of War, Fort Pitt, December 24, 1777, *ibid.*, pp. 189-91.

28. Fleming to Henry, undated, *The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (Madison, Wisc., 1915), p. 213.

29. Henry to Fleming, Williamsburg, February 19, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 243-245; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 205-09. Also Henry to Preston, Williamsburg, February 19, 1778, Henry, III, 144-48.

30. Gibson to Hand, Fort Pitt, December 10, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 178-79.

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3. *White Against Red*—"The late barbarous, inhuman and impolitic Murder committed at the Point on the Cornstalk and his Party, by a number of rash inconsiderate Villains, I am fully convinced will be followed by the most direful Consequences to this long extended Frontier."³¹ Thus wrote Colonel William Preston to Governor Henry on January 16, 1778, expressing what was undoubtedly the common thought of all in the western country. Not a voice was raised to defend publicly the action of the murderers, though some few, in their fierce hatred of all red men, may have condoned or even approved the crime. Be that as it may, the Virginia Council, considering the warning given by Colonel Preston, together with a memorial from the inhabitants of Greenbrier on the subject of the dangerous frontier situation, took steps on February 19 to provide for the adequate defense of the border region. The plan proposed by the Governor, including the erection of stockades, the maintenance of scouts, the establishment of a post near the mouth of the Elk River, and the reënforcement of the garrison at Fort Randolph with fifty militiamen from Botetourt, was accepted *in toto* and ordered to be put into execution.³²

The Council's action contained directions for the county lieutenants of Botetourt and Montgomery to consult together on the expediency of establishing a post near the mouth of the Elk River. The purpose of the post was twofold: to keep up the correspondence between Greenbrier and Fort Randolph, and to help check the incursions of the enemy. All this information, with the other features of the plan of defense adopted at the Council meeting, the Governor wrote to Fleming immediately after the measure was formally passed.³³ It was nearly a month, however, before Fleming and Preston met to confer on the problem presented to them. On March 14 they did get together and, after consultation, wrote Henry that they considered Kelly's a proper place to check the inroads of the Indians as well as to afford the frontier settlers protection and inspire them

31. Preston to Henry, January 16, 1778, David I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Virginia Frontier in History—1778," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII (1915), 114.

32. Journal of the Council, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 117-79; *Journals*, II, 86-87; *Governors' Letters*, I, 242-43.

33. Henry to Fleming, Williamsburg, February 19, 1778, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 205-09.

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with confidence. The garrison should consist of a hundred men, drawn equally from Greenbrier and Botetourt—in which case, they added, the reinforcement for Fort Randolph might safely be taken from Rockbridge, an interior county not immediately subject to enemy attacks.³⁴ The Governor concurred in these arrangements, and on March 27 ordered the disposition of the militia as Fleming and Preston advised.³⁵

As spring advanced, reports of Indian depredations became increasingly frequent and disturbing, and early in June, General Andrew Lewis communicated with both Colonel Fleming and Colonel Preston in regard to the situation.³⁶ Fleming now thought the proposed station at Kelly's would not help in the defense of the frontier, and Preston agreed that the fifty men scheduled to form the garrison there would be of more service at some place on the Greenbrier.³⁷ Nor were the reports of Indian activities without foundation. During the month, they appeared in force before Fort Randolph, but found they could make no impression and went on to harass the Greenbrier region. Captain McKee at Fort Randolph sent two men disguised as savages to overtake and pass the group in order to warn the people in its path, and those messengers were so successful that when the Indians did appear at Fort Donnally they met such strong resistance that they were forced back with seventeen casualties.³⁸ Colonel Preston was rejoiced at this victory, and expressed his feelings by drawing a picture of what would have happened if the red men had been victorious. "Had the Enemy carried that Post," he said, "as they certainly would, flushed with Victory where would their Carreer have ended Carnage, Burning, Desolation & wretched Captivity must have ens[ued]."³⁹

34. Preston and Fleming to Henry, Botetourt, March 14, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 223-25. Receipt of this letter mentioned in the Council journal for March 27, *Journals*, II, 111.

35. Henry to Preston and Fleming, Williamsburg, March 27, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 257; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 240-41.

36. Lewis to Fleming, Richfield, June 7, 1778, and Lewis to Preston, June 8, Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779* (Madison, Wisc., 1916), pp. 76-77, 79. (Hereafter cited as Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*.)

37. Fleming to Preston, June 16, 1778, and Preston to Fleming, June 17, *ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

38. Narrative of Capt. John Stuart, who marched with sixty-eight men to reinforce Fort Donnally, *ibid.*, pp. 70-73.

39. Preston to Lewis, undated, *ibid.*, p. 80.

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There was now a breathing spell during which attention was turned from local defense to affairs along the entire frontier. General Hand, after leading the enterprise which was humorously dubbed the "Squaw Campaign" because in its unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the wilderness to the Indian villages it encountered only women and children,⁴⁰ retired from the command in May and was succeeded by Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, a Scots Highlander from Georgia.⁴¹ Almost immediately, McIntosh was ordered by the Continental Congress to undertake an expedition against the hostile garrison at Detroit, and it was only through the determined opposition of the Virginia Council that the plan was cancelled because it would take too many men away from the border settlements.⁴² Instead, General McIntosh was directed to assemble at Fort Pitt one thousand five hundred men and to proceed at once to destroy whichever Indian towns he considered dangerous to the frontier settlements.⁴³

McIntosh believed that if sufficient effect was made on the Indians, peace would follow, and so he proposed to build several small forts at strategic points. With this in mind, he moved down the Ohio a distance of twenty-six miles to the mouth of Big Beaver Creek. There he halted and erected a post, which was named Fort McIntosh after the commander. The wisdom of this policy soon became evident, for several parties of Indians immediately appeared and sued for peace. McIntosh was determined, however, to give no encouragement to the savages until proof of their sincerity was forthcoming.⁴⁴ He continued his march, therefore, and proceeded to build a large stockade fort, Fort Laurens, with barracks to contain two hundred or more men,

40. Hand to Col. William Crawford, Yohogania, February 5, 1778, Hand to Jasper Yeates, and Hand to Col. David Shepherd, Fort Pitt, March 7, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 201-02, 215-16, 221-22.

41. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 417; Washington to Congress, Valley Forge, May 12, 1778, *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. Jared Sparks (New York, 1847-48), V, 361-62; Washington to McIntosh, Valley Forge, May 26, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 60.

42. Journal of the Council, July 8 and 9, *Journals*, II, 162-63. A letter from Capt. Patrick Lockhart to Governor Henry, dated at Staunton on July 3, concerning supplies for the Detroit expedition, is printed in Henry, III, 184-85.

43. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 720-21; Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 121; David I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Proposed Expedition Against Detroit, 1778," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXII (1924), 65-66 (broadside reproduced).

44. McIntosh to Fleming, and McIntosh to Preston, Fort McIntosh, October 30, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 154; Bushnell, "The Virginia Frontier in History—1778," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII (1915), 264.

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who were to make excursions to nearby hostile towns. Unfortunately, the short terms of service for which the militia had been engaged prevented any further action, and all schemes for additional posts had to be abandoned.⁴⁵ The campaign closed with its aims partially accomplished—not a brilliant success, but with more definite results than the previous attempts to procure a foothold in the wilderness beyond the settlements.⁴⁶

As usual on the frontier, however, the energies of the border officials were not directed mainly towards assisting the troops at Fort Pitt. There was always the problem of home defense, and after the repulse of the Indians at Fort Donnally in June, Montgomery and Botetourt counties were molested to such an extent that many of the inhabitants, unarmed, collected in the forts.⁴⁷ Everywhere small parties of savages were discovered and, while no mischief was done, Colonel Fleming was convinced that scarcely a house escaped their spies. The unusual behavior of the enemy—continuing among the people without murdering, stealing horses, killing cattle, or rifling deserted homes—made it believed that they meditated a heavy stroke, and that they wanted to get a thorough knowledge of the country before starting their destruction. “I never knew such a general Panick amonst the People,” declared Fleming. “Many have fled, And many [are] on the Wing.”⁴⁸

But nothing startling developed, and the winter of 1778-79 passed quite peacefully. Dissatisfaction with General McIntosh's leadership caused his retirement in February, and Colonel Daniel Brodhead, a frontiersman trained in Indian fighting, was appointed as his successor.⁴⁹ McIntosh's last act was to relieve Fort Laurens, which was closely besieged by the Indians.⁵⁰ Except for that brief bit of action,

45. McIntosh to Fleming, Fort Laurens, December 7, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, pp. 183-84.

46. Accounts of McIntosh's expedition are given in the recollections of participants, *ibid.*, pp. 157-63. McIntosh's semi-official report to George Bryan, Vice-President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, also covers briefly the events of the last three months of 1778. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89.

47. Fleming and Preston to Henry, July 8, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 106-07.

48. Fleming to Henry, July 19, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

49. Journal of Congress, *ibid.*, p. 233; *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIII, 213-14. Washington to Brodhead, Middlebrook, March 5, 1779, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, pp. 238-40.

50. McIntosh to Washington, Fort Pitt, March 12, 1779, and Fort McIntosh, March 19, *ibid.*, pp. 240-42, 256.

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little took place until the warm suns of April dried the paths and made the wilderness passable again. Then, reports of scattered killings began to reach Fleming. Colonel Preston wrote that, "The whole Country is alarmed. Should the People remove it will ruin them, & to stay is dangerous."⁵¹ John Madison remarked that the frequent rumors of the hostile intentions of "our Sable Neighbours" were not reassuring, and that he wanted to put his family in the best possible state of defense.⁵² Nor were Indians the only enemies to be feared. "We are alarmed with Tories," wrote Colonel Walter Crockett to Colonel Preston, and then he continued by saying that two men on oath had reported that the Loyalist plan was ripe for execution. Parties of English sympathizers were to disarm those in favor of the Revolution and to destroy the lead mines. This "diabolical plot" was quickly reported to Fleming, and soldiers were sent to assist the sheriff in bringing the "villains" to justice.⁵³

The General Assembly of Virginia, which on the establishment of the State government in 1776 had succeeded to the powers formerly exercised by the Committee of Safety and the Convention, was not unaware of the dangers existing on the frontier. At the session held in May, 1779, an Act was passed for raising additional troops for the defense of the State. Four regiments of infantry were to be raised, two of them for the protection of the western border; and each county was to furnish a twenty-fifth of its militia for the purpose. The county lieutenants marked off their jurisdictions into small areas, each of which supplied one able-bodied man to help make up the quota.⁵⁴ Colonel Fleming, of Botetourt, was consulted by Governor Jefferson in regard to the disposition of the troops from the various counties. Apparently, too, Fleming was a member of a commission appointed to establish a chain of posts along the frontier, for Jefferson, in a letter discussing the whole scheme of defense, hoped the commissioners would coöperate so that "the chain of posts to be recommended may form a complete Western defence,

51. Preston to Fleming, April 4, 1779, *ibid.*, pp. 274-75.

52. Madison to Fleming, April 5, 1779, *ibid.*, p. 276.

53. Crockett to Preston, McGavocks, April 7, 1779, "Preston Papers," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVI (1918), 371; Preston to Fleming, April 8, 1779, *Preston and Virginia Papers*, p. 217.

54. Henning, X, 32-34.

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leaving no chasm in the middle."⁵⁵ The members of the commission reported on August 31 that they had met to consider the proper stations for troops for the defense of the southwestern frontier, and recommended a complete line of posts as far as the number of men allotted to garrison them would allow. One important point they emphasized: it would be better to establish forts on the Ohio than to station troops nearer the settlements.⁵⁶

With this report, Fleming's active service as county lieutenant of Botetourt came to an end abruptly. He was appointed during the summer of 1779 as Commissioner to Adjust and Settle Land Titles in Kentucky, and was absent on that errand from October to May 27 of the following year. Naturally, with the preparations for the trip, the work of the commission, and the writing of a report on what was accomplished, Fleming had little time to spare for the consideration of frontier problems. While he was away in Kentucky, he was appointed to serve on the Council of Virginia, and he took his seat there soon after his return from the West. And so the transfer of interests, begun in the autumn of 1779, became more or less permanent.

4. *More Men*—William Fleming was commissioned county lieutenant of Botetourt on April 4, 1776, and took his seat in the Council on June 20, 1780. The four years between these dates were filled with all sorts of problems aside from decisions as to policy and troop movement. Every time an expedition against the Indians was organized, every time a post was erected in the wilderness beyond the settlements, Fleming had to consider various matters, some of which taxed his ability and his ingenuity to the utmost. Among these problems perhaps the most outstanding, and certainly the most frequently recurring, was that of procuring men to serve on the frontier. Men to make up the quota for an expedition, men to garrison a fort, men to transport supplies, and men to reënforce those already sent out—these were necessary in addition to men for the Continental Army. Every few days, it seemed, came a new request or demand or order for more men.

55. Jefferson to Fleming, Albemarle, August 7, 1779, *Governors' Letters*, II, 33-34.

56. General Andrew Lewis and Fleming to Jefferson, Botetourt, August 31, 1779, Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Madison, Wisc., 1917), pp. 50-52. (Hereafter cited as Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat*.)

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It was far from easy for Fleming to furnish all the men asked of him. In 1776, before warfare began, there were only one thousand six hundred men of military age in Botetourt County,⁵⁷ and obviously this number would soon be depleted, even if all of them could be used as soldiers. Some, however, were needed at home to perform services essential to the success of those engaged in fighting the enemy: gathering grain, collecting ammunition, building wagons, and the like. Others were required to defend the settlements from scattered bands of savages, to form a sort of home guard. Still others were called on to protect the lead mines so necessary for the defense of the entire western country or to put down the occasional Loyalist insurrections. It was Fleming's task to provide men for all these activities as well as to furnish troops for military service when called on to do so.

The problem of procuring more men arose first within a month of Fleming's assumption of his duties as county lieutenant. The Virginia Convention, at its May, 1776, session, ordered the enlistment of four hundred men for the defense of the frontier, one company of a hundred men to be raised in Botetourt County.⁵⁸ The Committee of Safety on June 20 directed Fleming to comply with this order and to march the troops without delay to Fincastle County.⁵⁹ Fleming was able to obey with little difficulty, for he simply ordered divisions from companies already organized under his command to join the main forces at the rendezvous on the Holston River.⁶⁰ Soon came orders to furnish a hundred and fifty men for the Cherokee expedition, and these, too, were immediately forthcoming.⁶¹ Then, on top of this, Fleming received two requisitions for men at the same time. The Council at Williamsburg directed him to supply half of the hundred troops for the garrison at Fort Randolph,⁶² and Lieutenant-

57. "The Number of Men of Military Age in Virginia in 1776," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII (1910), 34-35.

58. Hening, IX, 135-36. It should be noted that this act of the Virginia Convention was not so much to supplement the forces already raised as to provide replacements for those whose terms of service had expired.

59. Journal of the Committee of Safety, June 20, 1776, *Journals*, I, 32; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, VIII, 213. Edmund Pendleton, President, to Fleming, Williamsburg, June 20, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 167-68.

60. Fleming to Capt. William McClenechan, Botetourt, July 16, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 168-69.

61. Fleming to Preston, August 2, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 174-76.

62. Journal of the Council, September 9, 1776, *Journals*, I, 151-52; *Governors' Letters*, I, 39.

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Governor Page warned him to hold in readiness some militia to go to the assistance of the Indian Commissioners at Fort Pitt if they asked for help.⁶³ Apparently the latter were not needed, for there is no record of Botetourt soldiers being sent on such an errand, but even without those the movement of the men in Fleming's charge was sufficient to indicate continuous activity during 1776.

The spring of 1777 brought renewed calls for more men. Not only was Botetourt required to garrison Fort Randolph with a hundred of its militia,⁶⁴ but Governor Henry sent orders to Fleming to embody fifty men to join a like number from Montgomery County to protect the settlers in Kentucky.⁶⁵ Then began the fun, for it was found very difficult to raise the necessary number for the garrison at Fort Randolph.⁶⁶ Evidently the required quota was finally procured, for no more was heard of the matter. But when General Hand sent word that he wanted two hundred men from Botetourt for long terms of service,⁶⁷ a real explosion took place. The officers of Botetourt thought the general's demand excessive, and a court martial was held to protest against his action.⁶⁸ Fleming wrote the Governor that two hundred men were more than could be spared, as "we have almost a Frontier of our own to provide for & likewise to support Montgomery County."⁶⁹ Henry was unsympathetic, and replied that he wished Fleming to furnish the number of troops Hand required.⁷⁰ Fleming must have succeeded, in spite of the difficulties he had previously named, for when Hand's expedition was abandoned the general thanked him for his readiness to assist and implied that if others had been equally coöperative the campaign might have turned out other-

63. Page to Fleming, September 9, 1776, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 196-197; *Governors' Letters*, I, 38-39.

64. Journal of the Council, February 12, 1777, *Journals*, I, 338; Henry to Fleming, undated, *Governors' Letters*, I, 218.

65. Henry to Preston, Williamsburg, March 10, 1777, Henry, III, 44; *Governors' Letters*, I, 117-18.

66. Stuart to Fleming, Greenbrier, March 21, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 239-41.

67. Hand to Fleming, Redstone, August 12, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 42-43.

68. Report of court martial, dated August 29, 1777, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

69. Fleming to Henry, undated, draft in *ibid.*

70. Henry to Fleming, Williamsburg, September 7, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 74-76; *Governors' Letters*, I, 186.

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wise.⁷¹ Again, therefore, Fleming had reason to congratulate himself on his success in fulfilling the requisitions made on him.

Matters became more difficult, however, in 1778. An increasing number of demands for men from widely scattered places made it nearly impossible for Fleming to send troops wherever and whenever they were asked of him. Fort Randolph, as usual, required several successive levies for its garrison, and in at least one instance the orders of the Virginia Council and General Hand's requests conflicted as to the number of men needed there.⁷² There was some discussion as to the proper guard for the new post at Kelly's, though what was done about it is not clear from the records.⁷³ Then, during May, Fleming was called on to help defend the frontiers of the neighboring county, Montgomery. Preston, who was in command there, asked for aid from other places, Pittsylvania and Henry counties, but Governor Henry directed that Fleming be the one to provide troops if they were necessary.⁷⁴ But by far the largest order for men, and the one which raised the most objection, was General McIntosh's request for two hundred men for his expedition against the Indian towns. The Council advised the Governor to direct the county lieutenants to draw out the men McIntosh wanted,⁷⁵ but the excessive demands made on all the counties caused violent reactions. Evidently, those with McIntosh expected some such outburst, for enclosed in the official request for Botetourt's two hundred men was a letter from Colonel Sampson Matthews, one of the Indian Commissioners, urging Fleming to exert himself to send the troops.⁷⁶ Colonel Christian's protest was almost profane, though the attitude which it reflected did result in the countermanding of McIntosh's orders by the Council.⁷⁷

71. Hand to Fleming, Botetourt, December 3, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 171-72.

72. Journal of the Council, March 27 and October 5, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 256, 312-13; *Journals*, II, 191. Hand to Fleming, March 27, 1778, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

73. Preston to Fleming, June 2, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 66; Fleming to Henry, undated draft, MS., Fleming papers, WLU.

74. Preston to Fleming, May 10, 1778; Henry to Preston, May 17; Henry to Fleming, May 17, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, pp. 47-48, 53, 54.

75. Journal of the Council, August 6, 1778, *Journals*, II, 174; *Governors' Letters*, I, 305.

76. Matthews to Fleming, (October 30) 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 155.

77. Christian to Trigg, Haw-bottom, November 22, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 177-78; Journal of the Council, November 20, *Journals*, II, 220-21.

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Whether or not this recalcitrant attitude was the cause, after it fewer and fewer requests were made of western Virginia and of Fleming for men to defend the frontier. For the next year, little was said about furnishing more men, a fact which is all the more remarkable because the most successful achievements of the whole period were accomplished under Colonel Brodhead during that year. Nevertheless, the practice of calling on Botetourt County for reënforcements did not cease with Fleming's resignation as county lieutenant, but was continued at intervals until the end of the war.⁷⁸ Fleming was more or less successful in raising the men demanded of him, and while the matter of furnishing troops was his most constant problem it was not the most vexing one.

5. *Supplies*—The problem of providing food, clothing, ammunition, and horses for the soldiers sent from Botetourt to serve on the frontier was, indeed, difficult to solve. How were groups of men far from home and at widely scattered posts to be supplied with the articles necessary to ensure their success in the border warfare? Where should Fleming get the goods, and how should he transport them to the troops? These and similar questions arose during the course of the western campaigns, and it was always Fleming's duty to find a way out of the difficulties. Sometimes clothing or ammunition was sent direct from the eastern part of the State; sometimes money was forwarded to be used in the purchase of horses or grain or salt. Often—particularly in the case of things to eat—neither supplies nor money were provided and it became necessary to apply pressure on the people of the countryside in order to obtain what the troops needed. Whatever the situation, Fleming was the one in command, and he had to discover a solution on every occasion.

Thus, during the autumn of 1776, Fleming had to face at least three problems of supply, each of a widely different nature and origin. Captain John Stuart, writing in September about the building of a fort on the Greenbrier, remarked that the people up the river were entirely destitute of ammunition; and, although there are no records to prove that Fleming sent any powder or flints, it is fairly safe to say that the county lieutenant of Botetourt did not leave those people

78. *Journals*, II, 260, 293, 322, 347, 355.

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long without some means of defense.⁷⁹ Two months later, during the first days of November, when preparations were being made to stock up all the posts for the winter, Andrew Donnally and Archer Matthews reported that they had purchased a large drove of cattle and hogs for the use of the men at Fort Randolph, but that they had no guard to protect the animals while on the dangerous march to that point. Fleming replied that he could not send positive directions in regard to an escort until he received instructions from Williamsburg as to the continuance of troops on the frontier.⁸⁰ Again it is impossible to say what was actually done, but since the posts were not abandoned and the garrisons needed the food, Fort Randolph probably received the cattle and hogs intended for it. At the same time that the problem of the guard for the animals arose, Captain William McKee applied to Fleming for a quantity of powder equal to that sent before, *i. e.*, twenty pounds. A half pound was little enough, he said, for each man, and doubtless that was a minimum when the dangers from the Indians were considered.⁸¹

The campaigns of 1777 were featured by the change of policy from defensive to offensive tactics, and so Fleming's problem of supply shifted somewhat to conform to the general alteration of affairs. It was necessary to outfit the several expeditions which were planned in an effort to strike sharp blows at the enemy. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Colonel John Bowyer writing to Fleming about provisions for the two companies which he was to lead against the Indians. He had pack horses, beef, and flour sufficient to last until Fort Randolph was reached, as well as tents and kettles for the whole expedition.⁸² Governor Henry corresponded with Fleming and Preston in regard to supplies for the reënforcements to be sent to Kentucky, and made arrangements as to where the meat, flour, horses, etc., were to be procured.⁸³ Nor was Fleming's responsibility over when

79. Stuart to Fleming, Greenbrier, September 3, 1776, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 193-95.

80. Donnally and Matthews to Fleming, November 1, 1776, and Fleming to Donnally and Matthews, November 3, *ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

81. McKee to Fleming, November 2, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 214-16.

82. Bowyer to Fleming, October 4, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 122-23.

83. Henry to Fleming and Preston, Williamsburg, March 29, 1777, and Fleming to Preston, April 24, *Governors' Letters*, I, 131-32; *Preston and Virginia Papers*, p. 193.

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the expeditions got under way. Not only did he have to send additional supplies occasionally, but when the troops returned he took charge of the tents, camp kettles, and other public property until they were needed again.⁸⁴

The change from defensive to offensive operations did not mean, however, that Fleming was able to surrender his duties to supply the posts. Captain John Stuart sent word in March that Captain Arbuckle had only three or four days' provisions at Fort Randolph and would be forced to abandon the fort unless a supply was received.⁸⁵ Fleming hurried some flour, salt, etc., to help out until the expected convoy from Fort Pitt arrived, and Fort Randolph was not abandoned. In October of the same year, Arbuckle reported the state of his garrison. He had, all told, 130 men, every one with a good rifle, though there were scarcely two hundred flints. The supplies on hand were: 1 keg of salt, about 1 cwt. of ammunition, between 16 and 17 wt. of powder, and over 6 wt. of lead. There were no beeves and very little flour.⁸⁶ Such was the situation at Fort Randolph, and when one realizes the long distance between that post and the closest settlements one does not wonder that sometimes the store of provisions got low. Fort Henry likewise needed attention, though the requests of its officers did not include food. Colonel Shepherd asked for a barrel of powder, 163 pounds of lead, and 300 flints, and also for a bar of steel to repair broken gun locks.⁸⁷ Apparently lead was the prime requisite, for six months later James Henderson reported to Fleming that the garrison was in great need of that article as the mines had been unable to send any.⁸⁸ As winter approached once more, clothing became the chief item of interest, and the Legislature at Williamsburg requested the county lieutenants to procure from the inhabitants of their jurisdictions one pair of shoes, a pair of

84. Journal of the House of Delegates, November 27, 1777, *Governors' Letters*, I, 206, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU. Henry wrote Fleming from Williamsburg, December 2, enclosing a copy of the above order: "You will please to conform yourself to the within Order of the House of Delegates which is sent herewith." MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

85. Stuart to Fleming, Greenbrier, March 21, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 239-41.

86. Arbuckle to Hand, Fort Randolph, October 6, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 125-27.

87. Shepherd to unknown, Wheeling, March 24, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 243-44.

88. Henderson to Fleming, Fort Henry, September 12, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 79-80.

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stockings, and gloves or mittens for each soldier sent to the Continental Army.⁸⁹ Whether any of these articles reached the men on the frontier is unknown, but if such were the case the warmth of the woolens would have been as appreciated at Fort Randolph and Fort Henry as at Valley Forge.

When the spring of 1778 rolled around, and preparations were begun for the adequate defense of the frontier, the Virginia Council decided that the county lieutenants should no longer be responsible for furnishing provisions to the soldiers on their way to the place of general rendezvous. Instead, each official was to appoint a victualler to supply the men from his county with the necessities for the march.⁹⁰ Fleming did not believe that this was a wise policy to pursue, perhaps because of the many opportunities for imposition and fraud offered under such a scheme. He persisted in the direct purchase of supplies and declined to engage any person to victual the soldiers while on the road. He was not alone in this attitude, for his neighbor, Colonel Preston of Montgomery, approved his stand, though it is not clear what action Preston himself took on the matter.⁹¹

Food was an important item in the defense of the western country, but it would do little good to give the troops all the food in the world if they did not have sufficient ammunition wherewith to fight the enemy. The shortage of lead was one of the first problems in this category to confront Fleming in 1778. Preston, when he commended Fleming for his position on the food question, noted that there was a shortage of lead at the mines, but that in eight or ten days the furnaces would be ready to supply all that was needed.⁹² It was well over a month, however, before Fleming received word that the lead for Botetourt was ready and that he might send for it when he wanted.⁹³ Perhaps it was just as well there was no sudden demand for the article during the interval.

Fleming had worries enough about ammunition for the troops from Botetourt, but in addition he had charge of the public store for

89. Journal of the House of Delegates, November 25, 1777, and Journal of the Council, December 13, *Governors' Letters*, I, 205, 217; *Journals*, II, 46-47.

90. Journal of the Council, February 26, 1778, *Journals*, II, 92; *Governors' Letters*, I, 247.

91. Preston to Fleming, April 13, 1778, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 265-68.

92. Same.

93. Preston to Fleming, May 31, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 63.

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the whole region. He built a house of squared timber, sixteen by fourteen feet, large enough to hold any supplies needed in the southwestern quarter.⁹⁴ Among the articles deposited in this structure were the one thousand five hundred pounds of best rifle powder and five thousand gun flints sent there by order of Governor Henry towards the end of June,⁹⁵ and the 1,462 pounds of gunpowder shipped by wagon during July.⁹⁶ The Governor was in full accord with Fleming's action to provide a storage place for the ammunition thus despatched to Botetourt. "I greatly approve of having a small Magazine at your House," he said. "It may serve the Occasions of the Distressed Frontiers, when supply from below cannot be had in Time. I would rather wish to increase the Quantity of powder & flints with you."⁹⁷ Indeed, he was so well satisfied that he asked Fleming to use the public ammunition as he saw fit.⁹⁸ Therefore, when people applied to Fleming in July for powder, when they could get none elsewhere, he let them take some from the public store at 12/ a lb.⁹⁹ On another occasion, he left two hundred flints with General Andrew Lewis, "as he thought," but there were five or six missing when they were counted.¹⁰⁰ Twice, also, Colonel Arthur Campbell, of Washington County, asked for the loan of one thousand good flints because he could get none from Richmond.¹⁰¹ Thus Fleming was occupied not only with his own county forces, but also with the problems of all his nearby colleagues.

The year 1778 was not wholly consumed in defensive preparations, however, and Fleming played a part in provisioning the various expeditions that were undertaken. General McIntosh's campaign against Detroit needed medicine, linen, gunpowder, flints, and nails, "without which the Expedition cannot be effected." Linen was par-

94. Fleming to Henry, July 19, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 115-17.

95. Henry to Preston, Williamsburg, June 27, 1778, *ibid.*, p. 100; *Governors' Letters*, I, 292-93.

96. Fleming to Henry, *op. cit.*

97. Henry to Fleming, Williamsburg, July 27, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 301-02; Henry, III, 187. The Governor's sister, Anne Henry, was married to Fleming's brother-in-law, William Christian, and so the cordial relations reflected in the correspondence were based on family connections as well as on friendship.

98. Henry to Fleming, Williamsburg, March 14, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 253; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, p. 225.

99. Fleming to Henry, *op. cit.*

100. Lewis to Preston, June 8, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 79.

101. Campbell to Fleming, July 25 and August 24, 1778, *ibid.*, p. 120; MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

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ticularly in demand for tents and for flour bags. As for lead, sixteen thousand pounds were wanted for the northern division and ten thousand pounds for the southern wing.¹⁰² It does not seem likely that Fleming could have furnished many of these items, except for some lead, but he did help Captain Lockhart, who was in charge of the supplies for the campaign, procure drovers to transport the stores to Fort Pitt when the Detroit phase of the affair was abandoned.¹⁰³ The importance of the problem of supply was illustrated in November, 1778, when an expedition to reënforce Colonel George Rogers Clark in the Illinois country was proposed. The difficulty which was not surmounted was the apparently impossible task of supplying provisions for the journey. The problem was given to the county lieutenants of Botetourt, Rockbridge, Washington, and Montgomery to solve, and immediately it was realized that success was not to be expected. As Preston put it, the commanding officers of the counties named were in "a country already drained of Provisions & Necessaries, and without a Shilling put into the hands of any Person."¹⁰⁴ As late as December, however, Governor Henry instructed Lieutenant-Colonel John Montgomery to get powder and flints from the public stores at Colonel Fleming's for the use of the expedition on its march.¹⁰⁵ Probably Montgomery did gather what he could, but there is definite mention in all accounts of Clark's campaign of that leader's disappointment when Montgomery appeared with so few supplies.

As in the case of the requests for more men to defend the frontier, the demands for supplies from Botetourt became less and less frequent. Perhaps there was some connection between the falling off of the calls in the two fields, because fewer provisions would be needed if fewer men were used. Possibly the government at Williamsburg recognized the fact that the western portion of the State was really drained of its resources. Probably the fighting in the South from 1778 to 1781 relieved the pressure for both men and supplies. At

¹⁰². Lockhart to Henry, Staunton, July 13, 1778, Henry, III, 184-85.

¹⁰³. Lockhart to Fleming, Fincastle, September 13, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁴. Preston to Henry, November 25, 1778, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVI (1918), 368-70.

¹⁰⁵. Henry to Montgomery, December 12, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 344-45; instructions of same date from Virginia Council to Montgomery, signed by Archibald Blair, *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, ed. James A. James (Springfield, Ill., 1912), p. 82.

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any rate, little was said to Fleming on that score after the campaigns of 1778. When the General Assembly, in May of the following year, passed its resolution ordering each county to raise for service a twenty-fifth of its militia, Fleming complied with the levy, but noted that Botetourt's great need was ammunition. He ordered five hundred pounds of gunpowder, with flints and lead in proper proportions, for emergency use and hoped to make up the deficiency from local manufacture, "as it is certain Salt Peter may be had here in quantity."¹⁰⁶ A month later, when reports of the amount and condition of arms and other military stores were required from each county lieutenant, Fleming sent in his lists along with those of his colleagues.¹⁰⁷ In August, he joined with General Andrew Lewis in an enumeration of the articles needed for the troops: axes, mattoxes, augers, knives, cross-cut saws, gimlets, nails. "Rifles," they continued, "are the properest fire Arms for Our Service we wish the board to give an encouragement to the Volunteers to furnish themselves with Guns, Shot pouches & Powder horns."¹⁰⁸

There were also various scattered requests to Fleming for assistance in outlying sections. In April, 1779, for instance, John Madison wrote that reports of activity among "our Sable Neighbours" were not reassuring, and he asked for a musket or two and some ammunition in case of danger.¹⁰⁹ Later, in June, 1780, the people of Kentucky applied for flints with which to improve their defense preparations.¹¹⁰ Thus demands for help were continually pouring in on Fleming. His house served as a central clearing house for the entire southwestern frontier, and it was his task to see that none of the inhabitants suffered for lack of sufficient guns and ammunition to beat off possible Indian attacks. This, added to the even larger matters of furnishing Botetourt's troops with the necessary supplies and seeing that the expeditions into the enemy country were properly equipped and provisioned, was indeed an arduous undertaking.¹¹¹ Fleming was

106. Fleming to unknown, Botetourt, June 7, 1779, draft, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

107. Printed letter, dated at Williamsburg, July 8, 1779, signed by James Innes, *ibid.*

108. Lewis and Fleming to Jefferson, Botetourt, August 31, 1779, Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat*, pp. 50-52.

109. Madison to Fleming, April 5, 1779, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 276.

110. Preston to Fleming, June 15, 1780, *Preston and Virginia Papers*, p. 221.

111. There is no indication that Botetourt men and supplies went to eastern Virginia at any time during the war, and only a few were sent to help in the South.

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surprisingly successful when all the difficulties of transportation, the lack of money, and the constant demands are considered.

6. *Indian Relations; Loyalists; the Revolution*—Fleming's personal relations with the Indians were slight, and except for one instance were confined entirely to sending troops against them. This is not surprising when one realizes that Botetourt County was somewhat to the south of the main field of operations and that Fleming's home, "Belmont," was not on the outer fringe of settlements where the red men were more likely to be encountered. The one time Fleming did communicate directly with the Indians was after the murder of Cornstalk at Fort Randolph in November, 1777, and his letter was caused by that unfortunate event. As has been noted, the deliberate killing of the Shawnee chief and his companion hostages at Point Pleasant created alarm along the frontier because it was thought the Indians would retaliate with fire and tomahawk. Immediately, steps were taken to pacify the enraged savages, and along with the other measures adopted to mollify the Indians, Colonel Preston and Colonel Fleming were directed to write to the chiefs and warriors of the Shawnee Nation to explain the circumstances and to express the sorrow of the Virginia officials at the murder. Why these two men were chosen to represent the Governor and Council in this correspondence is not clear, unless their positions as leaders on the frontier and their abilities as diplomatic letter writers made them the logical selections.

Apparently Preston wrote a draft of the letter to the Shawnees and sent it to Fleming for alteration and correction.¹¹² How much of this was included in the final copy it is difficult to say, for Fleming himself drew up a tentative draft.¹¹³ The two lieutenants got together during the second week of March to discuss the proper location for a post on the Greenbrier River, and doubtless they compared their writings at that time. At any rate, when they reported to Governor Henry that Kelly's was the place selected for the new post, they also remarked that a printed copy of the proclamation for apprehending Cornstalk's murderers might tend to convince the Indians that the killing was

¹¹². Preston to Fleming, February (?) 29, 1778, *ibid.*, p. 216.

¹¹³. Draft, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

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abhorred by the government.¹¹⁴ Henry accepted this suggestion and in his reply to the county officials enclosed printed copies of the proclamation, to be distributed in the counties and to the Indians, "with whom I ardently wish a Treaty."¹¹⁵ On receipt of these copies, Fleming and Preston completed their letter to the Shawnees and sent it on its way. They expressed, on behalf of the people of Virginia, the deepest concern and sincerest sorrow at the murder committed by some rash young people, and hoped that the accident would not lessen the friendship between the races. They assured the Indians that the Governor and "all the Great Men of Virginia" detested the crime and were much concerned that the chain of friendship should not contract rust. To convince the Shawnees of their sincerity, copies of the Governor's proclamations were enclosed, and the red men were assured that the guilty soldiers would be punished in the same manner as if they had killed some of their own people. Fleming and Preston then proposed a meeting at Fort Randolph to show to the Indians Virginia's peaceable disposition and to arrange for reparations. A string of white wampum was sent along as a token of good will.¹¹⁶ Whatever the effect of this letter on the Indians—and there is no way to discover how it was received, except that warfare was continued with especial bitterness—it concluded Fleming's career as a diplomat in Indian affairs. He did not again attempt intervention with the tribes; certainly he had enough to think about in other fields.

One of the problems which confronted him, in addition to the more routine matters of men and supplies, was the question of what to do with the Loyalists, those inhabitants of the frontier region who remained faithful to the English cause. At intervals throughout the war—in fact about once every year—Fleming was called on to combat the threat of Tory activity. As early as June, 1776, Captain John Nevill reported that some of the leading men in the western country were strongly suspected of disaffection to the common cause.¹¹⁷ Flem-

114. Preston and Fleming to Henry, Botetourt, March 14, 1778, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 223-25. Receipt of this letter is mentioned in the journal of the Council for March 27. *Journals*, II, 111.

115. Henry to Preston and Fleming, Williamsburg, March 27, 1778, *Governors' Letters*, I, 257.

116. Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, "Virginia," April 3, 1778, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 258-61.

117. Nevill to the President of Virginia Committee of Safety, Fort Pitt, June 13, 1776, "Virginia Legislative Papers," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVI, 54-55.

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ing's papers do not show that he was personally concerned at that time, but that he was well acquainted with at least one prominent Loyalist is indicated by a letter from John Brander, Jr., written in March 1777, as the latter was preparing to leave the country because of his British sympathies. Brander expected to leave Virginia immediately, he said, and to sail for Bermuda in a fortnight, as he was convinced it would be impossible to stay after the ensuing campaign opened. "National Predjudice runs so very high," he continued, "that a bare Neutrality will not do." He hoped the next summer's campaign would end the war, and he assured Fleming that Great Britain would put forth vigorous exertions to bring that about.¹¹⁸ One would like to know what were Fleming's reactions to the last sentiment, for when he received Brander's letter he was in the midst of preparations to reënforce the border posts. The only really important clash with the Tories occurred in the early summer of 1779. Then an organized group of British sympathizers attempted to capture the lead mines which were so vital to the armament of the frontier troops. Colonel William Campbell marched with about 130 men to oppose the Loyalists and found most of them scattered. Those who still kept together were shot, hung, or whipped, and Colonel Christian, who reported the whole affair to Fleming, believed this treatment "will settle the Tories for a While."¹¹⁹

Somewhat akin to the problem of the Loyalists was the question of caring for the prisoners of war who were sent to Botetourt. That there were some prisoners in the county in 1777 is indicated by Fleming's instructions to Ensign Hutchison concerning the guarding of those in his care.¹²⁰ A year later, in November, 1778, Joseph Holmes, who had charge of all the prisoners in Virginia, directed Fleming to take up and send to Winchester all prisoners in Botetourt. If, however, there were only a few, Fleming should send them to the Staunton gaol, informing Holmes of their names and the corps to which they belonged.¹²¹ This matter of the prisoners was not very important, but it is a fair sample of the minor questions which arose to

118. Brander to Fleming, Bedford, March 4, 1777, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

119. Christian to Fleming, Mahanaim, July 23, 1779, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, p. 405.

120. Fleming to Hutchison, September 17, 1777, *Preston and Virginia Papers*, p. 211.

121. Holmes to Fleming, Winchester, November 16, 1778, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

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complicate Fleming's administration of county affairs during the Revolution.

Fleming's interest, however, was not limited to his own country, frontier, or State. As a Scotsman by birth and education, and as a former surgeon's mate in the British Navy, he followed closely the course of the entire struggle. There was, however, no question of his loyalty to his adopted home, and as an official on the outskirts of the settlements he watched with interest George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois country. Fleming was kept informed of the happenings there through correspondence with various members of Clark's expedition, including Colonel John Todd, who wrote from Kaskaskia in August, 1779, to describe the existing situation.¹²² In November of the same year, Clark himself wrote Fleming about Indian affairs, and expressed the opinion that an expedition should be launched against the savages.¹²³

Further than that, Fleming maintained a kind of news bureau concerning the movements of the Continental Army. There are no records to show what comments Fleming himself made on the campaigns of the warfare in the North and the South, but numerous letters addressed to "Belmont" either gave information, asked for it, or expressed reactions to news already received. Thus, in November, 1776, Captain William McKee reported that he had learned from private letters that General Howe had sent ten thousand men up the North River above the American lines. He continued by commenting on the "affair at Ticonderoga," which, he said, would be an important blow if true.¹²⁴ The next year, Colonel Preston, in a letter to Fleming about the murder of Cornstalk, rejoiced at the glorious news of the signal success at Saratoga, which, he thought, would encourage friends of the American cause both at home and abroad.¹²⁵ It is slightly surprising to discover a person on the frontier recognizing so early the international possibilities of Burgoyne's defeat, and this item

122. Todd to Fleming, Kaskaskia, August 18, 1779, *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790*, ed. Clarence W. Alvord (Springfield, Ill., 1909), pp. 109-10.

123. Clark to Fleming, Louisville, October 22, 1779, Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat*, pp. 103-04.

124. McKee to Fleming, November 2, 1776, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution*, pp. 214-16.

125. Preston to Fleming, Smithfield, December 2, 1777, Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, pp. 168-70.

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may be taken as a commentary on the high mental calibre of both Preston and Fleming.

The hard winter of 1777-78, which the Continental Army spent at Valley Forge, did not escape Fleming's attention, either as it concerned the frontier or farther afield. Colonel William Russell told Fleming in March, 1778, about conditions at the camp near Philadelphia, and mentioned the discontent which prevailed among the officers there.¹²⁶ Later, Colonel Christian described General Howe's flight from the Pennsylvania city and hazarded the guess that he would be captured.¹²⁷ Then, in July, Colonel Arthur Campbell, hearing rumors of the battle of Monmouth Courthouse, asked, "can it be so, that the famed Gen. Lee is turned traitor to the cause of liberty" [?].¹²⁸ The wide spread of the data which Fleming gathered concerning the events of the Revolution is shown in Christian's letter, already mentioned. In that document, not only was Howe's evacuation of Philadelphia set forth, but there were also comments on the assistance given by France to the United States, and on the capture of the people about Natchez and their parole on condition that they not oppose the American cause.¹²⁹ Few happenings of importance escaped Fleming's attention, it seems, and one wonders if he did not have a far broader outlook on the war as a whole than would naturally be expected considering his location and the difficult communication of his time.

Fleming's work as county lieutenant of Botetourt was well done. He was a faithful public servant who subordinated his personal interests to the cause of the whole; he devoted his time and energy to the defense of the frontier. He continued steadily at work except when his presence was required in Williamsburg as a member of the Senate, and later, when he served on the commission to settle land titles in Kentucky. He faced the various problems which arose—those concerned with men, supplies, the Indians, the Loyalists—with courage

126. Russell to Fleming, Valley Forge, March 1, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 209-14.

127. Christian to Fleming, Botetourt, July 8, 1778, *Calendar of the Tennessee and Kings Mountain Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (Madison, Wisc., 1929), p. 13.

128. Campbell to Fleming, Washington Co., July 25, 1778, Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, pp. 120-21.

129. Christian to Fleming, *op. cit.*

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and determination. He worked harmoniously with his colleagues, and did much to advance that spirit of coöperation and united effort which developed during the Revolutionary period, and which was so necessary for the success of the American troops. His house served as a center for the activities of the border country, not only because he built nearby a store for the public supplies, but because he was a dominant figure in the land with wide connections throughout the State and country. He succeeded in his duties where others in similar positions failed because he was able to work calmly towards the end in view. His efforts to carry out orders to draft the militia were not met with "violent & riotous behaviour," as was the case in Loudon County. He escaped the experience of the lieutenant of Louisa County, who was suspended from office as a result of an investigation of his conduct by a court martial.¹³⁰ At a time when a weaker man might have been the undoing of all that had gone before, Fleming remained throughout the Revolutionary period a firm keystone in the defense of Virginia.

¹³⁰. *Journals*, II, 18, 93.

James Ogilvie and Washington Irving

BY RICHARD BEALE DAVIS, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, THE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA



IN 1852 William C. Preston¹ wrote to his old friend Washington Irving concerning the purchase of a complete edition of Irving's works. Near the close of the letter Preston touched upon a subject which had once been most familiar to both of them.

. . . . I have always hoped to see from your pen some account of our old friend Ogilvie, that wonderful example of the solemn comical, that real Quixotte [*sic*]; but I hasten to shut off these recollections which otherwise flood my letter. . . .²

Evidently Preston did not know that Irving had published a magazine story³ in 1839 in which Ogilvie, or his counterpart, was a most prominent character. The letter may have been of some influence, however, for Irving republished this same story in his collection *Wolferf's Roost*⁴ two years after the reminder from Preston. What Preston may have been thinking of when he made his suggestion was Irving's manuscript notes⁵ for the projected novel, "Rosalie," notes which were probably jotted down during the period of closest Preston-Irving intimacy; in them also Ogilvie's counterpart is an important, and certainly the most carefully delineated, of the characters.

1. (1794-1860). Preston, member of a prominent Virginia family, was educated at the South Carolina College and under William Wirt in Richmond. Later he was U. S. Senator from South Carolina and president of the South Carolina College. It is probable that Preston first met Irving in England in 1817 (cf. Minnie C. Yarbrough, *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston*, Chapel Hill, 1933, p. 32), although Professor Stanley T. Williams (*The Life of Washington Irving*, 2 vols., New York, 1935, I, p. 423) mentions 1813 or 1817 as the date. For more of this friendship, see Part I below.

2. From a letter of March 31, from Columbia, South Carolina, in the "Private Papers of Washington Irving" in the manuscript collections of the New York Public Library.

3. "Mountjoy," published in the *Knickerbocker*, XIV, Nos. 5 and 6, pp. 402-05, 522-38 (November and December, 1830.)

4. (New York, 1855.) The copyright is actually 1854.

5. Cf. Washington Irving, *Tour in Scotland and Other Manuscript Notes*, edited with a critical introduction by Stanley T. Williams (New Haven, 1927).

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Whatever Preston did or did not know, he was conscious that Ogilvie was a human model entirely suited to Irving's tastes and abilities with pen or with pencil,⁶ and a human being in whom Irving had found much entertainment and perhaps some personal interest.

Although Irving's two principal biographers⁷ have mentioned casually the Ogilvie-Irving relationship, neither has given much space to one of the most interesting of Irving's early friendships, or to the extent of the influence Ogilvie may have had on Irving, or the use Irving and his friends may have made of Ogilvie as a model.⁸ On the other hand, though Ogilvie has been considered important enough to warrant his inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*⁹ and in the *Dictionary of American Biography*,¹⁰ neither of his biographers in these works appears conscious of his relations with Irving or the Knickerbocker group.

It is the purpose of this paper to show (1) that the personal relationships between Ogilvie and Irving and the latter's friends is a more interesting and significant chapter in literary history than has been realized, and (2) that something more of Irving's methods and inclinations in his early period may be learned from a study of his use of Ogilvie as a model. The first of these purposes may best be attained through a consideration of the personal relationship between the two from about 1809 until Ogilvie's death in 1820; the second through a comparative study of a character in Irving's "Rosalie" and "Mountjoy," and other contemporary appraisals of Ogilvie as an individual.

6. See *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, for examples of Irving's gift for pencil caricature. See below what Irving's friends, the artists Leslie and Newton, did with Ogilvie as a model.

7. Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (4 vols., New York, 1864) and Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving*, *op. cit.*, indices.

8. Although Professor Williams notes the obvious parallel between the character reminiscent of Ogilvie in both his *Life* (II, p. 324) and *Tour in Scotland* (p. 93), he does not connect the character with Ogilvie. He mentions Ogilvie in relation to Irving in 1809, but in commenting on a letter to Irving in 1817 he speaks of Irving's "new friend, James Ogilvie" (*Life*, II, p. 156). Pierre M. Irving remarks that Ogilvie was *probably* the model for this character, but goes no further (*Life and Letters*, IV, p. 189). He also is confused concerning Ogilvie (*Life and Letters*, IV, p. 369).

9. XLII, p. 18, by Thomas Bayne.

10. XIII, pp. 645-46, by Josiah Morse.

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I

James Ogilvie, born in Aberdeen,¹¹ Scotland, about 1775,¹² had enjoyed an unusual career in America before he became acquainted with Washington Irving. Emigrating¹³ to Virginia at the age of nineteen, he almost at once became a pedagogue. Energetic and ambitious,¹⁴ he had by 1806 conducted two successful academies in eastern Virginia. In that year he established, apparently under the patronage of Jefferson, a school in the hamlet of Milton, only a few miles from Monticello. According to his own account,¹⁵ Ogilvie labored from dawn until midnight in his teaching¹⁶ and in preparing lectures for public exhibitions¹⁷ on subjects of moral or timely interest.¹⁸

11. He may have been the James Ogilvie who graduated from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1790 (cf. Thomas Bayne, "James Ogilvie," *D.N.B.*)

12. Writers on Ogilvie have been confused or uncertain regarding his birth date. The *D.N.B.* article gives 1760; the *D.A.B.* omits the birth date entirely. The date 1775 is fairly well established, however, by a letter from Ogilvie to Francis Gilmer (May 23, [1812]) in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, in which Ogilvie remarks that he is in the thirty-eighth year of his age (cf. William P. Trent, *English Culture in Virginia*, Baltimore, 1889, p. 31, and Richard B. Davis, *Francis Walker Gilmer: Life and Learning in Jefferson's Virginia*, Richmond, 1939, p. 22). Also in the "Supplementary Narrative" to his own *Philosophical Essays* (Philadelphia, 1816, p. i), Ogilvie says that he gave up teaching in the thirty-fourth year of his age, which is clearly 1807 or 1808 (cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. i, ff.).

13. Josiah Morse, "James Ogilvie," *D.A.B.*, *op. cit.*

14. By a letter apparently dated 1795, Ogilvie was writing to Thomas Jefferson from Fredericksburg inviting the statesman to observe his system of education and see the examinations at the academy. On April 11, 1802, Ogilvie wrote to Jefferson from Stevensburg inviting him to the public examination of the pupils of the academy there (cf. Calendar of the Jefferson Correspondence, *Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State*, Washington, No. 8, 1894-95, p. 430). Evidently the wooing of Jefferson was successful, as noted above (cf. *Bulletin of the Bureau*, *op. cit.*, letter of January 26, 1806; also James Ogilvie, "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, p. v).

15. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. v-vii.

16. A former pupil, writing a generation after Ogilvie was dead, gives convincing proof of Ogilvie's ability to impress and inspire the youthful mind (cf. "H. of Richmond," "Recollections of the Late James Ogilvie, Earl of Findlater," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, pp. 534-37, September, 1848; also "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, p. lv, and "Appendix," *Philosophical Essays*, *op. cit.*, pp. ci-cxxi.)

17. Undoubtedly in this latter activity he was already largely motivated by that vanity and voracious desire for praise to which his contemporaries give abundant testimony (cf. William C. Crafts, "The Late Mr. Ogilvie, the Orator," *A Selection in Prose and Poetry from the Miscellaneous Writings of the Late William Crafts*, Charleston, 1828, p. 279; also [John Rodman], *Fragment of a Journal of a Sentimental Philosopher* . . . , New York, 1809, pp. 7-30; or Ogilvie himself, "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. i-c). Enough is known of his character and ideals, however, to indicate his genuine interest in the dissemination, through what he called "oratory," of a sort of adult education for America (cf. Ogilvie's letters to Francis Gilmer, in Richard B. Davis, *Gilmer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-28, 374-84; also "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. i-c).

18. *E. g.*, "National Education," "Progress of Civilization," "Luxury," "Usury," "Duelling, Gaming, Suicide, and War," "Utility of Public Libraries," and "Beneficence" (cf. "Supplementary Narrative," p. liii).

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Although the Milton school should have thrived,¹⁹ by 1807 Ogilvie had moved on to Richmond and set up a new academy there. This school was certainly successful,²⁰ but Ogilvie continued his oratorical efforts, and the drudgeries of double preparation were too much for him. By 1808 he had conceived a grand plan²¹ for the mass education of America through "eloquence." Late in that year,²² leaving his strictly pedagogical activities behind him, he went forth²³ to put his plan into execution.

Beginning in Staunton, Virginia, and progressing through Washington and Baltimore, the orator reached Philadelphia. His success in the Quaker City was at first considerable; he was well received by the fashionable and the literary,²⁴ though he made the mistake on one occasion of expressing his Godwinian scepticism.²⁵ From Philadelphia he moved on to New York with the plan of continuing in New England.

It is during this visit to New York at the end of 1808 or in the early months of 1809 that Ogilvie's acquaintance with Irving is apparent.²⁶

19. Jefferson was so pleased with one of Ogilvie's lectures that he presented the orator with a handsome set of Cicero (cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, p. vii). Among his pupils were members of the prominent families of Gilmer and Rives. William P. Trent (*English Culture in Virginia, op. cit.*, p. 30) says, however, that Ogilvie had only two pupils in 1807 when he left Albemarle.

20. Among his pupils were the future Governor Duval of Florida, U. S. Senator William S. Archer, Commodore Catesby Jones, and Congressman John S. Barbour (cf. "Recollections of the Late James Ogilvie . . .," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, pp. 534-37). He had between forty and fifty pupils when he gave up his school.

21. This grandiloquent scheme was the direct outgrowth of the encouragement he had received from his local oratorical efforts. He now determined to give a series of public exhibitions in the large halls of the principal American cities; he would address audiences of the intellectual and the elegant. Through the stimulating effects of his words (or gestures) he would raise the level of learning and morals and lay the foundation for a cultural Utopia of the West.

22. On November 17, 1808, Ogilvie wrote to "Joseph Cabel [*sic*]" of Amherst, Virginia, of his first success, in Philadelphia, and of his plans for a tour of New England. The letter is in the possession of the Boston Public Library.

23. Ogilvie gives ("Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. ix-xii) a very dramatic account of the moment of decision, and quite frankly admits that his closest friend, Dr. Walter Jones, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, tried to dissuade him.

24. The Wistar circle; then or later the Abbé Correa and Robert Walsh became his friends; Charles Brockden Brown attended his lectures and expressed considerable interest (cf. "Supplementary Narratives," *op. cit.*, pp. xxii-xxvii, and Richard B. Davis, *Gilmer, op. cit.*, pp. 383-84).

25. Reproved for his rashness by Dr. Rush and for his impiety by Bishop White, he naively confessed his regret for his admission, and promised that it would not happen again. For the time being, however, he felt it best to separate himself from the hornet's nest he had uncovered. He hastened his departure for New York (cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. xxii-xxvii).

26. It possibly began earlier. In 1807 Irving had been an interested spectator and "legal henchman" at Burr's trial in Richmond, and had managed to form an acquaintance

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Evidently Ogilvie's reputation,²⁷ good and bad, preceded him to the city. Soon his talents made for him a sort of celebrity, or notoriety, which he enjoyed during the several months of his stay. Irving, writing from Kinderhook, in May, 1809, to his friend Brevoort, suggests the attention Ogilvie enjoyed:

. . . . Write me if there is any more news about the Orator, the red man or any other topic of conversation. Does Cooper go out to England? How does King Stephen make out? and all the other chit chat of the day. . . .²⁸

Already, perhaps because of previous acquaintance, or genuine interest, or common Scottish ancestry,²⁹ Irving had become a warm supporter of the "orator." With his friends, among them G. S. Verplanck, J. K. Paulding, and David C. Colden, he had sponsored Ogilvie in New York society. Certain of the pious, particularly those who had reason to be irritated at the general complacency of the Irving group at this time, professed themselves indignant at the introduction of the "uncouth infidel" into fashionable drawing rooms. Ogilvie's natural eccentricities of manner and dress, and the very nature of his project, made him an easy target for satire or lampoon of any kind. John Rodman,³⁰ a litterateur eight years Irving's senior, took

with many interesting personages (Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, I, pp. 97-98). Ogilvie was then living in Richmond, well known as a progressive pedagogue and orator, and took his pupils to the Burr trial to observe the lawyers ("Recollections of the Late James Ogilvie . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 534-37). Ogilvie may have renewed an acquaintance made in Philadelphia in 1808, for Irving made frequent visits there, and both were acquainted among the *litterati*. As Rodman intimates (*Fragment of a Journal . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 11), however, Ogilvie was probably introduced to Irving through a letter the orator carried to New York from their mutual friend Joseph C. Cabell of Virginia, who had years earlier been Irving's companion in Italy.

27. See Rodman's *Fragment of a Journal . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17 for evidence that Ogilvie's heretical or sceptical or Godwinian views were well known before he reached New York.

28. Letter of May 11, 1809 (George S. Hellman, *Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort*, 2 vols., New York, 1915, p. 12). This was exactly a month and a half after the death of Matilda Hoffman.

29. Williams (*Life, op. cit.*, II, p. 243) in his discussion of the Irving genealogy states that the Irving clan in Scotland had intermarried with the Ogilvie clan. That Scottish clan kinship and national pride were strong in New York is borne out in *Fragment of a Journal . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

30. Rodman (1775-1847) was the author of *The Commercial Code of France . . .* (New York, 1814) and *An Oration Delivered before the Tammany Society* (New York, 1813). His differences with Irving probably had their roots in politics. A biographical sketch of Rodman appears in Charles H. Jones, *Genealogy of the Rodman Family* (Philadelphia, 1886, pp. 53-55).

Rodman's wife Harriet (ca. 1785-1808), much admired by Irving and his friends (Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, I, pp. 81, 401, 405) was the daughter of John Fenno, and a sister

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the occasion to attack Ogilvie rather savagely, and perhaps pay back old scores against the Irving-Verplanck-Paulding group. This he did in an interesting little pamphlet, *Fragment of a Journal of a Sentimental Philosopher during his Residence in the City of New-York*. . . .³¹

Exaggerated and ill-humored as much of the comment is, the booklet gives valuable information as to Ogilvie's New York relationships and association with the literati. In the "Advertisement" the editor asserts:

Against the itinerant propagators of infidelity—the insidious pretenders to philanthropy and benevolence,³² it is the duty of every father of a family to be vigilant. By allowing them free access to our houses, they have numberless opportunities of instilling the poison of their principles into the very bosom of domestic life. . . .³³

. . . . Let those gentlemen who have taken pains to introduce a certain wandering orator into the domestic circles of this city seriously reflect upon the consequences which may result to society. . . .³⁴

The remainder of the "Advertisement" quotes the contents of a "letter,"³⁵ which in turn reveals the existence of a diary found in a hostelry-room after the departure of a certain guest. "Incidentally" are mentioned the stains from a "dark coloured liquid, probably laudanum,"³⁶ accidentally spilt over the pages of the journal. With this opening salvo, Rodman bursts into his broadside, firing excerpts from the "philosopher's journal" itself.

of J. O. Hoffman's second wife (Williams, *Life*, I, p. 401). She had been a contributor to the *Port-Folio* (cf. Randolph C. Randall, "Authors of the *Port-Folio* Revealed in the Hall Files," *American Literature*, XI, No. 4, p. 406, January, 1940).

31. The full title is: *Fragment of a Journal of a Sentimental Philosopher, during his Residence in the City of New-York. To Which is added, a Discourse upon the Nature and Properties of Eloquence as a Science, delivered to his Disciples Previous to his Departure. Found among Some Papers left at his Lodgings.* (New-York, E. Sergeant, 1809.) The pamphlet was ascribed to Irving himself several times (cf. Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 412). The Boston Public Library copy has the names written in the margin of the persons to whom Rodman alluded by initial only, and a handwritten note at the bottom of page thirty states that "The names were furnished to . . . [sic] by the Author."

32. Ogilvie made it a practice to give one lecture on "benevolence" in each city he visited, and to devote the proceeds to some charitable institution connected with the city. See the letter to the Directress of the Richmond Orphan Asylum, July, 1814 (Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library) appropriating \$105 to that institution, or the list Ogilvie gives in the "Supplementary Narrative," pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

33. *Fragment*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

35. The "letter" is signed "G. O——."

36. Ogilvie quite frankly admits his use of laudanum, especially when he was preparing his orations (cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, p. ix).

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On Thursday "O" supped with Mr. D—— [C. D. Colden]³⁷ and characterized himself and his host rather shrewdly. On Friday P—— [G. Verplanck] called

. . . . talked a great deal to me about my dress and manners—friendly advice, but know better than to follow it—must please the women—they are tired of the manners and dress of a gentleman. . . .³⁸

As the account unrolls, Ogilvie is made out the complete humbug: his affected gestures³⁹ and ridiculous white toga on the rostrum, the liberties he took with the ladies in his pose as a "natural man,"⁴⁰ his unashamed flattery⁴¹ of those who might help him, all are bitingly presented. As with most caricature, there is more than a grain of truth in the depiction.

The orator is made to reveal more of himself through his comment upon each new acquaintance. Irving appears under the guise of "T":

Saturday. Young T. came to see me—had a letter to him from Mr. C.⁴² a true Godwinian, and friend of Mr. Jefferson's—T. interesting young man—has genius—wrote a book, which I took care to praise—has read a good deal in the authors of the new school, and a little tinged with their notions—don't admire Dr. Johnson—like him for that—much thought of here—must have his good opinion—will go far with the public—asked his advice about an oration—even altered it to please his taste.⁴³

After a few more similar excerpts from the "Journal," Rodman concludes by "quoting" the orator's "Discourse upon Eloquence," delivered just before departing from New York. Ogilvie's parting words to his "followers" begin with his own definition of "eloquence," which is

. . . . *the faculty of amalgamating, combining and arranging the ideas, thoughts and language of different authors, and delivering the result with suitable gesticulations.* ⁴⁴

37. The names in brackets are those written in the margins of the Boston Public Library copy of the *Fragment*. They are spelled as given.

38. *Fragment, op. cit.*, p. 8. Rodman goes on here to ridicule Ogilvie's slovenly dress, his habit of borrowing ideas and quotations without acknowledgment, and his atheism and Godwinism.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 31-32.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 19.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

42. Jos. C. Cabell. Margin of Boston Public Library copy has "Mr. Cabel."

43. *Fragment, op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 31. The italics are those of the author of the pamphlet.

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Whatever truths Rodman may have laid bare, such an attack was to the Irving group *lèse majesté*, for they fancied themselves the arbiters of New York's literary fashions. Such reflections on themselves and their tastes⁴⁵ were not to be borne.⁴⁶ Irving himself is said to have written their reply.⁴⁷ He answered Rodman point for point, and proved that the Irving group, if Rodman was to be their only rival, deserved to continue their reign as New York's leading satirists and wits. Literary billingsgate⁴⁸ was not the least of their scourges, but contempt was the most lashing.

In the concluding pages the writer⁴⁹ summed up his case and his opinion of Ogilvie at the same time:

45. Although he drove unerringly at Ogilvie's weak spots, Rodman did the orator a considerable injustice in denying sincerity and a genuinely effective platform manner (cf. E. T. Channing's review of Ogilvie's *Philosophical Memoirs* in the *North American Review*, IV, pp. 378 ff). George Ticknor, a scholar of sound literary tastes, comments, in his recollections of his period under Dr. Gardiner in Boston, on the distinguished personages often present at Gardiner's table. Among them was "James Ogilvie, a Scotchman, who gave very striking lectures in Boston, on various subjects, and made very effective recitations from Scott, Campbell and More, some of which he sometimes repeated for us after supper." (George S. Hillard, *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, 2 vols., Boston, 1876, I, p. 8.)

46. Professor Williams (*Life, op. cit.*, I, p. 125) uses a letter from J. H. Payne to a Mr. Ritchie (December 13, 1810) as a basis for the account of a meeting between this clique and Rodman. (The letter, which belonged to the late T. F. Madigan, is no longer available.) The Irving group was one day, soon after the appearance of the pamphlet, gathered at the Hoffmans when Rodman came in. Suspecting or fully aware of its authorship, they attacked it so savagely that Rodman departed in fury. He was unwise enough to hit back in a newspaper communication full of personal denunciation and abuse. The quarrel continued, reaching its climax in *The New-York Review; or Critical Journal*, discussed below.

47. "*The New-York Review; or Critical Journal*, 'To be Continued as Occasion Requires.' March, 1809. Containing Strictures on a Pamphlet Entitled '*Fragment of a Journal of a Sentimental Philosopher*'" (Inskeep and Bradford, New York, pp. 103-119). There is an interesting copy of this work in the Boston Public Library bearing the inscription "By Washington Irving," said to be in the hand of Irving's niece, Mrs. P. M. Irving (cf. Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, I, p. 412). It was acquired by the library in 1858 (cf. letter to the author of November 8, 1940, from the Keeper of Rare Books, Boston Public Library), although it has been referred to (Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, I, p. 412), as part of the Ticknor Collection acquired in 1871. The brochure was possibly the work of several members of the group, as Professor Williams suggests (*Life*, I, p. 125), with Washington Irving having a prominent part.

48. Among the less subtle of their epithets applied to Rodman are: "brisk little cur" (p. [104]); "smirking little man . . . who carries morality in the plaits of his shirt . . . a smart, vapouring little Pharisee who judges a Christian by the cut of his garment" (p. [106]); "this strenuous advocate for morality and clean linen; who seems to have the interests of the church and the washerwoman so much at heart (p. [119]). The latter allusions hit at the ridicule (in the *Fragment*) of Ogilvie's alleged dirty linen and antiquated garments.

49. Though others of the group, as the elder Irving and Paulding, may have had hands in the stricture, this is too much like Washington Irving's later characterization of Ogilvie to leave much doubt that it is his. It is interesting to conjecture as to whether Irving's part in this pamphlet was written immediately before or after the death of Matilda Hoffman on April 26, 1809.

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. . . Such is the case with the writer [Rodman] before us, who has dragged, with all his puny and diminutive force, into the public view, an individual who, whatever may be his faults, has none to answer for to this community. A man who while here, conducted himself with unblemished innocence; whose foibles are such as often cling to the most amiable characters; and whose benevolence was exerted, in a manner which might serve as an example to those few, who have cruelly attempted to blacken his character.

What were the private opinions of Mr. O——, we will not pretend to say—[sic] as we do not arrogate to ourselves, like our author, the supreme power of judging the hearts of men. But the lectures he publicly delivered, and the whole tenor of his conversation, as far as it has reached our ears, were free from harm or reproach. We consider him, in fact a mere amusing, philosophical Quixote,⁵⁰ who had not the wickedness to devise, nor artfulness to execute, the mischiefs our windy alarmist has asserted—and whose harmless eccentricities and visionary speculations, might have excited the smile of the gay, or the compassion of the charitable; but could never deserve the unfeeling and personal lash of the censorious. . . . Multitudes of our fellow citizens, of all descriptions thronged to hear him, yet we do not find that our churches are the less attended, the order of society subverted, or infidelity more prevalent than formerly. . . .⁵¹

Ogilvie had probably departed for Boston before the hostilities had ceased. Deeply sensitive, he did not forget the insult⁵² nor the fact that Irving⁵³ had befriended him. For several years, however,

50. Irving's friends, the artists Charles R. Leslie and Gilbert Stuart Newton, used Ogilvie as a model for their "studies" of Don Quixote (*cf.* below).

51. *The New-York Review*, *op. cit.*, pp. [117-18].

52. On his second "triumphal visit" to New York in 1813 Ogilvie took up the affair again. In a letter to Francis Gilmer (Davis, *Gilmer*, *op. cit.*, p. 382) he says: ". . . I found in New York a certain John Rodman, who after my first visit five years ago had published a sort of lampoon, under the title of 'Journal of a sentimental philosopher,' for the purpose of disparaging my character and pursuits.

He had been absent from New York during the intermediate period.

I lost no time in demanding redress; without occupying your attention with a detail of this occurrence [sic], I shall only state that our correspondence closed with the following note, which was read to him by my friend Vanwyck, the late recorder of New York:

'To JOHN RODMAN

Mr. Ogilvie takes no pleasure in degrading or stigmatising any one, and is sorry to assure John Rodman, that he considers him as an infamous calumniator & abject coward, & will at all times & on all occasions whenever he condescends to speak to him, couple these ignominious epithets with his name as the qualities they express are indelibly stamped on his character.'

53. Irving and his friends continued to remember Ogilvie, as a letter from Brevoort to Irving of June 28, 1811 (Hellman, *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 26) will testify: "This letter will be accompanied by two genuine Indian orations literally interpreted. I was present at the delivery of Signack's speech . . . Ogilvy [sic] himself might have been instructed in attitudes."

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there appears to have been little communication between the two. From 1809 to 1811 Ogilvie continued his tours rather successfully. By the end of this period he had exhausted his stock of subjects, and had decided to retire to some secluded place to rehabilitate his store by study and contemplation.⁵⁴ The "natural man" was asserting himself, and Ogilvie dramatically informed his friends⁵⁵ of his decision to retire to a rural Kentucky village, far from the distractions of civilization,⁵⁴ to rekindle his inspiration.

Renewing his travelling lectures, he met with even greater success⁵⁶ than before. But for Ogilvie success meant new and wilder ambitions, and he now conceived the idea of founding schools of oratory in each of the states.⁵⁷ Although he received some encouragement,⁵⁸ the good sense of the American people was too much for even his enthusiasm. This scheme was succeeded in turn by the idea that he might become an author of eminence; therefore in 1816 he published in Philadelphia his *Philosophical Essays, to which are Subjoined, Copious Notes, Critical and Explanatory, and A Supplementary Narrative, with an Appendix*. . . .⁵⁹

This publication is the last glimpse of Ogilvie in America. The next year he was in England, perhaps with the double motive of claiming the Earldom of Findlater⁶⁰ and winning new praises for his

54. Cf. Irving, "Mountjoy," *Wolfert's Roost* (New York, 1855), pp. 66-67, and Part II below in the hero's plans for Glencoe.

55. Cf. His letter to James Madison of May 18 [no year] (*Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls* . . . , *op. cit.*, No. 4, p. 559); his letters to Francis Gilmer of May 23 [1812] (Gilmer Collection, Alderman Library, University of Virginia), February 1, 1813 (Davis, *Gilmer, op. cit.*, pp. 374-77); and "Supplementary Narrative," pp. xlv-li. Not all of his time was spent in study. In his "Supplementary Narrative" and letters to Gilmer he recounts his experiences as frontier orator and as a staff officer with the army of Generals Breckenridge and Hopkins against the Indians.

56. Among his auditors and subsequent friends, according to his own modest admission, was Jeffrey "master-critic of the Edinburgh Review" (Davis, *Gilmer, op. cit.*, p. 381.)

57. Cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, p. lxii. The plan was explained in an article in the *Port-Folio*, II, pp. 285-90 (September, 1813) by Ogilvie himself.

58. At the South Carolina College he lectured for several months with considerable success (cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. liv-lxxxi, and "Appendix," pp. ci-civ) and according to his own account, almost convinced the State Legislature that it should establish a school of oratory and rhetoric.

59. Published by John Conrad. The book was reviewed in several periodicals, including the *North American Review* critique by E. T. Channing (IV, pp. 378 ff). None were favorable (cf. *Poole's Index* for a list of the reviews).

60. Cf. articles on Ogilvie in *D.A.B.* and *D.N.B.*

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oratory. He must have renewed⁶¹ his acquaintance with Irving almost immediately after his arrival, and, if so, again came into Irving's life at a crucial⁶² moment.

The firm of the Irvings had just been assured of bankruptcy, and Washington faced the task of making his own way. Ogilvie learned of the catastrophe and wrote his friend a remarkably prophetic letter:⁶³

LONDON, July 22d, 1817

The intelligence, my dear Irving, of the misfortune you have sustained has reached me, and as it may affect the prosperity and happiness of persons near and most dear to you, all my sympathy with your feelings was awakened.

So far, however, as you are individually concerned, I should deem the language of condolence a sort of mockery.

I am perfectly confident that even in two years you will look back on this seeming disaster as the most fortunate incident that has befallen you.

Yet in the flower of youth, in possession of higher literary reputation than any of your countrymen have hitherto claimed, esteemed and beloved by all to whom you are intimately or even casually known, you are wanting but a stimulus strong enough to overcome that indolence which, in a greater or less degree, besets every human being. This seemingly unfortunate incident will supply this stimulus—you will return with renewed ardor to the arena you have for a season abandoned, and in twelve months win trophies, for which, but for this incident, you would not even have contended.

At this moment, in your secret soul, you feel aspirations and reachings, which presage and guarantee the completion of all and more than all to which I look forward. . . .

Believe me to be,

Yours most affectionately

JAMES OGILVIE

61. Ogilvie was in Philadelphia at late as October 10, 1816 (*cf.* letter from H. S. Legaré to F. W. Gilmer, Gilmer Collection, Alderman Library, University of Virginia). In July, 1817, he was writing to Irving from London, and Irving had seen him (*cf.* Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, I, p. 421, and P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters, op. cit.*, I, p. 372.)

62. Undoubtedly Ogilvie as entertainment had helped to allay the pain at the loss of Matilda Hoffman in 1809. Something might be said for Ogilvie's part in the increased sensibility and sentimentality in Irving's writings after 1809 (*cf.* Henry A. Pochmann, *Washington Irving*, American Writers Series, New York, 1934, p. lxx.)

63. P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters, op. cit.*, I, pp. 369-70. Pierre Irving makes the statement that Ogilvie is the son of "Dr. Ogilvie, the Scottish poet" and that Ogilvie had made Irving's acquaintance on a "visit" to the United States.

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Evidently Irving saw Ogilvie within the next month, for on August twenty-eighth he wrote⁶⁴ Brevoort:

. . . . Ogilvie was at London, and had just finished a short course of his exhibitions. He had lectured at Freemason's Hall. His lectures had been very well attended, considering the season; his audiences applauded, and the papers speak well of him. I did not hear any of his orations in London, and cannot tell how far his success was promoted by the exertions of American and Scotch friends. He, however, seems very well satisfied, and has gone to Cheltenham. He means to deliver orations at a few of the provincial towns, and return to London towards winter. . . .

In September Irving set off with his friend Preston on their tour of Scotland.⁶⁵ Preston had already accompanied the two Irvings on their summer tours⁶⁶ to Runcorn and Wales, and may then have heard of⁶⁷ Ogilvie. At any rate, there is good evidence⁶⁸ that the orator was a familiar topic for comment between them and that he was a personal acquaintance of Preston's. It was during this period, too, that Irving turned from the tiring bankruptcy proceedings to work on his first fiction⁶⁹ in which Ogilvie was characterized.

Evidently it was then also that Irving introduced the orator to his circle of artist friends, particularly those with American connections, Washington Allston⁷⁰, C. R. Leslie,⁷¹ and Gilbert Stuart Newton.⁷² This new friendship bore fruit, for two of the three painters just men-

64. P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 372.

65. Cf. Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 163-65; M. C. Yarborough, *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston* (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 43-50; Williams, *Tour in Scotland* (New Haven, 1927).

66. Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 163.

67. Or Preston may have known Ogilvie in Virginia or South Carolina. Preston graduated at the South Carolina College in 1812; Ogilvie did not give his series of lectures there until 1815. Ogilvie had visited Columbia, however, on his earlier tour.

68. Cf. note 1 above, and Preston's letter of 1852 quoted above.

69. "Rosalie" (cf. Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166). The second work characterizing Ogilvie, "Mountjoy," is said by Professor Williams (*Life*, II, p. 218) to have been composed in Mrs. Holloway's lodgings in London in 1818. He may mean "Rosalie" here, however, for "Mountjoy" is primarily a fragment of the former work.

70. (1779-1843) poet and painter, was born in South Carolina. He was famous for his "literary pictures." He wrote a poem called "Rosalie" (*Library of Southern Literature*, 16 vols., New Orleans, I, pp. 99-100). Also Cf. *D.A.B.* article by Raymond Weaver.

71. (1794-1859) American who became professor of painting at the Royal Academy. Best known for his "anecdotic portraits" (cf. *D.A.B.* article by William H. Downes).

72. (1794-1835) painter and royal academician born in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Nephew of Gilbert Stuart, the painter. (Cf. *D.N.B.* article by Lionel Cust.)

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tioned used Ogilvie as a model very much as Irving did.⁷³ It would be interesting to know whether the idea of Ogilvie as a Don Quixote, for so Leslie and Newton conceived him, was suggested by Irving or by one of the artists themselves.⁷³ Certainly Irving thought of his art in terms of line and color⁷⁴ as they did, and his own Ogilvie as Glencoe is but an American tilter⁷⁵ at windmills.

Early in 1818, while Irving was away from London, Allston informed him⁷⁶ of the progress of their mutual friend:

. . . . Ogilvie has returned full of health and spirits from his success in Scotland. He has overcome his old enemy laudanum, and looks like another being. Leslie begs to be remembered. . . .

Though Ogilvie may have been full of success and good spirits, Irving was at the moment weighed down with premonitions of literary failure. While Ogilvie had been wandering through his native Britain, Irving had been working feverishly⁷⁷ at the first numbers of the *Sketch Book*. Although at times personally satisfied with them, generally the author was gloomily apprehensive of their literary quality and potential appeal. The darkness just before the dawn of his greatest popularity was one of the most disturbed moments in Irving's career.

Evidently he had confided some of his fears to Ogilvie, for early in 1819 the orator attempted⁷⁸ to cheer him:

. . . . I am impatient for the arrival of the first number of your *Sketch Book*, because I feel assured that nothing else is wanting to restore the equipoise of your mind, the steadiness of your intellectual exertions, and to prevent these occasional fits of depression which I can never witness or even think of, without feelings of sincere and even painful sympathy. . . .

As soon as the numbers of the *Sketch Book* actually arrived, Ogilvie did more than express his belief in the author to the author. About

73. See note 50 above and text of the *New-York Review* . . . , *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18. If Irving was the author of the summary of Ogilvie in the *New-York Review*, he had by 1809 already characterized him as Quixote.

74. Cf. Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 169-70.

75. See Part II of this paper below.

76. P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 399. Postscript of letter.

77. Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 169-75.

78. P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 423.

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September 13, 1819, he gave William Godwin, always his idol and now a personal acquaintance, a copy of one of the numbers. Evidently Ogilvie requested a written reply that he might show it to Irving, for the letter found its way into the Irving papers.⁷⁹ There can be little doubt that the ruffled spirit of Irving the Anglophile was soothed by this sign of approval from one of the British literary lions. Despite the more than faint condescension of tone in the letter, his nephew-biographer quotes it with some pride:⁸⁰

DEAR SIR:

You desire me to write to you my sentiments on reading the *Sketch Book*, No. II, and I most willingly comply with your request.

Everywhere I find in it the marks of a mind of the utmost elegance and refinement, a thing as you know that I was not exactly prepared to look for in an American. . . . Each of the essays is entitled to its appropriate praise, and the whole is such as I scarcely know an Englishman that could have written. The author powerfully conciliated to himself our kindness and affection. But the Essay on Rural Life in England is incomparably the best. It is, I believe, all true; and one wonders, while reading, that nobody ever said it before. There is a wonderful sweetness in it. . . .

Very truly yours,

W. GODWIN

But the Irving-Ogilvie friendship was drawing to an end, for the orator lost his life at the moment when the writer was finding his. In 1820 Ogilvie fancied two great goals⁸¹ within sight and grasp. Both he failed to attain, and the defeat was too much for him. He died in his native Scotland by his own hand. "Suicide" had always been a favorite subject for his eloquence.

Irving did not need Preston's letter of 1852 to recall Ogilvie after a lapse of over three decades. In 1839 and 1854 his delineation of the orator in his published writings appeared to remind him. And

79. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 421-22. To James Ogilvie.

80. *Ibid.*, I, 421.

81. Claiming kinship with the Ogilvies of Findlater, the orator entered suit for possession of the vacant earldom of Findlater. In 1820 he learned that his suit was refused. About the same time he was invited to lecture before the Surrey Institution, evidently a signal and hitherto unparalleled honor. Worn out with nerves, laudanum, and excitement, Ogilvie failed miserably in his single appearance (cf. "H. of Richmond," "Recollections of James Ogilvie, Earl of Findlater," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, pp. 534-37 [September, 1848] and the article on Ogilvie in *D.N.B.*, *op. cit.*).

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several years after Ogilvie's death Irving's correspondence mentions the orator,⁸² apparently with warm sympathy.

Irving was too much a man of the world not to smile or even to laugh outright at the absurdities of Ogilvie. Externally the polished Knickerbocker and the uncouth Scot were very different. Yet they had much in common, for both loved the Addisonian prose and the pre-Romantic poetry⁸³ of the eighteenth century, and both were fundamentally sentimentalists. During the years of their friendship a new literary order was being established. But the very fact that Ogilvie as well as Irving was tremendously popular in America shows the general literary taste of the age for what it was. And it adds further proof that America was already eager for self-improvement and self-development—that Sydney Smith's challenge was hardly necessary.

II

On the morning of August 30, 1817,⁸⁴ Irving travelled down to Abbotsford in the Selkirk coach. It was a great moment in his life, perhaps a turning point,⁸⁵ this day on which Diedrich Knickerbocker met the Great Unknown. Within the next two years the American gathered materials for much of his most characteristic work, materials he used as early as 1818 in the *Sketch Book* and as late as 1854 in *Wolfert's Roost*. They are a curious miscellany, but they indicate the nature of the literary fires which the Wizard of the North did much to conjure into blaze.

Among the three notebooks which tell Irving's mental activities of this period, those⁸⁶ containing the memoranda made principally during the tour of Scotland with William C. Preston in 1817 have been con-

82. On February 8, 1824, Irving wrote to the painter C. R. Leslie from Paris: "I see among the pieces to be exhibited at the British gallery a 'Don Quixote' by Newton, which I presume is the little picture made from poor Ogilvie, which I have before heard of" (Tom Taylor, *Autobiographical Recollections by the Late Charles Robert Leslie, R. A.* . . . , Boston, 1860, p. 260, and P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters, op. cit.*, II, p. 185). Evidently Leslie's own "Study for a Head of Don Quixote" also was primarily a study of Ogilvie (Tom Taylor, *Autobiographical Recollections . . . of Leslie, op. cit.*, pp. xxviii, 274, and P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters, op. cit.*, IV, p. 189.)

83. Cf. Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, Ogilvie, "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*; and the letters to F. W. Gilmer in Davis, Gilmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-84.

84. Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, p. 160.

85. Williams, *Tour in Scotland, op. cit.*, p. 1.

86. There are two notebooks. Out of the two Professor Williams made one book. As he suggests, the page arrangements point to "Irving's custom of returning to blank pages" of old notebooks (*Tour in Scotland, op. cit.*, pp. 1-17).

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sidered most interesting and most puzzling. Certainly a profitable study of Irving's trend of mind and ambition can be made through a consideration of his notations for the fragment called "Rosalie."⁸⁷ It is here that he showed his ambitions in the field of the novel⁸⁸ and at the same time revealed much of his inmost self. It is here also that he first used Ogilvie as a character and probably some of Ogilvie's experiences or conversation as matter for fiction.

The plot of "Rosalie" may be roughly reconstructed as follows: A philosophically inclined young man, in love with a demure "Rosy," rescues her from the Richmond fire. Later in Philadelphia he unexpectedly comes upon Rosy as a great belle. When she sings a song of indifference, they quarrel; a reconciliation follows. In the next scene the hero is at home with a father who smiles at his moods and with sisters who are very sympathetic. Then Rosy's father gets into financial difficulties, and she and her family go to Kentucky. What is probably the last scene⁸⁹ depicts the lover and Rosalie happily married and settled in the Alleghanies with their children around them.⁹⁰

From this synopsis there seems nothing of Ogilvie here, but an examination of details will prove otherwise.⁹¹ Although the orator is to be principally and personally discerned in the minor character of Glencoe⁹² Ogilvie's experiences and his account of them to his friends are probably indicated in several other places.

87. Williams, *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Professor Williams points out that the sequence of entries is, because of the condition of the notebooks, absolutely indeterminable. As materials for "Rosalie" he lists first the notations in what appears to have been Irving's original arrangement (*Tour*, p. 94, note 1), omitting for inclusion elsewhere those which are not demonstrably links in the story.

88. Williams, *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 17-18: "No one believes that Irving could have written a good novel. Yet the story of Rosalie hints that he wished to do so. . . . We have recently learned that he aspired to become a dramatist. Perhaps, after all, this is the value of these notebooks: in them Washington Irving does not appear as in our histories of literature, a neatly classified writer, but volatile, impressionable, uncertain, reaching out like all of us, to learn what may be the meaning of his mind."

89. There is a curiously divergent episode, perhaps an alternate conclusion, which is almost surely based on Irving's agonized remembrance of Matilda Hoffman's last days. Its order in the notes is puzzling and gives no clue to its purpose. The lover is admitted to her father's house—"they could not keep out wretchedness like mine" . . . "I saw her die" . . . "sweet smile stole over her face" . . . "My journey homeward recruited my health—the specter that had haunted me remained behind. The prospect of my return to the alleghany cheered me up" (Williams, *Tour*, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

90. Cf. Professor Williams' summary (*Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 94n).

91. The notes for "Rosalie" appear in Notebook One (Williams, *Tour*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-16) and the pages on which they appear are numbered consecutively backwards. That is, the story (or the notes) cover most of the pages from 85 to 54. The numbers in brackets are those of the notebook pages as indicated in *Tour in Scotland*.

92. P. M. Irving (*Life and Letters*, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 189) says Glencoe in "Mountjoy" is probably Ogilvie, but nothing more. Professor Williams does not identify either Glencoe.

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The very first note, a description of the lover's Kentucky surroundings, the commodious cabin,⁹³ may have come directly from Ogilvie, who had spent 1812 in a "rural Kentucky cabin" composing his second set of orations. He had written⁹⁴ most of his friends of his intentions in going to the wilderness and then of his surroundings after he arrived.

At an earlier stage of the story, after Rosy's family had set out for Kentucky, the lover visited the deserted mansion and conceived "the idea of settling in the wilderness with Glencoe for a companion."⁹⁵ A little later, in the midst of a description of Rosalie, he reverted⁹⁶ to his "tutor":

Glencoe then serious [?]⁹⁷ upon supernatural beings—who can tell what unseen beings walk their airy rounds among these mountains—the—above are unknown—

The hooting of the owl

As he spoke of the deceased his voice often [?]⁹⁷ in deep sepulchral⁹⁸ tone.

After the incident of the reconciliation with Rosy in Philadelphia, Irving turned ⁹⁹ to Glencoe again.

93. *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94 [I, 85] and [I, 84].

94. Cf. Ogilvie's letters to James Madison (from Augusta, Georgia, May 18, [1811] concerning his intention to remove to Kentucky (*Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls*, *op. cit.*, No. 4, pp. 558-59); to F. W. Gilmer, May 23 [1811?] and February 1, 1813 (Gilmer Collection, Alderman Library, University of Virginia); "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. xlv-lviii; "H. of Richmond," "Recollections of James Ogilvie, Earl of Findlater," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, pp. 534-37. Also Jefferson's letter to Ogilvie of August 4, 1811 (*Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial Edition, Washington, 1904, 20 vols., XIII, pp. 68-71). Irving undoubtedly had other friends who went to Kentucky, among them his companion of this 1817 trip, William C. Preston (cf. M. C. Yarrow's *Reminiscences of William C. Preston*, *op. cit.*, p. 11). Later he used the experiences of one of Ogilvie's old pupils in Kentucky, William C. Duval (cf. "Recollections of James Ogilvie," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, pp. 534-37) in his "Early Experiences of Ralph Ringwood" (Williams, *Life*, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 324-25), but he probably did not meet Duval until 1833.

That he was using Ogilvie is practically proven in "Mountjoy" when he has the young hero dream of taking Glencoe to his new home—with him, giving the philosopher a solitary room or cabin where he can compose in quiet (*Wolfert's Roost*, p. 66.)

95. *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 96 [I, 77]. Following the descending page order, this is the first mention of Glencoe. I am here following Professor Williams' order.

96. *Tour*, *op. cit.*, p. 97 [I, 75].

97. Professor Williams' brackets.

98. Cf. William C. Crafts, "The Late Mr. Ogilvie, the Orator" (*A Selection in Prose and Poetry from the Miscellaneous Writings of the Late William Crafts*, *op. cit.*, p. 279), for "his sepulchral voice" or "H. of Richmond" (*Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, p. 535) for his "fullness and power of voice" and his tendency to be "theatrical in his tragic stride."

99. *Tour*, *op. cit.*, p. 98 [I, 72]. Curiously labelled "—Last Chap—."

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Meets Rosy in Phila—on reconciliation & conversation—I have now seen much of the world & of mankind—years have brought wisdom and experience.

I repeated to Rosy all that Glencoe had said I tried to fly the metaphor [?]¹⁰⁰ of the eagle—but it would not pass—I felt like devotion—My father smiled

Talking with Glencoe about war. Interrupt him with occasional thoughts about white horses—volume of smoke—When he comes to picturesque part of his discourse I listen more attentively—

The puzzling section¹⁰¹ descriptive of the death of a young woman, presumably a part of the story, begins with a line on which there is one word—"Glencoe." Then the notes turn to episode of "I saw her die."⁸⁹

Getting back obviously to the earlier portions of the story, the notes record the hero as telling¹⁰² his sister Sophie that he is in love, and then continuing, "I am surprised that I to myself that Glencoe has never taught me Italian—it is all important—"

There is no more Glencoe, but much more of dreams of boyhood, of "remembrance" of youthful adventures in the Alleghanies. The time of the action is dated by the rescue of Rosy from the dreadful theatre fire in Richmond of December 26, 1811. Here is another possible suggestion¹⁰³ of Ogilvie's Virginia connections, but no more.

A fascinating puzzle, these notes, for ostensibly there is much of Irving's deepest feeling and experience in them. Just what use he was to make of Glencoe is one of the puzzles, but there is little doubt that

100. Professor Williams' brackets.

101. *Tour, op. cit.*, p. 98 [I, 64]. Cf. note 89 above. This may have been designed either as the conclusion of the story or simply as an early episode of sorrow. Professor Williams suggests that it is possible that the account is autobiographical, and that Irving refers here to the death of Matilda Hoffman. The presence of the word "Glencoe" in the same set of notes with this apparently agonized, deeply sincere, and seemingly subjective description reminds one that Ogilvie became acquainted with Irving just before Matilda Hoffman's death, and was probably in New York at the very moment (April 26, 1809). From the sympathy Ogilvie showed in the other crisis of Irving's life, it is likely that here too he had displayed a "sensitivity" of sorrow. What relationship to the death scene Glencoe was perhaps to have is interesting to conjecture.

102. *Tour, op. cit.*, p. 100 [I, 60].

103. Two notes on the fire appear (*Tour, op. cit.*, pp. 102, 108). Through Professor Williams (*Tour, op. cit.*, p. 108n) was unable to discover a source for Irving's use of the fire, it was probably suggested to him by the dreadful yet romantic fate of his friend Lieutenant Gibbon of the U. S. Navy, who had first rescued his mother from the conflagration, and, going back to seek a young lady to whom he was engaged, was bringing her out when the staircase gave way and swept both into flames (cf. P. M. Irving, *Life and Letters, op. cit.*, I, p. 265).

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Irving had Ogilvie in mind, and that the character was to have a great influence on the trends of thought and life of the young lover.¹⁰⁴ The nature of the references to Glencoe, the jotting down of the name alone or with brief reference, indicate Irving's plan to expand the character. Here are Irving's vain dreams of becoming a novelist. Was Glencoe to become his Parson Adams? Part of what he had in mind was indicated by his use of these notes a few years later.

Two decades after the orator was dead Irving drew out the old materials¹⁰⁵ and used a portion of "Rosalie" for a "drawing room tale of the best annual quality."¹⁰⁶ The story is clearly a derivative from "Rosalie," but is rather the expansion of a fragment than a condensation of the outline for a novel. Irving may have whipped "Mountjoy" into shape in 1818 or 1819¹⁰⁷ soon after his notes were completed, but it is more probable that he put the finishing touches on the piece in 1838 or 1839, when he needed material with which to fill his agreement with the *Knickerbocker*.

"Mountjoy; or Some Passages out of the Life of a Castle-Builder" traces in Irving's characteristic leisurely fashion the life of a "philosophical" young man from childhood through his first real contact with a young lady (other than his sisters) and its rather humiliating effect upon him. The story ends with the hero's determination to adopt for himself a systematic course of study. How far he succeeds in his "suit with Julia Somerville [the heroine], may afford matter for a farther communication to the public, if this simple record of my early life is fortunate enough to excite any curiosity."¹⁰⁸

104. *E. g.*, "my philosophical spirit" (*Tour, op. cit.*, p. 102 [I, 57]), or "My father dubbed me the philosopher." (*Tour*, p. 103 [I, 87].)

105. P. M. Irving (*Life and Letters, op. cit.*, IV, p. 189) says that Washington Irving read the story "Mountjoy" to the artist Leslie in 1819 before the publication of the *Sketch Book*. Leslie, being in a tired mood, gave no encouragement by word or gesture. Irving, disheartened, threw the story aside and did not pick it up again for twenty years. It is possible that "Rosalie" was confused with its derivative, "Mountjoy," for Irving's ambitions as a novelist continued for several years after the *Sketch Book* (cf. Williams, *Life, op. cit.*, I, p. 271).

106. *Tributes to Washington Irving on the Publication of Wolfert's Roost* [New York] G. P. Putnam, n. d.), p. 4. "Mountjoy" appeared in the *Knickerbocker* for November and December, 1839 (XIV, Nos. 5 and 6, pp. 402-12, 522-38) as well as in *Wolfert's Roost* (New York, 1855, pp. 49-99).

107. Professor Williams says that "Mountjoy" was composed in Mrs. Holloway's lodgings in London in 1818 (*Life*, II, p. 218). If this be accurate, it was probably a cruder form of the story than that published in 1839.

108. "Mountjoy," *Wolfert's Roost, op. cit.*, p. 99. Needless to say, the "simple record" received insufficient encouragement and the story died. Professor Williams has pointed

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The character most carefully and convincingly developed in "Mountjoy" is neither hero, heroine, parent, nor sister, but the tutor Glencoe. He appears at the beginning of the second portion¹⁰⁹ of the narrative, at the moment when the hero has passed through childhood and is ready to become a philosopher.¹¹⁰ Glencoe is clearly a sympathetic portrait¹¹¹ of Ogilvie, and at the same time an excellent earnest of what Irving may have planned in characterization in the novel.

The hero, as in "Rosalie," is a slightly ridiculous young man of sentimental leanings for whom Glencoe was an entirely appropriate companion:

. . . . The tutor, also, who superintended my studies, in the more advanced stage of education, was just fitted to complete the *fata morgana* which was forming in my mind. His name was Glencoe. He was a pale, melancholy-looking man,¹¹² about forty years of age;¹¹³ a native of Scotland, liberally educated,¹¹⁴ and who had devoted himself to the instruction of youth, from taste rather than necessity; for as he said, he loved the human heart, and delighted to study it in its earlier impulses. My two elder sisters,¹¹⁵ having returned home from a city boarding-school, were likewise placed under his care, to direct their reading in history and *belles-lettres*.

out in his *Tour in Scotland* many of the similarities or parallels in character and characterization and nomenclature in the notes for "Rosalie" and the story of "Mountjoy." Irving never carried "Mountjoy" as far as the Richmond fire, Philadelphia ball, or Kentucky cabin episodes suggested in "Rosalie," but he did develop and expand his characters, incident, and setting. Sophy, the sister mentioned in "Rosalie," becomes in "Mountjoy" the sympathetic confidante of her moonstruck brother. In both pieces the father smiles at this philosophical bent in his son. (For other parallels see Williamis, *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-100, 122.)

109. "Mountjoy" gives evidence of episodic or chapter arrangement as well as of incompleteness. Between the first and second portions of the tale there is printed a rule, with considerable space on either side. There are twelve such rules, perhaps indications of thirteen skeleton chapters (for there is an abruptness and scantiness in places throughout the narrative which suggest ideas of future expansion).

110. "Mountjoy," *Wolfert's Roost*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

111. As mentioned above, Ogilvie has been connected with the character of Glencoe only once, by Pierre M. Irving (*Life and Letters*, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 189) who only *supposes* that Ogilvie was here shadowed forth.

112. Cf. the engraving by M. J. Danforth from C. R. Leslie's painting of Don Quixote for which, as mentioned above, Ogilvie served as model. (The engraving is in the Fine Arts Division, the Library of Congress.)

113. According to his own statement, Ogilvie should have been forty years old in 1815 (Cf. "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, p. i.). Here he states that he taught in Virginia from his nineteenth to his thirty-fourth year. He left the State in 1808.

114. Cf. *D.N.B.* and *D.A.B.* articles on Ogilvie, *op. cit.*

115. For Ogilvie's belief in female education, see "Supplementary Narrative," *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxix-lxxxii, cviii, and William C. Crafts, "The Late Mr. Ogilvie, the Orator," *op. cit.*, p. 279.

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We all soon became attached to Glencoe. It is true, we were at first somewhat prepossessed against him. His meagre, pallid countenance, his broad pronunciation, his inattention to the little forms of society, and an awkward¹¹⁶ and embarrassed manner, on first acquaintance, were much against him; but we soon discovered that under this unpromising exterior existed the kindest urbanity; the warmest sympathies; the most enthusiastic benevolence. His mind was ingenious and acute. His reading had been various, but more abstruse than profound: his memory was stored, on all subjects, with facts, theories, and quotations,¹¹⁷ and crowded with crude materials for thinking. These, in a moment of excitement, would be, as it were, melted down, and poured forth in the lava of a heated imagination. At such moments, the change in the whole man was wonderful. His meagre form would acquire a dignity and grace; his long, pale visage would flash with a hectic glow; his eyes would beam with intense speculation; and there would be pathetic tones and modulations in his voice, that delighted the ear, and spoke movingly to the heart.

But what most endeared him to us, was the kindness and sympathy with which he entered into all our interests and wishes. Instead of curbing or checking our young imaginations with the reigns of sober reason, he was a little too apt to catch the impulse, and be hurried away with us. . . .

The mind of Glencoe presented a singular mixture of philosophy and poetry. He was fond of metaphysics,¹¹⁸ and prone to indulge in abstract speculations, though his metaphysics were somewhat fine spun and fanciful, and his speculations were apt to partake of what my father most irreverently called "humbug."¹¹⁹ For my part, I delighted in them. . . . Glencoe possessed a kind of philosophic chivalry, in imitation of the old peripatetic sages¹²⁰ and was continually dreaming of romantic enterprises in morals, and splendid systems for the improvement of society. . . .

It is true, when I attempted to study them [ancient sages] by myself I was apt to get into a fog; but when Glencoe came to my

116. Cf. Crafts, "The Late Mr. Ogilvie, the Orator," *op. cit.*, p. 279; "His tall slender figure—his diffidence, which was awkward, because it was embarrassed."

117. One of the principal charges made against the "philosopher" by Rodman (*Fragment*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 17, 18) was that Ogilvie borrowed passages from the world's wealth of literature and unscrupulously palmed them off as his own.

118. Cf. Ogilvie's "Of Human Knowledge," *Philosophical Essays*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-63. Ogilvie's philosophical remarks were significant enough to warrant his inclusion in a history of American Philosophy (cf. I. W. Riley, *American Philosophy: the Early Schools*, New York, 1907, pp. 557-62) as one of the "lesser realists."

119. Cf. the father in "Rosalie" who smiled at his son's fancies (*Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 98 [I, 72]).

120. Cf. I. W. Riley, *American Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 557; "a literal peripatetic philosopher."

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aid, every thing was soon clear to me as day. My ear drank in the beauty of his words; my imagination was dazzled with the splendor of his illustrations. . . . Struck with the facility with which I seemed to imbibe and relish the most abstract doctrines, I conceived a still higher opinion of my mental powers, and was convinced that I also was a philosopher.¹²¹

Spring comes, and the hero turns from bookish philosophy to visions of romance, turns from the study of the sages to the reading of novels. He sees the print of a lady's foot¹²² in the fine sand, and Glencoe is for the time forgotten. His sister Sophie becomes his confidante. He walks about in a trance.¹²³

In this mood I met, one morning, with Glencoe. He accosted me with his usual smile, and was proceeding with some general observations, but paused and fixed on me an enquiring eye.¹²⁴

The hero reveals his secret, and Glencoe goes into raptures upon the subject. The tutor describes the imagined lady in glowing terms:¹²⁵

"My dear sir," cried I, for I could contain myself no longer, "you have described the very person!"

"Why then, my dear young friend," said he, affectionately pressing my hand, "in God's name, love on!"¹²⁶

"What a fortunate being I am!" thought I, "blessed with such a sister and such a friend! . . . Glencoe . . . shall have a home with us. He shall have his study, where, when he pleases, he may shut himself up from the world, and bury himself in his own reflections . . . we will devise grand schemes together for the improvement of mankind . . . in the long winter evenings, the ladies will sit at their work and listen, with hushed attention, to Glencoe and myself, as we discuss the abstruse doctrines of metaphysics."¹²⁷

Glencoe in person disappears from the remainder of the fragment, for the hero finds himself in the presence and home of the young

121. "Mountjoy," *Wolfert's Roost*, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-57. This is the end of "part two."

122. Cf. "Rosalie," *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 126 [I, 23]: "Young N. in love with little print of a ladies foot."

123. "Mountjoy," *Wolfert's Roost*, *op. cit.*, p. 63

124. *Ibid.*

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 65. In the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, in a letter from Ogilvie (from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, July 29, 1809) to "Mr. Lincoln, attorney at Law, Portland," which gives Mr. Lincoln advice regarding an unfortunate love affair of Mr. Lincoln's.

127. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

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lady he has imagined. He endeavors to show his erudition in languages and literature, but is dismayed to discover that Miss Julia Somerville knows far more than he.

I now became desperate; as a last resource, I turned to metaphysics. "If she is a philosopher in petticoats," thought I, "it is all over with me."

Here, however, I had the field to myself. I gave chapter and verse of my tutor's lectures, heightened by all his poetical illustrations. . . .¹²⁸

In order to make himself the completely ridiculous, the young man proposes to Mr. Somerville that the latter allow his daughter to accompany his guest home so that she might complete her education under Glencoe:

He would throw some deeper shades of thought into her mind . . . not but Mr. Somerville has done very well, as far as he has gone; but then he has merely prepared the soil for the strong plants of useful knowledge.¹²⁹

Mr. Somerville politely declines the offer, and gives the youth a gentle but clear series of directions away from the moral sciences toward the more useful physical studies. In his condescending asininity the youth decides that there is possibly something in what such men of the world as Mr. Somerville have to say. He plans to put the advice into practice.¹³⁰ Thus the story and the Irving-Ogilvie relationship end: with the beginnings of a new maturity the hero, perhaps the implication of Irving himself, turns from philosophy to life.

James Ogilvie came into Irving's life at its two most critical points, at the death of Matilda Hoffman and at the moment of the Irving's bankruptcy just before the genesis of the *Sketch Book*. In 1809 he offered entertainment, perhaps comic relief, for a young man torn by the great sorrow of his life. But he also offered sympathy,¹³¹ and he in turn elicited Irving's own sympathy even to the point of publication.¹³² In the second catastrophe Ogilvie was the encourager,

128. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

131. See note 101 above.

132. Perhaps there is something of Ogilvie, too, in the frequently pointed out change in Irving (after 1809) towards greater "sensibility" and "sentimentality" (cf. Henry A. Pochmann, *Washington Irving, op. cit.*, p. lxx).

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the prophet, the sympathizer, the procurer of literary praise for his friend at the moment when a self-doubting Irving hungered for it most.

In the extremely autobiographical¹³³ "Rosalie" and its derivative "Mountjoy," Ogilvie under the guise of Glencoe is made the teacher, the confidant, the stimulus for the young hero, who may be a younger Irving or the alter ego for the sentimental Irving. In his dreams the youth would retire to the Western Country with the strolling orator as his companion and mentor, and Rosalie as his bride, to rear his children and raise the questions of divine philosophy. Here is much of Ogilvie. The warmth of the picture suggests that there is much also of Irving.

133. Cf. Williams, *Tour in Scotland*, *op. cit.*

Abraham Lincoln and the Newspaper Press During the Civil War

BY JOHN PAUL JONES, JR., M. A.,

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA, ILLINOIS



ESPITE the fact that Abraham Lincoln had to deal with the newspaper press during a period that was fraught with enormous danger to both, a period that was marked by great determination, initiative and resourcefulness on the part of both, little has been written as yet on the highly interesting subject of President Lincoln's relationship with newspapers and newspapermen.¹ Before going into the subject of Lincoln and the newspaper press during the war years it is well to note briefly some facts about his interest in and connection with newspapers during an earlier period. A modern Lincoln scholar has noted that "the liberal education of Abraham Lincoln was gained through the medium of the weekly newspaper, and he may well be called the product of the early American press."²

In support of the above statement several authorities have pictured the future President as an ardent reader of newspapers. As a young man he read the *Louisville Journal*, which was furnished him after 1827 by friend William Jones, a storekeeper. One of his greatest delights in moving to New Salem to assume his duties as postmaster was that he would have access to many newspapers, including the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the *Sangamo Journal*, and the *National Intelligencer*. Later in 1837 when Mr. Lincoln began the practice of law in Springfield he "frequented the office and freely ranged the exchange files of the *Sangamo Journal*," a publication for which he had been

1. The most complete monograph available on the subject of "Lincoln and the Press" is an article by John O'Laughlin in *The Abraham Lincoln Papers for 1930*, pp. 21-45. For an account of the newspapers' relationships with the army during the war see J. G. Randall's article in the *American Historical Review*, XXIII, pp. 303-23 (January, 1918).

2. Warren, Louis A., "Lincoln's Early Political Background," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Jan., 1931, Vol. XXIII, p. 625.

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writing editorial material since his first political announcement appeared in the paper in 1832. Thus at this time he is seen to be a newspaper writer as well as a newspaper reader. During the three or four years following his single term in Congress, when he had returned to the practice of law, either Lincoln or his partner Herndon subscribed to, read and discussed the following newspapers: *New York Tribune*; *Chicago Press and Tribune*; the *Western Citizen*, organ of the Liberty party west of the Ohio; *Garrison's Liberator*, the anti-slavery standard; the *National Era*, opposed to slavery; and the *Richmond Inquirer* and *Charleston Mercury*, both pro-slavery newspapers of the South. Mrs. Lincoln subscribed to the *Southern Literary Messenger* and her husband spent considerable time mulling over the Southern viewpoint it contained.³

It is often said by journalists that President Harding was the first real newspaperman to occupy the White House, but it is interesting to note that Lincoln might well qualify in that respect. As we have seen, he often wrote for newspapers and then, too, he was a newspaper owner, for, in May of 1859, Mr. Lincoln signed a contract with Theodore Canisius, of Springfield, by which he purchased the German newspaper, the *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*. In the agreement Canisius was to continue to run the paper with the understanding that it was to support Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party. On December 6, 1860, Canisius bought back the paper from Lincoln, only to discontinue it a little later. By that time, however, it had outlived the purpose for which Lincoln had purchased it; that is, to keep his name before the German population of the Middle West.⁴

Some modern writers have intimated that Mr. Lincoln, like a lot of other American Presidents, was inclined to be distrustful of the press in general, meaning that he did trust some particular newspapers.⁵ While this may to a certain extent be true it cannot be denied that from the first moment of his administration the Civil War Executive realized the necessity of ranging behind him and his policies as many newspapers as he could muster, with a special preference for the New York journals because they had a Nation-wide reader audience.

3. Wilson, R. R., *What Lincoln Read*, pp. 36-59. Also, *Lincoln Lore*, No. 279, August 13, 1934. Warren, L. A., editor.

4. Angle, Paul M., *New Letters and Papers of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 204-05.

5. Desmond, R. W., *The Press and World Affairs*, p. 308.

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In order to fully appreciate the enormity of this task it is necessary to look for the moment at the American press as it sounded its voice in the ears of the President after the firing on Fort Sumter.

Of the chaotic rumblings of the newspaper world that flowed through the windows of the White House the President might have been able to distinguish these categories of opinions. There were those newspapers that declared the conflict just getting under way to be an "unholy war," on the grounds that it was unholy and unchristian and unconstitutional to use force to prevent states from leaving the Union. These newspapers, most of which were Democratic party organs or favored that political group, composed the now famous "copperhead press." They were so influential that they greatly hindered the War Department in its activities and were a source of much encouragement to the South. Later they opposed the use of the draft and were so successful that one army officer reported from his New York district that in several of his towns nearly as many persons could be enlisted for the Southern Confederacy as could be signed for the Union, and that in one town a large number of citizens raised and maintained a secession flag for several days, all because of the "copperhead" vehemence of a weekly newspaper.⁶

Then there were those newspapers which did not seem to know where to turn. First they advocated letting the Southern States go peacefully and then when hostilities began they preached a policy of striking swiftly and thereby ending the war in a hurry. The *New York Tribune* belonged in this group. Thirdly, there were the newspapers which supported the President and in addition were strong anti-slavery advocates. Sometimes the newspapers in the second category were just as dangerous to the administration as the "copperheads" because they were often too impatient to await the orderly advancement of events and harshly criticized the President for lack of action. In another respect they sabotaged the policies of Lincoln by hindering the army through too much detailed reporting of movements of armies and plans of military action before they could be carried out.⁷ This resulted from a direct conflict of interests on the

6. *War of the Rebellion—Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series II, Vol. II, pp. 938-41.

7. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, Vol. II, p. 292.

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part of the newspapers and the government. The war had created a great demand, a crying hunger, on the part of the people for news of battles, victories, defeats, and casualties—and it was to the interest of the newspaper to meet that need. The government, on the other hand, was interested in a swift victory, a hurried end to the carnage, a plan that called for secrecy and a curtailing of news of army activities with the result that in the end the military arm of the government and the newspaper soon came to grips, the one attempting to shut off the flow of news and the other continually inventing means to circumvent the censorship.

In view of the fact that Union newspapers kept on publishing vital news of the war the following statement concerning the scope of the censorship seems a trifle extreme:⁸

Albert E. H. Johnson, Stanton's confidential clerk, says in the *Washington Post*, July 14, 1891: "Mr. Stanton's theory was that everything concerned his own department. It was he who would be held responsible for the secret machinations of the enemy in the rear as well as the unwarranted success of the enemy in front. Hence he established a system of military censorship which has never, for vastness of scope or completeness of detail, been equalled in any war before or since, or in any other country under the sun. The whole telegraphic system of the United States, with its infinite ramifications, centered in his office. There, adjoining his own personal rooms sat General Eckert, H. D. Bates, Albert B. Chandler, and Charles A. Tinker,—all of them young men of brilliant promise and now shining lights in the electrical world. . . . Every message to or from the President or any member of his household passed under the eye of the Secretary. Hence, as far as the conduct of the war was concerned, Mr. Stanton knew a thousand secrets where Lincoln knew one; for the Secretary's instructions were that telegrams indiscriminately should not be shown to the President."

Control of the telegraph in Washington seemed to be the unwanted child of the executive departments because from the time the war began until February 25, 1862, it had been in the hands of the Treasury Department, the War Department, and the State Department. Shortly after the date mentioned above it once again passed to the War Department and remained in military hands until

8. Hapgood, Norman, *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 258-59.

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the close of the conflict. The last change was made following a House investigation of the censorship in which the Judiciary Committee of that group reported on March 20, 1862:⁹

Resolved, That the Government should not interfere with the free transmission of intelligence by telegraph, when the same will not aid the enemy in his military or naval operations, or give him information concerning such operations on the part of the Government, except when it may become necessary for the Government, under the authority of Congress, to assume exclusive control of the telegraph for its own legitimate purposes, or to assert the right of priority in the transmission of its own despatches.

After the censorship had been placed permanently in the hands of the War Department, Lincoln interfered one time on behalf of the Washington papers. Stanton had adopted the plan of giving out all military news to one man, the representative of the New York Associated Press, believing that this one man represented enough newspapers to warrant giving him exclusive rights to war intelligence. The result was that Washington newspapers had to wait for news to go to New York and come all the way back before they had access to it. They complained to President Lincoln and he wrote Stanton requesting that the situation be remedied. The system was abandoned and all newspapers got the news at the same time.¹⁰

Lincoln's relations with the New York papers during the war throw an interesting sidelight on his ability to deal with difficult situations. The President knew that he had a powerful opponent in James Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald*, because that paper had violently opposed his election and continued to be on the "copperhead" side until the fall of Sumter. When the paper showed signs of changing its policy Lincoln was quick to offer a friendly hand. The result was that Bennett promised to support the administration and offered the use of his son's yacht, the *Henrietta*, for the revenue service on condition that its owner be appointed a lieutenant. On May 6, 1861, Lincoln wrote the Secretary of the Treasury about the matter, giving his approval. Twelve days later James Gordon Ben-

9. *The American Annual Cyclopædia*, Vol. II, pp. 480-81 (1862).

10. Lee, J. M., *History of American Journalism*, pp. 291-92.

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nett, Jr., was commissioned a third lieutenant and the *Henrietta* put into service.¹¹

The following letter to Bennett, Sr., written September 28, 1861, reveals how solicitous Lincoln was about keeping the friendship already cultivated:¹²

Last evening Mr. Wickoff solicited me for a pass, or permission to a gentleman whose name I forget, to accompany one of our vessels down the Potomac to-day, as a reporter of the *Herald*, saying the Sec. of the Navy had refused, while he had given the privilege to reporters of other papers. It was too late at night for me to see the Secretary and I had to decline giving the permission, because he, the Sec., might have a sufficient reason unknown to me. I write this to assure you that the Administration will not discriminate against the *Herald*, especially while it sustains us so generously, and the cause of the country so ably as it has been doing.

An incident in 1862 reveals two things about Lincoln's policy in regard to the *Herald*; first, that he would protect his cabinet members from its assaults; and, second, that he wished to remain on friendly terms. In May Major-General David Hunter had issued a military order emancipating slaves in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. As soon as Lincoln heard of the action he nullified the order. In the meanwhile the *Herald* used the incident as a means of assailing Stanton by severely criticising Hunter's policy. In reply the President wrote Bennett on May 21, 1862:¹³

Thanking you again for the able support given by you, through the *Herald*, to what I think the true cause of the country, and also for your kind expressions towards me personally, I wish to correct an erroneous impression of yours in regard to the Secretary of War. He mixes no politics whatever with his duties; knew nothing of Gen. Hunter's proclamation; and he and I alone got up the counter proclamation. I wish this to go no further than to you, while I do wish to assure you it is true.

Lincoln found the affection of the *Herald* hard to keep. When it came to the matter of a second term that paper advocated General McClellan's nomination by the Democrats. Again the President han-

11. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 272-73.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-93.

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dled the affair skillfully. After McClellan was nominated, he offered Mr. Bennett the French mission and while the New York editor did not accept the post his paper again backed Lincoln.¹⁴

Nearly everyone is familiar with the highlights of Lincoln's association with Horace Greeley and the *New York Tribune*. The President realized that the *Tribune* was a powerful paper and he wanted behind him its influence with the people of the Nation. On several important occasions Greeley placed Lincoln in a false light but the President made no complaint. At the time the *Tribune* editor used him roughly in his editorial "Prayer of Twenty Millions," Lincoln wrote an answer that has taken its place beside the "Gettysburg Address" as a political document of great importance and example of powerful and polished language. In 1864 Greeley's connection with the Clay-Thompson mission and the Niagara Peace Conference caused Mr. Lincoln to be misunderstood, but he refused to allow publication of all of his correspondence in the matter, even though that would have vindicated him.¹⁵ In regard to the so-called Peace Conference, John Hay, who had been sent by the President to straighten out the matter, said of Greeley:¹⁶

Eventually, posterity may remember Horace Greeley only as the man who, with unusual power of scolding, harassing, irritating, with ingenuity in uncandid criticism, with exasperating self-righteousness and petulance, never succeeded in exhausting the patience or in shaking the magnanimity of Abraham Lincoln.

And while it is true that at many different times the President expressed a high regard for Mr. Greeley he came at length to regard the famous editor as "an old shoe." In this connection at a cabinet meeting August 9, 1864, he said:¹⁷

In early life, and with few mechanics and but little means in the West, we used to make our shoes last a great while with much mending, and sometimes, when far gone, we found the leather so rotten the stitches would not hold. Greeley is so rotten that nothing can be done with him. He is not truthful; the stitches all tear out.

14. Hapgood, *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 365-66.

15. For a full account of this incident see W. R. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*, Vol. I, pp. 173-83.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

17. *Diary of Gideon Welles*, Vol. II, pp. 111-12 (August 19, 1864).

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As for the *New York Times* and its editor, Henry J. Raymond, a newspaperman of a later day says it was the one newspaper in the country upon which Lincoln could always depend. He writes that Lincoln called Raymond his political lieutenant-general and was responsible for his election as chairman of the resolutions committee at the Union convention where Lincoln was renominated, and contemplated at one time using him as peace ambassador to Richmond.¹⁸

One evidence of bonds of friendship between the President and the editor of the *Times* is the letters written by Lincoln to Raymond, thanking him for support of various policies. Occasionally in these letters the President would point out where the paper was wrong in some fact and request that it reconsider the matter.¹⁹

Despite the fact that Joseph Medill, Scotch-Irish editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, was a staunch supporter of Lincoln, he did not hesitate to berate the President for seeming hesitancy. On the other hand he did a lot of things to help the administration. It was he who helped to organize the Union Defense Committee which proved so able during the war in maintaining the morale of the people throughout the Middle West. And it was he who had contributed greatly to the nomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.²⁰ On one occasion in 1864 a committee of citizens, one of whom was Joseph Medill, went to ask the President to spare Chicago in the new draft, saying the city had already given more than its share of husbands and sons. In reply to the committee Lincoln said:²¹

I have a right to expect better things of you. Go home and raise your 6,000 extra men. And you, Medill, you are acting like a coward. You and your *Tribune* have had more influence than any paper in the Northwest in making this war. You can influence great masses, and yet you cry to be spared at a moment when your cause is suffering. Go home and send us those men.

Editor Medill had been reluctant to accompany the committee in the first place and said afterward that he felt even worse after talking with Lincoln.

18. O'Laughlin, *Abraham Lincoln Papers*, 1930, p. 40.

19. Bell, H. W., *Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 219.

20. O'Laughlin, *Abraham Lincoln Papers*, 1930, pp. 37-38.

21. Hapgood, *Abraham Lincoln*, p. 368.

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The suppression of the *Chicago Times* by General Burnside on June 2, 1863, revealed some interesting views of the President as regards the rights of newspapers during a war period. A letter from Stanton to Burnside just after the suppression of the paper stated:²²

Since writing the above letter the President has been informed that you have suppressed the publication or circulation of the *Chicago Times* in your department. He directs me to say that in his judgment it would be better for you to take an early occasion to revoke that order. The irritation produced by such acts is in his opinion likely to do more harm than the publication would do. The Government approves of your motives and desires to give you cordial and efficient support. But while military movements are left to your judgment, upon administrative questions such as the arrest of civilians and the suppression of newspapers not requiring immediate action the President desires to be previously consulted.

Nearly a year after the above incident Lincoln wrote I. N. Arnold, "I can only say I was embarrassed with the question between what was due to the military services on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other."²³ Prior to Burnside's suppression of the *Times* a woman visitor in the White House had asked the President why he did not stop publication of that leading "copperhead." His reply was:²⁴

I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. Nothing but the very sternest necessity can ever justify it. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration, than to do aught that could be construed into an interference with, or to jeopardize in any degree, the common rights of its citizens.

On the morning of May 18, 1864, the *New York World* and the *New York Journal of Commerce* published a bogus proclamation of the President which called for a new draft of 400,000 men and asked the country to coöperate in a day of fasting, a seeming admission on the part of the administration that all was not well with the Union cause. A few other papers in various parts of the Nation were tricked by the faked proclamation but the two papers mentioned above were

22. O. R. Series II, Vol. V, p. 724.

23. Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 108.

24. Carpenter, F. B., *The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 156-57.

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the only publications singled out for official action. The same day the proclamation appeared in the New York newspapers an executive order was sent to Major-General Dix ordering him to arrest and imprison in some fort the editors, proprietors and publishers of the papers and to take possession by military force of the printing establishments of both papers and hold them until further orders.²⁵ The order was signed by the President and Secretary of State Seward.

All of the newspapers of New York protested against what they called an infringement by military authority on the freedom of the press in a district not under military law. Proceedings in the city court were brought by the newspapers against General Dix. The legal action was vigorously pushed by the Governor of the State. In a cabinet meeting on July 5, the subject of the arrest and trial of General Dix was brought forward but there appeared to be considerable hesitancy on the part of some to discuss the matter, Gideon Welles declares in his *Diary*. He states that Lincoln frankly avowed the act of having the editors imprisoned and the papers suspended to be his and thought the government should protect Dix.²⁶ Thus one may conclude that the President was willing to stand behind men carrying out his orders, even though the orders may not have been given with full willingness, as Mr. Welles indicates to be the case here. In this regard he said on May 23:²⁷

The act of suspending these journals, and the whole arbitrary and oppressive proceedings, had its origin with the Secretary of State. Stanton, I have no doubt, was willing to act on Seward's promptings, and the President, in deference to Seward, yielded to it.

As a matter of fact the suppression of the papers lasted only three days and General Dix was never convicted of overstepping his authority because he was able to prove that he was acting under Lincoln's order.

The White House during the Lincoln administration was a fertile source of news, says Ben Perley Poore, himself a newspaper correspondent. He hastily adds, however, that the President readily gave out news only to those in whom he had confidence. Often report-

25. Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, Vol. X, pp. 103-04.

26. *Diary of Gideon Welles*, Vol. II, p. 67.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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ers came to the Chief Executive complaining about the censorship or some cabinet member's refusal to give them the information they sought, but they found no gleam of sympathy in the eyes of Lincoln. There was, however, a gleam of good humor as he ignored their complaints, turning them away with a story or an apt anecdote. At other times when correspondents found him busy they presented their cards along with requests for verification of some rumor, and if the men were those in whom he had trust, he would either come out and give the coveted information or he would write it on the back of a card and send it to the owner.²⁸

And apparently the President was willing for war correspondents to accompany the army because on one occasion when a reporter, Thomas W. Knox of the *New York Herald*, had been excluded from Grant's military department by a court martial, Mr. Lincoln wrote General Grant that it appeared to him that the offense of the reporter had been "technical rather than wilfully wrong," and that he would like to see Mr. Knox reinstated if he (Grant) would give his express consent.²⁹ On another occasion, June 1, 1863, the President wrote the United States agent for prisoner exchange, Colonel W. H. Ludlow, the following letter:³⁰

Richardson and Browne, correspondents of the *Tribune* (New York) captured at Vicksburg, are detained at Richmond. Please ascertain why they are detained and get them off if you can.

It might be argued, of course, that the two incidents cited above prove not only that the President was interested in the doings and safety of war correspondents but that he was even more so interested in maintaining the good-will of the newspapers for which they worked, in these cases the powerful *New York Herald* and *Tribune*. This leads directly to another important aspect of the Lincoln-press relationship: the President's unconcealed desire to avoid a fight or quarrel with newspapers. At one time Mr. Lincoln said in this regard:³¹

No man, whether he be private citizen or President of the United States, can successfully carry on a controversy with a great news-

28. Browne, Frances F., *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 301.

29. Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 230.

30. O. R. Series II, Vol. V, p. 723.

31. Curtis, William E., *Abraham Lincoln*, p. 284.

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paper and escape destruction, unless he owns a newspaper equally great with a circulation in the same neighborhood.

Late in 1864 the Union command, having learned that the Confederates had assembled an immense amount of stores at Wilmington and that the port served as a vital blockade base, secretly dispatched a naval squadron to take the city. Full details of the expedition appeared in several New York papers, much to the dismay of the Federals. The matter was taken up in a cabinet meeting, December 23, 1864, a "prowling, mercenary" correspondent by the name of Osborn having been arrested for selling the secret information. The question before President Lincoln and his officers was what to do with Osborn and what steps should be taken against the newspapers using the information? Several cabinet members were in favor of arresting all editors who had printed the story; the matter, however, was settled by the President who said that he thought an example of Osborn might answer without a squabble with the editors.³²

But the President was not afraid of the newspaper press. It was just that he preferred to be at peace with editors. June 27, 1864, he wrote the editor of the *New York Evening Post*, saying, "May I ask whether the *Evening Post* has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the *Post* could know but little of the facts?" He went on to say that he would deal with persons as he felt it his duty to do so despite newspaper assaults.³³ At another time the President called a dispatch appearing in the *New York Mercury* "utter humbuggery" because it had stated that Grant's canal at Vicksburg had been used as the Union command sent several iron-clads and a large body of soldiers through it. The President said the report must be false because "there are no six iron-clads nor 15000 men at Vicksburg to pass through the canal, even if the Mississippi river had risen fifteen feet in as many minutes."³⁴

While the President might have joked about the *New York Times'* proposal to turn out his cabinet and depose him during the dark days of 1864,³⁵ nevertheless at times he did reveal a side of his

32. Welles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 207.

33. Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 136.

34. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of A. L.*, pp. 320-21.

35. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*, Vol. I, p. 107.

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nature that shrank from the pitiless opprobrium of the press. On occasion the comments were so painful to him that he requested his associates not to retail the notices to him, saying, "I have enough to bear now." On these occasions, however, his stronger nature soon would break in, the feeling of the rightness of his position would dominate him and he would say, "But I care nothing for them."³⁶

The question is sometimes asked as to the extent of Mr. Lincoln's perusal of newspapers during the war years. One writer of the time of the President states that during his lengthy intercourse with Lincoln he saw him reading a newspaper just one time. The Washington dailies—the *Chronicle*, *Republican*, and *Star*—were usually laid upon his table, but he did little more than glance at the telegraphic reports, the writer says.³⁷ John Hay reported that the President often read the Southern papers and clippings that were sent him, chiefly to get news of the war in the South.³⁸

In conclusion it may be interesting to consider another question that seemed to bother some persons: the matter of Lincoln's "favorite" newspaper. It is hard to say outright that the Civil War Executive had a particular newspaper or newspapers that he preferred because there is little evidence either way. One item of proof that may be examined, however, is his disposition of advertising patronage. Notices and advertisements from the executive departments were required by law to be published in the two Washington newspapers having the largest permanent circulation, and, at the President's discretion, in a third paper to be selected by him. On April 11, 1861, Lincoln named the *National Republican* as his choice.³⁹ On the twenty-seventh of April, 1863, he threatened to take the advertising patronage from the *Republican*, "if it continued to give cause for offense."⁴⁰ But the *Republican* evidently did not continue to "give offense" because on May 18 of the same year Lincoln wrote the following letter to the Secretary of War:⁴¹

You will greatly oblige me, because it will be a matter of personal relief to me, if you will allow Hanscom's (the *Republican*) accounts to be settled and paid.

36. Clark, L. P., *Lincoln—A Psycho-Biography*, p. 412.

37. Carpenter, *The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 153-54.

38. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*, Vol. I, p. 210.

39. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of A. L.*, pp. 324-25.

40. Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 255.

41. Angle, *New Letters*, pp. 324-25.

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Two months later the advertising bill had not been paid by the War Department so the President sent a second letter to Mr. Stanton, saying on this occasion:⁴²

MY DEAR SIR: I wish you would allow the *Republican* (my paper as you jokingly call it) to be paid for advertising. The non-payment is made a source of trouble to me.

If any newspaper could rightly lay claim to the title of "official Administration newspaper" it was the *Washington Daily Chronicle*, for that paper was a staunch supporter of Lincoln and enjoyed the sun of executive approval. Ben Perley Poore describes the *Chronicle* as having a large circulation, the Army of the Potomac taking ten thousand copies a day, and as getting much of the advertising of the War Department.⁴³ Another writer, of more recent date, describes the paper and its editor as follows:⁴⁴

Mr. Forney, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, probably did as much as any one man in the country to strengthen the Republican party in its early history and to prepare it for the struggle that was to follow. His paper, the *Washington Daily Chronicle*, enlisted every energy in the Union cause, and always supported Lincoln's administration. It was the official organ of the administration in Washington.

During the hectic months of 1864 Mr. Forney was a frequent caller at the White House, and the President was always ready to see him. On one occasion, at least, he summoned the editor of the *Chronicle* to come to see him immediately "for a special reason."⁴⁵

While it is almost impossible to say that Lincoln definitely favored these newspapers, it can be said that apparently they received more consideration than others.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

43. Ben Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences*, Vol. II, p. 128.

44. *Lincoln Letters at Brown*, p. 40.

45. Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 177.

The French Craze of '93 and the American Press

BY WILLIAM F. KELLER, LITT. M., M. A., ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA

I

HE storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, heralded the French Revolution. The mob ruled Paris; blood and wine flowed in rivulets down the streets. Nobles fled the city and crossed the borders of their country, seeking a haven from the terrible excesses of the Parisians. Lafayette, friend of America, commanded the newly formed National Guard. This glorious day was to thrill republicans the world over. A few weeks later, representatives of the nobility surrendered their feudal rights; and, after several turbulent years had passed, France abolished its monarchy. On September 22, 1792, the people awakened at dawn—the first day of the year *one* of the republic. This period of French history brought the concepts of liberty, equality, and fraternity to a nation in Europe. Republicanism was triumphant.

Thomas Jefferson, as our minister to France, witnessed the preliminary phases of the revolution. He could not help rejoicing. Attentively, he had watched the significant developments which were stirring the people into violent action. "A complete revolution in this government," he wrote a fellow diplomat in March, 1789, "has, within the space of two years (for it began with the Notables of 1787) been effected merely by the force of public opinion, aided indeed by the want of money which the dissipations of the court had brought on."¹ Although Jefferson was of the Virginia gentry, his philosophy was essentially democratic. If the spirit of liberty and equality prevailed in France, he reasoned, perhaps that ideal would spread throughout Europe and also strengthen democracy in the

1. Jefferson to David Humphreys, March 18, 1789, in Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1892-99), V, 86-87.

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United States, where many anti-democratic groups desired a government modelled after that of England.² The revolutionary leaders of France needed all the encouragement and advice they could possibly get. Jefferson did his best to aid them, taking a prominent part in the countless discussions and parleys which made Paris a mecca for political philosophers. His suggestions he gave out informally, as a private person; officially, he observed a scrupulous neutrality.³ Before the year's end, Jefferson returned to America—on a leave of absence—to attend to his personal affairs. After much urging by Washington, he finally accepted the recently created office of Secretary of State. He was undoubtedly a true friend of France.⁴

But among his fellow Americans, Jefferson was no exception. His political adherents were sympathetic with the French revolutionists, who, in 1792 and 1793, fervently proclaimed the virtues of republicanism to a listless world. Their principles must not be confined within the borders of *la Patrie*; they must be given to oppressed peoples everywhere. On April 20, 1792, France declared war on Austria; the following June, Prussia entered the conflict. A war fever surged through France. On February 1, 1793, the French formally issued a declaration of war directed at the enemy across the Channel. Holland and Spain joined the British almost immediately. France faced a truly formidable coalition of five nations, all anxious to destroy the movement which endangered their thrones. The Secretary of State felt that this lamentable situation would be productive of some good. To a person, who remains unidentified today, he wrote on March 18: "Should the present foment in Europe not produce republics everywhere, it will at least soften the monarchical governments by rendering monarchs amenable to punishment like other criminals, and doing away that rages of insolence and oppression, the inviolability of the King's person."⁵ The farmers, the small merchants, and the urban proletariat, fundamentally in accord with Jefferson, hoped to sever the British-American trade connections and to

2. Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1904), VI, 185.

3. *E. g.*, his proposed Charter of Rights. Jefferson to St. Etienne, June 3, 1789, in Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), V, 99-100.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 148.

5. Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh (Washington, 1903-04), IX, 45.

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transfer them to revolutionary France. Then, too, they thought of France as an old ally and remembered that the treaties of 1778 were still in force. The frontiersmen of America, settlers in the West, had sufficient reason to view the French cause with favor: Spain refused them the privilege of sailing in or out of the Mississippi, and Great Britain still held the posts on the northern and northwestern frontier. All of these elements in Jefferson's party hated monarchical institutions and anything that suggested oppression of the masses. With war raging on the continent, they could not remain indifferent.

The Hamiltonians, the opposing faction, were Anglophiles. These Federalists were wealthy aristocrats, businessmen, merchants, bankers, and most of the clergy. As a group, they realized the commercial dependence of the United States on Great Britain and frankly admired the British constitution. They believed the ties which bound the two countries together should be strengthened. With a war in Europe, the British government would surely avoid offending America and would seek to unite more affectionately their peoples. The Federalists never forgot the commercial relations which proved so profitable to both countries: the flourishing trade with British ports provided over three-fourths of the United States' revenue; and the citizens of Great Britain had heavy investments in their former colonies. This party, so ably fathered by Hamilton, feared the pro-French attitude of Jefferson's followers.

Consequently, in 1792 and 1793, America took no little interest in the struggle which threatened to spread throughout the world. The eastern coast was separated by a vast wilderness from the Mississippi. But, nevertheless, the citizens of Kentucky reacted to news from abroad as excitedly as the people of Pennsylvania or of any other state. The merchant received much information through his correspondence with commercial houses in Europe and the West Indies; the government official relied on diplomatic dispatches; the average man read his newspaper.

Every important city in the country had at least one gazette which carried both local and foreign news in its columns. The tiny *Boston News Letter* of 1704 had been the only journal in America for nearly fifteen years, but its monopoly was broken in 1719. By 1793, journalism was definitely established as a profession. Publishers printed

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stories of local origin, extracts from other papers, letters-to-the-editor, and government documents. They accepted advertisements and even wrote vigorous editorials. Frequently, "extras" and "supplements" were issued to accommodate the subscribers. The journals of this period influenced public opinion to a surprising degree; many of them took sides in politics or were actually subsidized by political factions. To them we must resort " . . . if we would find the real iniquities of the party criticised, and the merits of that advocated by the writers of the time."⁶

Such gazettes, to the reader of today, reflect so clearly the division between the partisans of Hamilton and Jefferson. The Federalist papers outnumbered the ones which attacked Washington's administration and owed their potency primarily to Alexander Hamilton, a superb journalist. He often contributed articles to the *Gazette of the United States*, which was published in Philadelphia by John Fenno; in 1793, he rescued the editor from bankruptcy. Their journal was filled with monarchial notions and some of its accounts read like the announcements issued from the Court of St. James. To "furnish an antidote," Philip Freneau established *The National Gazette* in 1791.⁷ Jefferson solved the financial difficulty involved in its creation by the simple device of using patronage; he appointed the poet a translating clerk in the Department of State, with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year. Freneau enthusiastically entered the lists to combat the aristocrats who threatened American democracy. He circulated the paper throughout the country, and editors, of the same persuasion, reprinted his forceful arguments. Out in the West, John Bradford, known as "the Kentucky Franklin," supported the republican cause in his journal. *The Kentucky Gazette*, printed in Lexington, devoted much space to national and foreign news. Eastern publishers scanned its columns as a valuable source of information on frontier conditions. These three papers provide evidence of the

6. William Nelson, "The American Newspapers of the Eighteenth Century as Sources of History," American Historical Association, *Report*, I (1908), 222. My article, the same as Nelson's, serves to indicate what can be done in the respective field. I have not found it necessary to use all of the available newspaper material, for much of it is mere duplication. I have also tried to stress the more significant aspects of the French craze of 1793, perhaps to the neglect of others.

7. Samuel E. Forman, "The Political Activities of Philip Freneau," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ser. XX, Nos. 9-10 (1902), 43.

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cleavages—political, social, and sectional—which split the population into dissenting groups. They typify the state of the press in the crucial years of 1792 and 1793.

The historian, after thoroughly studying them, can describe the American scene of that time confidently. Such a study obviously has its limitations and must occasionally be expanded by recourse to other materials. The French craze which swept America is recorded vividly in the yellowed gazettes. How did the people react to the thrilling news from Europe? How did they receive the young and dashing envoy from republican France? And what use did they make of the journals to further their own special interests?

II

Papers in all sections of America reported the progress of the French Revolution in astonishing detail. Whole columns contained European intelligence, extracts from foreign journals and private correspondence, news generously supplied by the masters of arriving ships and opinions expressed by various persons. John Bradford, in Kentucky, endeavored to keep his subscribers abreast with events. "As the late insurrection in France very naturally occupy all conversations," he wrote early in 1790, "this short sketch of the royal Family of that kingdom may not be unacceptable to the generality of the public."⁸ The Westerners, living in isolated settlements on the frontier, were extremely interested in foreign affairs. But their interest was characteristic of the entire Nation. When the revolution seemed an established fact, American editors began to feature poems and songs which inflamed republican spirits. Fenno, the supporter of monarchy, printed the revolutionary "*Ça Ira*";⁹ and down in North Carolina, John Sibley delighted his readers with Joel Barlow's "The Conspiracy of Kings."¹⁰ The democratic element, the Jeffersonians and the Francophiles, quickly learned the mannerisms of the new France. Before long, rabble were to tramp the streets chanting the *Marseillaise*, sporting the tricolor, and clashing with the Federalists.

In 1792, citizens of the United States celebrated the anniversary of the French Revolution. Philadelphia, on July 14, was the scene of

8. *The Kentucky Gazette*, February 6, 1790.

9. *Gazette of the United States*, June 30, 1792.

10. *Fayetteville Gazette*, September 25, 1792.

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"various demonstrations of joy."¹¹ Vessels in the harbor were decorated colorfully, and one ship "saluted the day by frequent firings." In the evening, a display of fireworks entertained a large crowd. At private parties, the excitement was equally intense. A select company met at Oeller's Hotel to partake of a splendid repast and to toast *le Jour*. To us today, their enthusiasm appears a bit ridiculous: they downed their wine while cheering the "Fair of France and America—may each wave a Cap of Liberty for a husband." Philip Pancake, to honor his country's ally, invited forty-nine gentlemen to dine with him.¹² Between each of their sixteen toasts, artillery was discharged. It was a gala occasion. The military of Philadelphia likewise did not ignore the day. The 4th Regiment of Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel I. Shee commanding, assembled at "Mr. George Ogden's, Upper-Ferry, on the river Schuylkill."

The followers of Hamilton, however, had no reason to rejoice. Could they foresee what was yet to come? Fenno, in his journal, noted that extralegal clubs and committees were "excellent expedients to destroy a government"; and added that "it may be justly queried, whether they have ever formed, created or established any guards for freedom, or any system of laws in lieu of those they have destroyed, for the security of persons or property—How is it possible they ever should?"¹³ He condemned the situation in France, where the government and these bodies, "superior to law and the constitution," ruled together. Similar organizations, within a year, were to be seen in the United States. A "Committee of Correspondence" reminded him of the enemies of Congress: "They say government is not a thing to be supported and carried through—What is it good for but to be pulled to pieces? A revolution is a good thing. The more of a good thing the better."¹⁴ Had Freneau's fulminations frightened them? "Cato" complained to Dunlap of the *Daily Advertiser* how certain men in America were discontented with Washington's administration. They resembled so closely the leaders of France who had "plunged the affairs" of that country into "extreme disorder and jeopardy."¹⁵ "If there are such men among us," he warned, "for the

11. *Gazette of the United States*, July 18, 1792.

12. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 17, 1792.

13. *Gazette of the United States*, August 1, 1792.

14. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1792.

15. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 26, 1792.

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love of country, for the sake of peace . . . let us be upon our guard against their machinations, let us watch them with eagle eye. . . .” This debate on the evils, or the blessings, of the time even concerned the scholars in Cambridge, Massachusetts. At the July commencement of 1792, a conference considered the “comparative importance of the American, French and Polish Revolutions, to mankind.”¹⁶ The revolutionary movement in France, during the summer of 1792, made a timely subject for academic discussions and an occasional letter to the editor.

But when the armies of the Republic met with their initial victories, the republicans in America were quick to express their joy. “From accounts it appears that the inhabitants in almost every town in the United States have celebrated the late news of the success of the French Nation over their despotic enemies,” we read in one southern gazette.¹⁷ Truly, the torch of liberty burned brightly in all parts of the country. Within a month, dozens of celebrations were held, all marked by the same extravagant language and dress of the revelers, the noisy processions, the tinkling of glasses and the proposing of toasts, punctuated by the crash of artillery. They began late in December, 1792. In New York, the Tammany Society inaugurated the festivities by petitioning the mayor to make them a civic project. On the twenty-seventh, every bell in town was rung; the Tammanyites gathered in their great wigwam at night and sent a deputation to wait on M. Marbois, the French consul; the society of tradesmen met at Mechanic Hall to toast their brothers across the seas. “Joy and conviviality shone on every countenance. . . .”¹⁸ In Alexandria that week, a group of gentlemen dined at Mr. Wise’s Hotel to rejoice over the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick before the soldiers of France. The readers of the newspaper report of this affair were assured that the “emotions of those who had assembled, to enjoy at the same time, the triumph of Patriotism and the disgrace of Despotism can be conceived only by being *felt*.”¹⁹ In January, citizens of other Virginia communities, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, and Nor-

16. *Gazette of the United States*, July 28, 1792.

17. *Fayetteville Gazette*, March 5, 1793.

18. *Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser*, January 3, 1793.

19. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1793.

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folk, testified their affection for the French.²⁰ Farther South, the glorious victories on the continent did not pass unnoticed. A procession moved from the courthouse to Christ Church in Savannah;²¹ and in Charleston, elaborate ceremonies, like a wonderful pageant, stirred the populace.²² And so it was up and down the land: a splendid entertainment at Oeller's in Philadelphia;²³ dinners in three New Jersey towns, Cranberry,²⁴ Canterbury,²⁵ and New Brunswick;²⁶ an assembly in historic Lexington on the spot "stained with the blood of our fellow citizens," shed in the encounter with the British;²⁷ meetings elsewhere in Massachusetts, at Roxbury, Dorchester, and Cambridge;²⁸ a ball in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where the men, "ever anxious to gratify the gentler sex," contributed gallantly "to their amusement and pleasure."²⁹ And out in Lexington, Kentucky, partisans of the French attended "a ball and supper given by subscription at Messrs. Love and Brent's."³⁰ That ardent Francophile, Bradford, was lavish in his praise of the event: "No individual, however great his merits, was toasted. The great and general cause of liberty claimed their wishes—to it they drained the festive glass. Though the company was numerous and, what has improperly been called mixed, no disagreeable circumstance occurred to disturb the harmony or interrupt the pleasures of the evening. All was a joyous happy meeting of the Fair and Free."

These celebrations cannot be compared with Boston's magnificent civic festival of Thursday, January 24. The week had begun with a dinner at the Coffee House on Monday, as "a prologue to the Festive Scenes" that were to come.³¹ Committees were then appointed and elaborate preparations made, while the public was kept fully informed through the local papers. Citizen Bradlee's artillery saluted the dawn of this great day, and many people assembled in Liberty Square at an

20. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1793.

21. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1793.

22. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1793.

23. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1793.

24. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1793.

25. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1793.

26. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1793.

27. *Ibid.*, February 23, 1793.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1793.

30. *Kentucky Gazette*, February 16, 1793.

31. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, February 1, 1793.

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early hour.³² At eleven o'clock, an ox, roasted the night before, was exhibited to the excited crowd. The procession formed soon after: "Each horse had a Conductor, dressed in white; a number were ornamented with elegant silk flags, as were all the carts, in which the liquor and bread were conveyed." The parade moved slowly from the north end of town to Liberty Stump, passed the homes of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, crossed Federal Street and came to Liberty Square ("formerly called Oliver's-Dock"). Here a battery of fifteen guns welcomed the huzzaing marchers, and the ceremony of naming the spot was performed. The procession disbanded in State Street, where a huge gathering had awaited it. Unfortunately, "the refreshment provided, could not be so equally distributed, as was wished; but notwithstanding this circumstance, the highest degree of cheerfulness and good-will prevailed; and the sacrifice being speedily demolished, the citizens retired in good order." The jail and the almshouse received what was left of the supply of bread. At two o'clock, another parade, led by Citizen Waters and his band, proceeded from the State House to Faneuil Hall, where S. Adams, acting as president, carefully directed the sumptuous entertainment for nearly three hundred persons. Cannon were fired to announce the toasts. The company applauded a delegation from neighboring Charlestown when its members "expressed the congratulations of their constituents on the auspicious occasion." And at sunset, Liberty Square was the scene of a significant act: The "head of *the Ox*, conducted thither, by a number of citizen-seamen, was deposited at the foot of their *Liberty-Pole*—the Horns of which, after being suitably gilt, are to be placed at the top of the flag-staff. At night, a Lantern was displayed from the Staff, with a view of the *Bastile* demolished, and the *British Lion* lying on the ground—MOTTO. '*May he never rise until he can rise to support the Liberty of Mankind.*'" Bonfires and fireworks added to the gaiety of the evening. In various parts of the city, "select" groups dined together. Two other events during the day caused considerable comment: the prisoners in the jail were liberated so they might "again breathe the air of Liberty"; and balloon ascensions added a carnival spirit to the merrymaking.

32. See account of the affair in *ibid.*, February 5, 1793.

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The Federalists were no doubt exceedingly uncomfortable that day. Their chagrin, however, could only increase as more and more evidence of this French craze accumulated. A certain James Backus inserted the following advertisement in a Boston paper: "On the evening of Thursday the 24th. of January, probably some hours after the citizens of Boston had eaten the CIVIC OX, and were dancing to the tune of CA IRA, citizen *John Kelly*, a youth of 19 years of age, bound to the subscriber till the age of 21 . . . , inspired with the noble love of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, gallantly released himself from my service by the manly operation of running away."³³ He promised a handsome reward to any person who had a "sufficient quantity of ANTI-REPUBLICANISM" to apprehend the indentured servant. The city of Philadelphia reserved its celebrations in honor of the French victories until February 6, a date singularly appropriate; it was the anniversary of the famous Franco-American alliance of 1778. The Governor of Pennsylvania, officers of the militia, the French Minister and the Consul-General, all participated in ceremonies at the State House and the City Tavern. Another company dined at Mr. Hyde's Hotel. But they were not the only celebrators in town, for "Bands of music, fife, drum, trumpets, &c. were heard from all quarters, so that the rejoicing was general, rational and sincere."³⁴ In Virginia, a member of the Society of Cincinnati proposed that it be convened as early as possible for the formal recognition and approbation of the French military successes. At the meeting, he hoped a motion "to tender as a donation to the National Assembly of France, the funds now possessed by the said society . . . " would be considered.³⁵

Already the newspaper offices were being flooded with a stream of communications regarding the memorable events abroad. One ardent democrat in Boston demanded the abolition of ecclesiastical titles. "To give the title of Reverend to *any man*, 'be he who he may,' " this correspondent assured the editor, "is not only anti republican, but absolutely blasphemous—Reverend, only belongs to the Supreme Being."³⁶ In Philadelphia, a person, who signed his letter to the *Daily Advertiser* with an "X," denounced "the number and fre-

33. See reprint in *Kentucky Gazette*, June 1, 1793.

34. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, February 7, 1793.

35. *Kentucky Gazette*, March 23, 1793.

36. See account in *ibid.*

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quency of *oaths* in all the laws and courts of the United States" as a disgraceful remnant of the "monarchical and aristocratical tyrannies of Europe" still existing in America.³⁷ A certain "D" caused a brief, but amusing, debate in Dunlap's journal when he discussed the topic of "Calumnies against the French." In the National Convention, a speaker had vehemently said that he was an atheist; the assembly applauded his declaration. "D" charged that, as a result of this incident, a particular class in the United States was now boldly insinuating that atheism was the creed of the entire French people: "Those ideas, with many others, are industriously ushered to in the American News-papers, with a view, as it seems, to warp the minds of Americans with the prejudices of another Nation, against the French."³⁸ His argument was disputed at once by "A".³⁹ But, a few days later, "C" indicated to the editor his approval of "D's" observations.⁴⁰ There the matter ended. Down in North Carolina, "Equality" expressed his delight over the French revolution in a letter to Mr. Sibley of the *Fayetteville Gazette*: "France, emancipated from the hedious yoke of monarchy and slavery, triumphantly goes on, conquering and to conquer, the enemies of patriotism, philosophy and virtue—as liberty, like the elements we live in, suffers no diminution by the universality of its use."⁴¹

III

When the Federal government was confronted with several momentous issues in the spring of 1793, the newspapers served only to make its position more difficult. Should the United States adopt a policy of neutrality or should it actively support France in the conflict? Washington's cabinet did not discuss this question until mid-April;⁴² but writers in the gazettes were heatedly debating the matter in March. One, known to us as "C", thought it wise to "view the disputes of foreign nations, with the calm eye of reason." When "it is asked of us, to join in them," he wrote Dunlap, the Philadelphia edi-

37. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, May 25, 1793.

38. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1793.

39. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1793.

40. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1793.

41. March 12, 1793.

42. See Thomas Jefferson, *The Complete Anas of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Franklin B. Sawvel (New York, 1903), pp. 118-20.

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tor, "let us remember, that we are Americans, and not Europeans, and ought to form an opinion merely on the principles of reason."⁴³ "L" was not so vague: "Is there a true American who does not believe that the French nation is well disposed to this country? . . . Why should Americans conceal their sentiments? . . . The present war is of the *kingly power* against that of the *people of the world*."⁴⁴ Another correspondent, "B", was most emphatic as to his position: "War or no war? This is the general question. . . ." Some people, it seemed to him, were "very desirous of war, else they never could have found any thing in our treaty of alliance with France, published in your paper of the 28th ult to justify the assertion, that we are bound to assist France in case G. Britain shall attack her W. India possessions." He then analyzed the treaty provisions to prove that such an obligation was non-existent.⁴⁵ These letters to the *Daily Advertiser* indicate the political situation: their authors had as yet no particular policy of the government which they could attack or commend.

On April 22, however, the administration issued its famous Proclamation of Neutrality.⁴⁶ The republicans denounced the declaration at once, but the Federalist leaders supported it with vigor. Its most powerful defender was Hamilton himself, who, as "Pacificus," wrote a series of eight articles in the *Gazette of the United States*, the last appearing on July 27. So pungent were his arguments that Jefferson, exasperated, alarmed at their popularity, wrote Madison: "Nobody answers him & his doctrines will therefore be taken for confessed. For God's sake, my dear Sir, take up your pen, select the most striking heresies and cut him to pieces in the face of the public. There is nobody else who can & will enter the lists against him."⁴⁷ Madison was reluctant to undertake the task. He protested that his "present disposition" and a lack of "material facts" disqualified him.⁴⁸ At the end of July, he informed his friend that he intended to reply to Hamilton. Madison declared it was a most "grating" duty, for

43. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, March 25, 1793.

44. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1793.

45. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1793.

46. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1793.

47. Jefferson to Madison, July 7, 1793, in Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), VI, 338.

48. Madison to Jefferson, July 18, 1793, in James Madison, *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. by Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), VI, 135.

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he was " . . . obliged to proceed in scraps of time, with a distaste to the subject, and a distressing lassitude from the excessive and continued heat of the season. . . . "49 His efforts culminated in the appearance of five articles, under the name "Helvidius," in Fenno's journal during August and September. This controversy excited great interest, for nobody doubted who were the real authors. Many newspapers also criticized the proclamation severely. A person, self-styled "Veritas," attacked it bitterly in Freneau's gazette, challenging Washington to explain his policy on the basis of "duty and interest."⁵⁰ The three "Veritas" letters were answered by "A Friend to Peace."

The proclamation, as a glance at the *Daily Advertiser* for April and May will confirm, served to intensify the discussion concerning the merits of a neutrality policy for America. "When foreign nations engage in war," Dunlap stated in an editorial, "nothing can be more obvious and certain, than that it is 'the duty' of the United States to pursue a peaceful line of conduct; unless some treaty with any one of them shall require from us an hostile conduct to the others."⁵¹ This, he held, was the purport of the President's declaration. A certain "X" seconded the editor's statement, noting that the proclamation "gives very general satisfaction." The writer hoped his country would "enjoy all the blessings of peace, and advantages of commerce, with all of the parties; and that our farmers and merchants will grow rich in furnishing supplies of provisions—and as our commerce extends, employment will be given to many, who we daily see sauntering, for want of business to employ themselves in. . . . "52 "Varro," adopting a similar approach to the problem, rejoiced over the fact that both France and Great Britain were "paying homage to America."⁵³ But he feared that France, "jealous of the growing unity" between the peoples of England and the United States, would prey upon their trade. He, too, expected great advantages from the English desire for an American alliance and suggested the cession of Nova Scotia and Canada as a "splendid equivalent." To this "Ignotus" replied immediately. It "gives me no inconsiderable degree of pain to find

49. Madison to Jefferson, July 30, 1793, in *ibid.*, VI, 138-39.

50. *The National Gazette*, June 1, 1793.

51. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, April 29, 1793.

52. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1793.

53. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1793.

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the pen of Varro . . . ,” he advised Dunlap, “busied in endeavors to stir up discontent in the public mind, and unwarrantably attempting to disseminate a spirit of jealousy between our allies the French, and their friends the Americans.”⁵⁴ Quite interesting is his division of the people of America into two definite groups: “nine-tenths, at least,” he believed, “. . . are already friendly to the French revolution from *principle*, and there is certainly another tenth would be friendly to the British from *interest*. . . .” Four days later, there appeared a letter from “Hortensius,” who joined the spirited attack against Varro. He accused him of trying “to warp his American countrymen (if his countrymen we are) into an ungenerous prediliction for the British, in opposition to the French interest in their present unfortunate struggle.”⁵⁵ Hortensius did, however, advocate “a strict—a sacred neutrality.” Varro lost no time in defending his stand and asked: “In the name of common sense, what designs can the British have that merit a moment’s thought?”⁵⁶ And, of course, this sally failed to silence Hortensius, who now questioned Varro’s professed friendliness to the French revolution.⁵⁷ At this point, the adversaries ended their brief and inconclusive engagement.

The papers, meanwhile, were carrying accounts concerning the new French Minister who had landed at Charleston. The republicans of Philadelphia were thrilled at the prospect of entertaining Citizen Ternant’s successor, a man no doubt imbued with the democratic philosophy of revolutionary France. The same day Washington issued his neutrality proclamation, the public read of Genet’s arrival in America. Dunlap’s gazette reprinted extracts from a Charleston journal describing the event.⁵⁸ On the morning of April 8, the frigate *l’Embuscade* had appeared off the bar of that South Carolina port. The ship anchored and sent a boat up to the wharf, where a large crowd waited expectantly. The handsome emissary introduced himself, and the citizens responded with an enthusiastic welcome. Genet spent ten busy days in the city; countless rumors excited the populace.

54. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1793.

55. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1793.

56. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1793.

57. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1793.

58. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1793. See also William F. Keller, “The Frontier Intrigues of Citizen Genet,” in *Americana*, XXXIV (1940), 569-75.

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The people of Philadelphia must have wondered what the future would bring, after reading in their paper this dispatch from Charleston: "A variety of reports still continue to amuse and terrify our citizens, respecting the instructions of the French Ambassador, and the part our federal government MUST take in the war entered into between England and France—were these true, we should inevitably be plunged into the horrors of a destructive and unprofitable war, almost without end or object—but as these have evidently no other foundation than the momentary hope or fears of the reporters, we shall not on such authority, retail the 'IDLE GOSSIP.'" This was disturbing news for the Hamiltonians—the suggestion of war! Soon they were to learn of the Minister's activity: how he had ordered the establishment of a "house of rendezvous for entering seamen for the French service" and the fitting out of privateers.⁵⁹ They read also of the riots in Charleston between French and English sailors. On one occasion, a naval officer of France was viciously assaulted, the national cockade torn out of his hat and his head severely bruised.⁶⁰ "Could this have happened in our city?" the Federalists might have asked themselves. Before long they were to have the answer.

The republican element in Philadelphia eagerly awaited the coming of Genet. Preparations for greeting him were made more than two weeks in advance of his actual appearance. On April 26, a pilot-boat belonging to William Ross and Robert Fleeson arrived from the Capes, bringing information that the *Embuscade* had taken several prizes, the *Little Sarah* and the *Grange*, on its way north.⁶¹ The Minister, however, was not on board the frigate, for he had decided to undertake the journey by land. "It was yesterday reported generally among our citizens," Dunlap advised his readers, "that instead of receiving Mr. Genet in the old-accustomed etiquette of firing cannon, ringing bells, throwing rockets, &c. we are to meet him out of town with three cheers, and only thus welcome him, as a fellow-republican-citizen." Persons were to be stationed at convenient points on the road to keep the people informed as to his progress. Then, on May 2, the *Embuscade* put majestically into port. Coming slowly up the river, she fired a fifteen-gun salute, which was answered by the artil-

59. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, April 30 and May 6, 1793.

60. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1793.

61. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1793.

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lery on the Market Street wharf. Most of the vessels in the harbor had their colors flying. But all eyes were turned to the French man-of-war: "A cap of Liberty appears on the head, stern & foremast of the Frigate, and the quarter galleries are decorated with gilt anchors, bearing the *Bonnet Rouge*, and Letters F.R. for FRENCH REPUBLIC."⁶² Her arrival served to intensify the preparations for the Minister's reception. The German Republican Society, but recently established, appointed a committee charged with drafting an address to be presented to him.⁶³ The *Daily Advertiser*, on May 14, informed its readers of the latest plans. Gray's ferry was to be the place of rendezvous. A few hours before Genet's appearance, the *Embuscade* would fire three cannon to notify the people of his approach. A huge crowd would thus have plenty of time to assemble for the welcome.

The Minister disrupted the program by entering the city quietly in a public coach. "Arrangements were taken for meeting him at Gray's Ferry in a great body," Jefferson wrote to Madison. "He escaped that by arriving in town with the letters which brought information that he was on the road."⁶⁴ May 16, nevertheless, will be a day long remembered for its displays of republican ardor. With Genet in their midst, the opposing political factions of Hamilton and Jefferson hurriedly acted to capitalize on the situation. The Federalist effort was rather feeble—it lacked color. This laconic announcement in the papers indicated that something was being planned to chill the warmth of the envoy's arrival: "The Merchants of this City are requested to meet *this Day*, at the City-Tavern, at 12 o'Clock, on Business of Importance."⁶⁵ On May 17, the merchants and traders waited on President Washington with their address, signed "by about three hundred" of them.⁶⁶ They acclaimed the "wisdom and goodness which dictated" his proclamation and urged the observance of a strict neutrality. But on the same day at six o'clock, another group of citizens met at the State House preparatory to presenting Genet with the counter address, which had been drafted by "Messrs. Rit-

62. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1793.

63. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1793.

64. Jefferson to Madison, May 19, 1793, in Jefferson, *Writings* (Lipscomb and Bergh ed.), IX, 96.

65. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 1793.

66. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1793.

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tenhouse, Serjeant, Hutchinson, DuPonceau, Fox, Barton, and Dallas."⁶⁷ They all wanted to witness the ceremony of presentation; two gentlemen were accordingly sent to ascertain what time Genet would like to receive the address.⁶⁸ The Minister graciously consented to accept it immediately in order to spare the people the trouble of another meeting. His solicitude won their affection. A large committee of prominent republicans was appointed to deliver the address; then this select group, preceded by the chairman, Charles Biddle, and "followed by an immense body of citizens, walking three a breast," marched to the City Tavern. Genet received the delegation inside, while the crowd in the streets cheered uproariously. He gave an extempore reply to the address. "It is impossible to describe with adequate energy," we read in Dunlap's gazette, "the scene that succeeded. Shouts and salutations were not unaccompanied with other evidences of the effect which this interesting interview had upon the passions of the parties, who were engaged in it." The Minister moved to a window to say a "few but emphatic sentences" to those below. The next day, he sent the committee a formal answer to their address. His conduct augured well for a successful ministry.

By various demonstrations the citizens of Philadelphia continued to express their regard for Genet. At two o'clock, Saturday, May 18, he visited the President to present his letters of credence.⁶⁹ In spite of Jefferson's efforts, the meeting between the young diplomat and Washington was extremely formal and cold. But otherwise, the day was a happy one for Genet. A committee from the German Republican Society waited on him with an address, to which he immediately replied.⁷⁰ That night the French colony gave a magnificent dinner in his honor at Oeller's.⁷¹ After the repast Citizen DuPonceau read an "elegant" ode composed by Citizen Pichon, "a young Frenchman of promising abilities." The revelers asked Citizen Freneau, the editor, to put it into English verse and to publish both the original and the translation. Genet himself favored the company with a song:

67. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1793.

68. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1793.

69. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1793.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1793.

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Come all ye who in freedom glory,
Ye Frenchmen attend at her call;
A noble path's open before ye,
By Your hands the despots must fall.
 &c., &c.

At a respectable hour in the evening, the guests left the hotel and accompanied the Minister to the City Tavern, "amidst the acclamations of a large concourse of citizens, whose repeated huzzas were answered by shouts of God save the United States." Touched by the sincerity and fervor of his welcome to America, he had that very day authorized the *Daily Advertiser* "to say, that Citizen Genet cannot sufficiently express his gratitude for the kind hospitality of the inhabitants of the several states through which he has passed since his departure from Charleston to his arrival in this city."⁷² The celebrations, however, were not yet ended. The Ciceronian Society, "a juvenile literary institution, formed for the purpose of the improvement of its members in elocution," presented the Minister with an address.⁷³ On June 1, an entertainment by the republicans was held at Oeller's. About two hundred people attended. It was indeed a noisy affair, with the artillery stationed nearby firing "15 rounds at the 1st, 8th and last toasts and 3 at every other."⁷⁴

About this time, Philadelphia was the scene of riots between French and English seamen. On May 29, a "friend of peace and good order" circulated a card throughout the city advising the magistrates to stop these skirmishes which endangered innocent bystanders: "A little longer delay may be fatal, and cost many valuable lives, which a timely exertion may preserve. *An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.*"⁷⁵ The following day, the Consul-General of Great Britain recommended, "most earnestly," that the sailors of his country "conduct themselves with the greatest moderation and good order."⁷⁶ The situation grew so serious that the President of the Court of General Quarter Sessions told the grand jury of the necessity of strengthening the police force. The appointment of constables to serve as special "conservators of the peace" would be sufficient, he

72. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1793.

73. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1793.

74. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1793.

75. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1793.

76. *Ibid.*

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thought.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, members of Captain Fisher's artillery and Captain Bartram's volunteer company of light infantry were patrolling the streets at night.⁷⁸ The summer of 1793 in Philadelphia was a period of frequent disorder—of that there is no question. In 1813, John Adams wrote bitterly to Jefferson: "You certainly never felt the terrorism excited by Genet in 1793, when ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia, day after day, threatened to drag Washington out of his house, and effect a revolution in the government, or compel it to declare war in favor of the French Revolution, and against England. . . . I have no doubt you were fast asleep in philosophical tranquillity when ten thousand people, and perhaps many more, were parading the streets of Philadelphia, on the evening of my *Fast Day*. When even Governor Mifflin himself, thought it his duty to order a patrol of horse and foot, to preserve the peace; when Market Street was as full as men could stand by one another, and even before my door; when some of my domestics, in frenzy, determined to sacrifice their lives in my defence; when all were ready to make a desperate sally among the multitude, and others were with difficulty and danger dragged back by the others; when I myself judged it prudent and necessary to order chests of arms from the War Office, to be brought through by lanes and back doors; determined to defend my house at the expense of my life, and the lives of the few, very few, domestics and friends within it. What think you of terrorism, Mr. Jefferson?"⁷⁹ His account of that turbulent year wasn't all exaggeration.

IV

Another phenomenon of that fateful summer was the creation of democratic societies throughout the country. They were patterned after the Jacobin clubs of France, and their purpose was to promote the struggle against anti-republican interests. On May 30, the parent organization, the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania, was formed, its constitution drafted by Alexander Dallas. The French revolution was its inspiration; Citizen Genet, for the time, the beneficiary of its activities. The society, too, served as a center of opposition

77. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1793.

78. *Ibid.*

79. Adams to Jefferson, June 30, 1813, in Jefferson, *Writings* (Lipscomb and Bergh ed.), XIII, 297-98.

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against Washington's administration and the Federalists generally. Because the club's chief weapon was propaganda, the gazettes contain much material concerning it. The members hoped similar groups elsewhere in the State and Nation would organize to "erect the temple of LIBERTY on the ruins of *palaces and thrones*."⁸⁰ Their wish was fulfilled, for all over the land imitations sprang up—like mushrooms overnight.

The origin of the Lexington society, as recorded in the *Kentucky Gazette*, makes an interesting study. On August 22, a number of republicans met at the home of Robert M'Gowan to consider the idea of establishing a democratic society.⁸¹ They decided to "form themselves into" one and to adopt the "laudable objects" of the Philadelphia organization. A committee, consisting of William Murray, James Brown, Thomas Irwin, Robert M'Gowan, Thomas Todd, and—as might be expected—John Bradford, was appointed to draw up a constitution. The company then resolved that Bradford be requested to publish the principles and regulations of the Philadelphia society in his journal. The next step was a public meeting at the State House on August 28, at which time the officers were elected.⁸² John Breckenridge became the chairman; John Bradford and Robert Todd, vice-chairmen; Thomas Todd and Thomas Bodley, clerks; and Alexander M'Gregor, the treasurer. The members of the important committee of correspondence were: William Murray, James Hughes, James Brown, James Moore, and Robert Todd. They were ordered to write a circular letter to the people of Kentucky in which they would set forth the *raison d'être* of the society. This was duly written in the most forceful language. Its cardinal principle held that "in order to preserve the inestimable blessing of Liberty, from the open attacks of avowed tyrants, or the more insidious, tho much more destructive machinations of ambitious and intriguing men, it behoves the people to watch over the conduct of their officers in every department of Government."⁸³ The manifesto then praised the French revolution in vivid terms. It ended with an invitation to the citizens of Kentucky to form "meetings" in the several counties which could join and cor-

80. *The National Gazette*, July 17, 1793.

81. *Kentucky Gazette*, August 24, 1793.

82. *Ibid.*, August 31, 1793.

83. *Ibid.*

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respond with the one in Lexington. The latter was declared "co extensive with the State." The members assembled again on September 9 to perfect the organization of their society.⁸⁴ The officers decided to hold another election so that all new members would have an opportunity to participate. Future meetings, it was agreed, were to be held at the State House "on the Monday preceding the second Tuesday in every Month precisely at eleven o'clock in the morning"; and accounts of the proceedings were to be published regularly in Bradford's paper. "Aristides" addressed a congratulatory letter to his fellow-citizens who had formed such a worthy association. He could not refrain from condemning "the fawning sycophants that now infest the Federal Court"; and adding that "If the heroes who fell in defence of the liberties of America should arise and be witness to the ceremonial farce exhibited by their chief, they must suppose themselves transported to a country matured in corruption: they must bleed afresh to behold their brethren bend the knee to him who once would have shrunk with horror from the scene. . . ."⁸⁵

This quotation indicates what was to be the trend in the society's politics. Its members loudly praised the revolutionists of France but never, as a body, recommended aid to their cause as represented by the work of George Rogers Clark in the West. It seems likely, however, that certain individuals connected with the society might have promised some financial backing to Clark's projected expedition against Louisiana.⁸⁶ A study of the newspaper sources, of course, would not reveal such transactions—if there were any. But the organization publicly adopted a program which could only benefit if the embittered general were successful. On November 11, the society unanimously agreed to the resolution that the westerners had a right to the free navigation of the Mississippi and that a "remonstrance to the President and Congress" should be drafted.⁸⁷ "That we expect and demand from the government," the resolution continued, "that they take immediate and effectual steps to procure and secure to us the enjoyment of that right. . . . Altho' we feel a conviction that we are strong enough to obtain that right by force, yet an attachment

84. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1793.

85. *Ibid.*

86. See Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-95.

87. *Kentucky Gazette*, November 16, 1793.

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to the American union; love to our brethren; respect to the government, and a sincere desire of preserving peace and harmony, have determined us to pursue this mode of application. . . . ” They further resolved that a committee be appointed to prepare a memorial to the General Assembly requesting a revision of the State criminal code. The society’s view with regard to the Mississippi was later upheld by “Aristides” in a long letter appearing in Bradford’s gazette.⁸⁸ The Bourbon County organization, formed at Paris on October 15,⁸⁹ coöperated with similar groups during the next spring in an attempt to formulate measures which would secure the unrestricted use of the river and the reduction of the posts occupied by the British.⁹⁰ The Kentuckians were determined to obtain redress of their two chief grievances and used the democratic societies as an effective agency for doing so. The one in Bourbon County even indicated in an address its disappointment over the State Constitution and the discord evident between the houses of the Legislature.⁹¹ The French cause was quickly forgotten in Kentucky when matters right at home seemed more important.

This transformation in the interests of the societies was not localized by any means; with Genet’s diplomacy discredited, they espoused a variety of projects. All of them were critical of the Federal government. As late as June, 1794, the Washington County society of Pennsylvania could not resist denouncing the President’s neutrality proclamation of the year before.⁹² Frequently the separate organizations acted together in attacking the administration. The German Republican Society of Philadelphia, for example, informed the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania in 1794, of its intention to “fraternize with you in every proceeding that shall have public for its object.”⁹³ They particularly objected to the government’s policy regarding the excise on domestic spirits and the appointment of Jay to negotiate with the British. The society in Wythe County, Virginia, also condemned the mission given to Jay and, besides, advised the American people to consider the idea of limiting the presidential term to eight years. “’Tis

88. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1794.

89. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1793.

90. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1794.

91. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1794.

92. *Gazette of the United States*, July 25, 1794.

93. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1794.

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probably the most certain way to purge the different departments," their address stated, "and produce a new state of things."⁹⁴ In several instances, the societies advocated schemes to revolutionize the social set-up in America. The democratic society of Cumberland, Vermont, proposed the creation of a "pure Republic, called the agrarian law," and modelled after that of the ancient Romans.⁹⁵ Such a far-reaching program would require the assistance of the "brother societies of Burlington and Castleton." It limited the holdings of one person to a hundred acres of land and allowed only eight bushels of wheat a year for each member of his family; "suing, or collecting debts" was branded an "infamous practice." A similar proposal was made by "A True friend to EQUAL LIBERTY" who desired the "destruction of Artificial Aristocracy originating in extra industry, superior abilities, or lucky circumstances. . . ."⁹⁶ Thus these organizations, instituted to support the doctrines of the French revolution, soon turned to other interests. Jefferson used them effectively in building his party; some of them helped instigate the Whisky Rebellion; and to certain ones resorted the crackbrained with their curious designs.

The societies had powerful enemies, many of whose denunciations were published in Fenno's journal, an ideal repository for Federalist complaints. In August, 1794, a certain "D" took issue with the "writers who justify those hostile associations which have been formed in various parts of the Union."⁹⁷ At his request, the editor published the observations of "A Republican," who attempted to prove the "unconstitutionality, and *destructive tendency*" of all democratic societies. These clubs, he stated, based their legal position on the constitutional article which held that the people had the right "to assemble to consult the common good" in an orderly manner. But, according to him, this article contained "both a *permission*, and a *prohibition*," the former being defined by the latter. His argument is as follows: "if a number of citizens convene for the purpose of taking into consideration, matters, in which others, or the public are concerned as well as themselves, the good of the public, and not a *party* good, must be their object, otherwise they convene neither in a peaceable or orderly

94. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1794.

95. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1794, reprinted from *The American Spy*.

96. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1794.

97. *Ibid.*

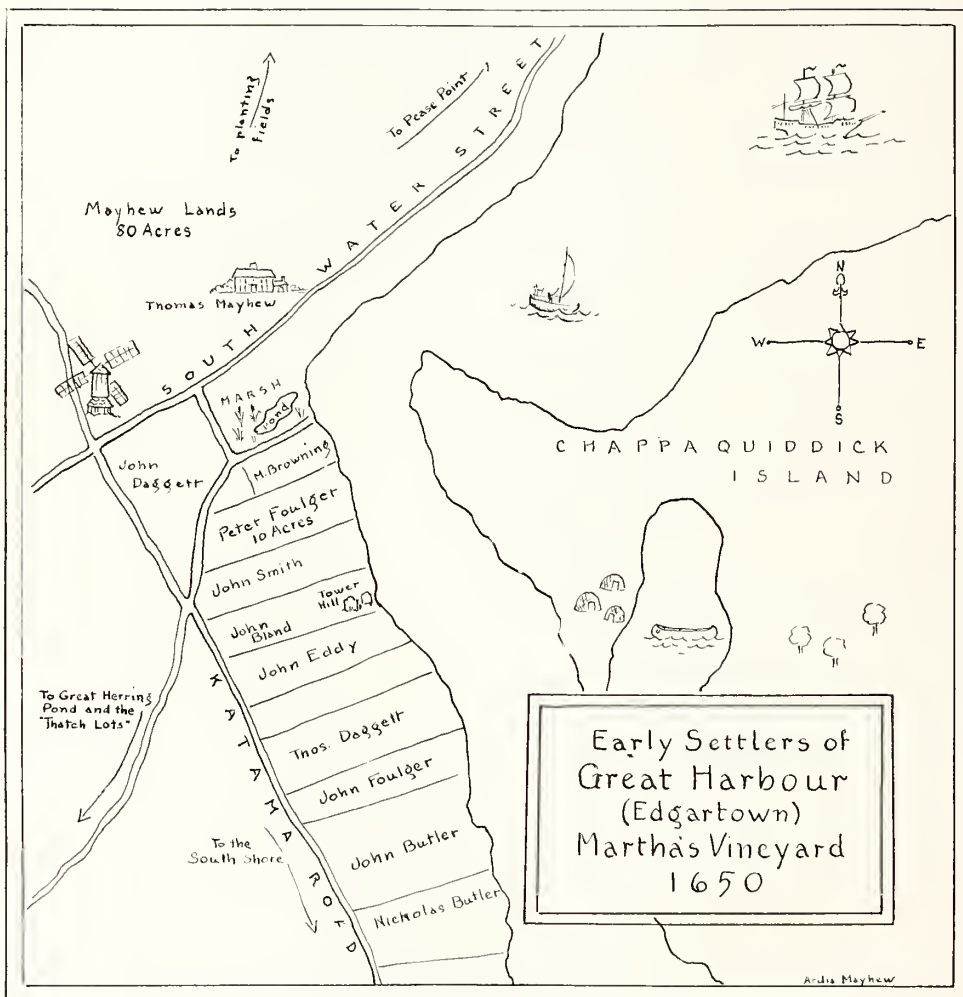
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manner." He then accused the societies of hypocrisy, of cloaking their intentions with "FAIR PROFESSIONS" and "SOPHISTICAL REASONINGS," and of insisting that their "*opinion* is . . . to be the standard, to which the PUBLIC OPINION is to be subjected." Finally, he denied them the right of assembly. "A friend to the Law and the People" referred to them as "small Democratic Aristocracies" and "dictatorships . . . formed . . . under the wings of the parent Society."⁹⁸ He complained of their condemnation of the Federal government and the system of taxation; as proof, he quoted several resolutions of the society in Pendleton County, South Carolina. Incidentally, one of the resolutions praised the work of Madison and the Jeffersonian group in Congress. The Federalists realized how influential such organizations were in politics and used the press in the campaign to destroy them. One wrote Fenno of the distinction between a Republican who desired "both parties and all parties and all men to be subject to the laws or public will, expressed by the constitutional legislature" and a Democrat who tried "to govern the country by small parties and private clubs."⁹⁹ Many more examples could be cited; but the generalization—that the intensity of the Federalist attack indicates the power of the democratic societies—cannot be questioned.

The historian, it should now be obvious, must study the gazettes of the years 1790-94, in order to understand the extraordinary French craze which swept the country. He then can adequately describe the riotous celebrations honoring the French military successes; with confidence he can discuss Genet's relations with the American public; he can analyze the politics of the adherents of Jefferson and Hamilton as defended by their apologists in the papers. He must, however, use other source materials to appreciate the Minister's involved diplomacy, his frontier intrigues, and the reasons for the complete failure of his mission. Here the newspaper press reveals only part of the story.

98. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1794.

99. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1794.



His Mother's Kindred

BY ADA HARRIET BALDWIN, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

IN FOUR PARTS—PART III

TWO SONS AND SIX DAUGHTERS

"A little house well fill'd, a little field well till'd, and a little wife well will'd, are great riches."—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

I



THE beginning of the history of Martha's Vineyard lies just beyond our reach in the glittering mysteries of the old Icelandic Sagas. Much has been written on the voyages of the Norsemen to Vinland the Good during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and many have claimed to have seen the ghosts of the Vikings wandering on this or that New England strand; but the fog of uncertainty has not yet lifted sufficiently to allow more than hazy glimpses of the first known explorers of North America. In the tangled narratives of the voyages, descriptive names shine out like will-o'-the-wisps, and eager students have thought to ensnare them and fasten them on precise coastal maps—but the old utterances still elude them, appearing now and again in unexpected new places.

In the minds of the sons and daughters of Martha's Vineyard, there is no shadow of doubt that Leif Eriksson dwelt for a time on their beloved isle, and that Thorfinn Karlsefni once landed there and named it Straumoey, the Island of Currents—or as some would have it, Tide Island.

Says the Saga of Erik the Red: "They sailed their ship into a frith; there lay an island before it, round which there were strong currents, therefore called they it Straumoey. There were so many birds on the island that it was scarcely possible to step between the eggs."

Straumoey is an apt name for Martha's Vineyard. The island lies at the meeting place of conflicting currents coming from the north-east and the southwest, so that there are four tides a day, two ebb and

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

two flood. The churning waters of the sound were well known to the Indians and caught the attention of all the early navigators. And the tide-swept shores of the island attracted myriads of strong-winged seabirds. In the days when Martha's Vineyard was part of the wilderness, it was a favorite breeding place, and there are still long lonely stretches of beach on the ocean side of the Vineyard, where colonies of summer terns rear their young, and where one must step lightly to avoid treading on their eggs. Faithful replicas of the round speckled stones that are strewn along the shore, the eggs lie in little depressions in the sand, three or four together, slightly sheltered by clumps of beach grass or tangled bunches of wind-blown seaweed caught against driftwood and heaps of shells.

Thorfinn Karlsefni and his companions first landed on Straumoey in midsummer, when birds' eggs were still plentiful and when wild grapes were just beginning to ripen on the vines. We know that they spent several years in Vinland, for Thorfinn's son, Snorri, was born the first autumn and was three winters old when they left.

"Gudrid, the wife of Thorfinn, sat within her doorway beside the cradle of her infant son." She sat within the doorway singing to her son and remembering the prophecy the Spae-wife had made—"Above thy line clear beams of light shall shine." Some say that this early American doorway looked out upon the blue waters of Menemsha Pond on Martha's Vineyard—but whether or not this be true, will probably never be known.

Karlsefni's voyage to Vinland was one of several unsuccessful attempts to colonize the new western lands. But the savage inhabitants, dark of skin, black of hair and broad of cheek, fought with overwhelming numbers against the blond giants of the north, and the Norsemen quarrelled among themselves. So that in the end, the searovers sailed back to their old homes in Greenland and in Iceland—and Vinland the Good became but a name and a memory.

II

Five hundred years later, a Florentine navigator passed that way. Giovanni da Verrazana, sailing in the service of France, explored the coast of North America from the Carolinas to Newfoundland, and named an island off the southern shore of New England, Island

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Luisa, in honor of the mother of Francis I. It is difficult to steer a clear course through the confusing narratives of the early explorers, but there is good reason to think that Martha's Vineyard may be the Luisa of the old Italian maps. Verrazana did not land on the island, because of contrary winds, but he saw the smoke of many fires and judged the place to be well peopled. This was in 1524.

Another century was three-quarters gone before the name that still survives was given to the island. The story of Bartholomew Gosnold's voyage carries us safely out of the realms of supposition and lands us upon firm historical ground. But the reason for the name, Martha's Vineyard, still remains a mystery.

Captain Gosnold sailed from England in March, 1602, in a small bark named the *Concord*. Among the thirty-two persons on board, were two gentlemen narrators, John Brereton and Gabriel Archer, who wrote diverting accounts of the cruise. They tell of landing, early one morning in May, on a mighty headland which Gosnold named Cape Cod. They tell of sailing around the Cape and of sighting Nantucket, of passing by treacherous shoals and of coming at last among many fair islands, where the names Marthaes Vineyard and Elizabeths Island were placed upon the chart. The title of Marthaes Vineyard was first given to the present Noman's Land (much of which has since been claimed by the sea), and later transferred to its larger neighbor. For many years it was written both as Martha's and as Martin's Vineyard, and it was not until the dawn of the eighteenth century that the Colonial government settled the controversy in favor of Martha. Who were Martha and Martin? The question has long been pondered, and various explanations have been given—there was, for instance, a new Gosnold baby named Martha, and there was a young captain on the *Concord* named Martin, and there was Martin Pring, who the following year gathered a cargo of sassafras on the island—but a really convincing answer is still missing.

The chroniclers of Gosnold's voyage recorded the wonders they saw upon the islands and upon the main, of fair fields and fragrant flowers, of pleasant brooks and meadows hedged in with stately groves. They wrote of the incredible number of vines on Martha's Vineyard "where they run upon every tree," of the big red strawberries, strings of "ground-nuts," springs of sweet water, clear lakes

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near the seashore and "great sore of Deere and divers Fowles in plenty—Cranes, Hearnies, Shoulers Geese, Bitters, Teales and other Birds which did breed and have young." They saw many inhabitants: "This Coast is very full of people, for that as wee trended the same, Savages still runne along the Shoare, as men much admiring at us."

Captain Gosnold decided to build an abode on Elizabeths Island—now known as Cuttyhunk—and to this end set his men to work constructing the first English house in New England. They built it of timber prepared from the tall straight trees of the island, lining the cellar with stones from the seaside, and thatching the roof with sedge. Three weeks and more they spent building the house and fortifying it against possible attack. In the meantime Gosnold and some of his followers went exploring further afield, trading with the Indians and discovering riches in the form of sassafras. This sassafras was the best substitute they found for the gold that was thought to lie hidden somewhere in the new lands of the western world. It was considered "of sovereign vertue for the French Poxe, and good against the Plague and many other Maladies." In England it was worth three shillings a pound.

Except for the wounding of one man by an arrow, Gosnold's party had no trouble with the Indians. "These people are exceeding courteous," writes Brereton, "gentle of disposition and well conditioned. They are quick eied, and stedfast in their lookes, fearlesse of others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of Salvages may easily excuse. They pronounce our language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by me, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now sirha, are you so saucie with my Tabacco: which words he suddenly spake so plaine and distinctly as if he had beene a long scholar in the language." Archer tells of another Indian who had spent the night on board the *Concord*, and in the morning "filched away our Pot-hookes, thinking he had not done any ill therein." Evidently Gosnold's companions understood the ways of savages.

June days were fair and the men hale and hearty, and Brereton speaks of the climate in glowing terms. Nevertheless, when the *Concord*, loaded with sassafras, cedar, furs and other commodities, was ready to make the return trip to England, the original plan of leaving

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some of the men as permanent planters, lost much of its attraction. The idea was finally given over, and the whole company sailed away "with many true sorrowful eies."

The next explorer to mention the island of Martha's Vineyard was Samuel de Champlain. He skirted the coast of New England in 1606, making copious notes illustrated with pictures and maps, and rechristening various points and islands with French names. Martha's Vineyard was called La Soupconneuse, because in the distance it was doubtful whether or not it was an island. Sailing past the Chops and Woods Hole, Champlain noticed the strong tidal outflow and concluded that the sound was the mouth of a river. He described the Indians of the region as being of better disposition than those further north, but "of no greath worth." Champlain had no sympathy with the communistic tendencies of the natives.

On some of the early Dutch maps, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket appear under the names of Texel and Vlieland, so called after two of the West Frisian islands off the coast of the Netherlands. In 1614, Adriaen Block, in his sixteen-ton Manhattan-built vessel, the *Onrust* (*Restless*) sailed boldly through the dangerous straits of Hell-gat into Long Island Sound and explored the rivers and inlets of the coast as far north as Cape Cod. The *Onrust* crossed the mouth of Buzzard's Bay to the southwestward of the Elizabeth Islands and sailed by the "large white and clayey island commonly called Texel by the Dutch and Capacke by others, and which is now known as Martha's Vineyard." (Brodhead.) On a Dutch map published in Amsterdam in 1688, Texel is given the name of Maertens Wyngert.

Captain John Smith, in his description of New England in 1614, speaks of Martha's Vineyard by its Indian name of Capawack. This name is used by several early historians, with variations in spelling ranging from Capawack and Capavek to Capepowak and Capoag. Originally this may have designated the tip of Chappaquiddick, now known as Cape Poge. John Smith treated the Indians with friendly consideration, and had but little trouble with them. Unfortunately some of his party were of a different turn of mind. Captain Smith returned to England early in August, leaving one of his ships, the *Long Robert*, in command of Thomas Hunt. No sooner had his superior officer disappeared over the horizon, than Hunt began abus-

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ing the natives, and ended by kidnapping two dozen of them and adding them to his cargo for Spanish markets. John Smith wrote an account of the affair in his "Generall Historie":

One Thomas Hunt, the Master of the Ship, when I was gone, betraied foure and twenty of these poore Salvages aboard his ship; and most dishonestly and inhumanely, for their kinde usage of me and all our men, caried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gaine sold those silly Salvages for Rialls of eight.

Thomas Hunt was neither the first nor the last English captain to help himself to the natives of the New World. In 1611, a tall proud Capawack Indian, named Epenow, was carried off to England and "shewed up and down London for a wonder." It was a weary time for the captive, who longed to return to the freedom and dignity of his wilderness home. He finally came into the possession of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and was lodged with another Indian servant. The two exiles at once began putting their heads together planning a way of escape. Being well aware of the white man's lust for gold, they conceived a cunning tale of gold on the Island of Capawack. Gorges and his associates thought the story worth looking into, and fitted out an expedition under the command of Captain Hobson. Arrived upon the New England coast, the treasure hunters came to anchor in Vineyard Haven Harbor, where Epenow was to make good his promises. Here the ship was surrounded and boarded by many of the inhabitants of the island, among them Epenow's own brothers and cousins. The Indians were kindly received by the captain, and after being well entertained, departed in their canoes, promising to return the following morning. Epenow was not permitted to go with them—but he had come to an understanding with his kinsmen. The next morning at the appointed time, twenty canoes appeared about the ship, filled with silent savages sitting with taut strung bows. Captain Hobson called to them to come aboard. All eyes were upon the canoes, when suddenly Epenow, evading the two gentlemen who had been appointed to keep him in tow, slipped quietly overboard. "He was no sooner in the water but the natives sent such a shower of arrows, and withal came so desperately near the Ship, that they carried him away in spite of all the musketeers aboard. And thus they lost him and not knowing what more to do, returned againe to Eng-

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land with nothing." (Gorges.) It was shortly after Epenow's triumphant return to his people that Hunt kidnapped the Indians "upon the Maine."

The Indians did not soon forget the treachery of the English explorers, and it is not surprising that when Thomas Dermer touched at Martha's Vineyard, in 1619, he was attacked by the natives and barely escaped with his life. In a letter to Samuel Purchas, describing this cruise, he speaks of meeting, on the "Iland of Capaock," a savage named "Epinew," who had lived for a several years in England. He also tells of losing an anchor in "a most dangerous Catwract amongst small rockie Ilands, occasioned by two unequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other." On the mainland, Captain Dermer was deeply impressed by the desolation caused by the mysterious malady that had swept away whole villages—"antient Plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void." The Island Indians escaped the worst ravages of the plague.

The record of the skirmish between Dermer's men and the Indians is the last account of bloodshed between red men and white on Martha's Vineyard. But for long afterwards, the Indians of Capawack bore the reputation of being very savage, and their island domain was left untrampled by the feet of civilization for many years. When at last young Thomas Mayhew came among them, he found them suspicious and aloof, but they made no attempt to attack his peaceful little settlement. Gradually he won them over, and finally succeeded in gaining their confidence and their whole-hearted devotion. Even during the terrible days of King Philip's War, the Vineyard Indians remained faithful to their white friends.

According to the Mayhews, the natives' own name for their island was Noë-pe, meaning "in the midst of the waters," and suggesting the ceaselessly flowing tidal currents that meet there. The English spelled it Nope, pronounced in two syllables. Noë-pe is believed to be the true aboriginal name for Martha's Vineyard.

III

There were probably close to three thousand savages living on the island of Nope at the time of the first English settlement. They belonged to the Pokanauket Nation. These Indians, occupying the

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southern part of New England, just east of the territory of the Narragansetts, were divided into nine tribal groups, all of whom were subject to the chief sachem of the Wampanoags, the most powerful tribe of the confederacy. When the Pilgrim Fathers settled in Plymouth, Massasoit was chief of the Wampanoags, and the treaty he made with the white planters was faithfully kept as long as he lived. He died in 1660. Massasoit had two sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet. Metacomet became chief sachem after the death of his father and elder brother, and claimed the allegiance of all the Pokanauket Indians. He is known in history by his English title of King Philip.

The aborigines of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were divided into several tribes, each tribe ruled by its own sachem or sagamore, who was directly responsible to the great sachem of the Pokanaukets. At the coming of the whites, Martha's Vineyard was divided into four cantons. Chappaquiddick, the "separated island," with its kames and bays and long lone stretches of sandy beach looking out toward Nantucket, lay at the far eastern end of Nope. At the western end was Aquiniuh, its gay head of colored clay rising steeply from the stony shore. The main island was divided into two parts—to the east was Nunnepog, its ragged grassy plains running back from the quiet harbor to the dark fragrant woods of wind-swept evergreens; to the west, Takemmy, with tall stately forests and rushing streams, with clear fresh water ponds, mighty boulders and peaked hills. From the outermost sands of Chappaquiddick to the far western cliffs of Aquiniuh was twenty English miles, and from Nobnocket on the northern shore to the ocean on the south, ten English miles.

The territory of the four chief sachems was further divided into several petty sachemships, each with its village or abiding-place. Many of the smaller villages were mere temporary settlements, the inhabitants moving from place to place with the requirements of the season. In the spring, when the waters of the ponds rose and overflowed into the ocean, when great schools of fish sought the fresh water to spawn and were held captive by sudden gates of sand, the Indians camped in the lee of the sand dunes and feasted on the offerings of the sea. In summer, villages were set up along the salt water inlets and bays, and in winter they were moved back to the shelter of woods and hills. The wigwams of the Nope Indians were loosely constructed and easily

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moved from place to place. Young Mayhew described them as "made with small poles like an arbor covered with mats, and their fires in the midst, over which they leave a place for the smoak to go out at." Animals were too scarce on the island to use their skins for roofing; closely woven mats were used instead. They were made from mapso grass and marsh flags. Part of Scrubby Neck, where these grasses grew in profusion, was called by the Indians "Uppeanash-Koname-set," meaning "the covering-mat place." The savages were instinctive conservationists—taking what was needed from the plenty that was offered, but seldom searching out the scarcities of the wilderness.

Despite the fact that there was no large game and that territory was limited by natural boundaries, the Nope Indians were well content with their island hunting ground. The deer, fox, rabbit, otter and beaver shared with them the forests of high timbered oaks and sturdy evergreens, multiplying in the protective cover of thick matter undergrowth. Game birds abounded. Seaducks of many kinds, geese both grey and white, mallards and teals, cranes and bitterns, herons, plovers and sanderlings flocked to the well stocked tidal shores and fished in the shallows of the ponds. Large colonies of cormorants roosted on the rocky ledges of Noman's Land—"being a very heavy drowsie creature, the Indians will goe in their Cannowes in the night and take them from the Rockes as easily as women take a Hen from roost." (Wood.) Glossy blackbirds with carnation wing-bars nested in the reedy marshes of Nope, blue-gray doves with rosy breasts gathered in the forests, and coveys of plump heath-grouse ran nimbly across the open moors. The bows and the snares of the Indians were to bird and beast but a part of the natural hazards of the wilderness.

The island Indians were skilled fishermen. They fished by day and they fished by night, in spring, summer, autumn and winter, with spears, arrows, darts, nets and curiously wrought hempen lines with carved hooks of bone. "Bass and Blew-fish they took in harbours and at the mouth of barred Rivers, being in their canows, striking them with a fisgig, a kind of dart or staff." (Josselyn.) Sturgeon they caught on dark evenings, stealing silently over the water to the fishing grounds. "Lighting a blazing torch made of Burthen rindes, they weave it too and againe by their Cannow side, which the Sturgeon much delighted, with, comes to them tumbling and playing, turning

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up his white belly, into which they thrust their launce, his backe being impenetrable; which done they haile to the shore their struggling prize." (The English settlers followed the native custom of fishing by torchlight—they called it "wequashing," an Anglicized form of the old Algonquin expression.) "Lobsters they take when it is low water and the wind still, going out in their canows with a staff 2 or 3 yards long, made small and sharpened at one end and nicked with deep nicks to take hold. Clams they dig out of the Clam-banks upon the flats and in creeks." William Wood describes their winter fishing—"In frostie weather, they cut round holes in the yce of the ponds about which they wil sit like so many apes, on their naked breeches upon the congealed yce, catching of Pikes, Pearches, Breames, and other sortes of fresh water fish."

Whales were once plentiful off the New England coast and were comparatively easy of approach. The Indians were the pioneer American whalers. The first white settlers were filled with amazement and admiration to see the aborigines take after a whale in their canoes. "In these cockling fly-boats," relates William Wood, "wherein an Englishman can scarce sit without a fearefull tottering, they will venture out to sea, when an English Shallope dare not beare a knot of sayle; scudding over the overgrowne waves as fast as a winde-driven ship, being driven by their padles; being much like battle doores; if a crosse wave (as is seldome) turne her keele up-side downe, they by swimming free her and scramble into her againe."

James Rosier has given us a description of their manner of whaling:

They go in company of their King with a multitude of their boats, and strike him with a bone made in fashion of a harping iron fastened to a rope, which they make great and strong of the barke of trees; which they veare out after him; then all their boats come about him, and as he riseth above water, with their arrows they shoot him to death; and when they have killed him and dragged him to shore, they call all their chief lords together, & sing a song of joy: these chiefe lords, whom they call Sagamos, divide the spoile, and give every man a share, which pieces so distributed they hang about their houses for provision: and when they boile them, they blow off the fat, and put to it their pease, maize and other pulse, which they eat.

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Drift whales, carried on shore by winds and tides, were once common sights on the beaches of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Some of Thomas Mayhew's first laws for the governing of his colony concerned the division of these stranded monsters. The earliest reference to them, in the old Edgartown records, is dated 1653, when William Weeks and Thomas Daggett were chosen as the town whale-cutters. Whenever land was bought of the Indians, the purchase included the rights of fish and whale. There is an original paper in the Edgartown Courthouse, signed "the Marke of Merrible foulger," that has to do with her share of fish and whales. In Nantucket, it was early voted by the town that "Edward Starbuck and Peter Foulger are empowered to make a bargain with the Gardners concerning all whales that shall come on shore on the island on the Towns behalf."

The winter before the arrival of the Mayhew colonists on Martha's Vineyard, southern New England shivered in the grip of a severe cold wave. All the great ponds were frozen from shore to shore, and the salt bays and harbors of the sea were so thick with ice that for five consecutive weeks they were passable for man and ox. That season the Nope Indians spent many bitter hungry hours fishing through holes in the ice, and the island deer were hard pressed by hunter and hunger. But as a rule, Vineyard winters, due to the influence of the Gulf Stream, were comparatively mild. Sometimes there was no snow at all. The climate was pleasant and healthful the year round, and extremes of heat and cold were rare. And for at least nine months of the year, the fruits of the earth were plentiful. From early spring until late fall, there was a lavish procession of wild berries, fruits, herbs, roots and nuts. The "strings of ground-nuts" mentioned in the old records as "good meat and also medicinal" were probably the bulbs of the red lily, which still abounds in the marshes of Squipnocket. Indian women were familiar with the healing properties of many herbs, and the Indian medicine-men were skillful in brewing them and turning them to their own secret usages. The sandy soil of the island favored the growing of maize, beans and squash—the whites found planting fields on Nope which had been cultivated for centuries. The savages also grew a kind of tobacco which they smoked green, and a sort of flax which they made into string and cord.

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The language of the Martha's Vineyard Indians was a dialect of the Algonquin tongue, essentially the same as the language of the Indians of the mainland. Their religion, too, was fundamentally the same as that of the mainland tribes, altered by generous splashes of local color. They had many deities or manitoes, but bowed to one all-powerful Being—Michabo, the great White Rabbit, Spirit of Light and Creator of the world. There was a hazy belief in animism, and "some small light" on the immortality of the soul.

Indian mythology was rich and imaginative. Each tribe had countless legends of its own, all traceable to common original sources. One of the most popular stories of the origin of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket concerns a giant who was in the habit of using Cape Cod for his couch. One night he could not sleep, and in tossing about, his moccasins became filled with sand. This so enraged him that he sprang up and kicked the moccasins from his feet. The first one fell into the water near by and formed the island of Noë-pe. The second, flung off in mounting anger, fell far out to sea and became Nantucket, the Far-away Island. Another legend tells of the first Indian to come to Noë-pe. He arrived with his dog on a cake of ice from the north, and found the island occupied by a giant named Moshup, who lived in a huge stony den at Aquiniuh. Moshup used to catch whales and roast them over a fire made from whole trees, which he plucked from the forest as easily as a child might pick a reed from the marshes. He never talked to the Indians, but sometimes sent whales ashore for them to eat. One day, according to the myth, his subjects made him an offering of all the tobacco on the island. Filling his enormous hopuonk, he sat down on the rocks to enjoy his evening smoke. When he had finished, he knocked the ashes from his pipe—and the west wind caught them up and carried them out to sea, where they fell in a heap and made Nantucket. According to the Nantucket Indians, Moshup once waded out to their island in pursuit of a huge bird who had carried off several small children from Capawack. He found the bones of the children in a pile under a tree. He looked around for tobacco plants, but finding none, filled his pipe with pope-weed and sat down to rest, enveloping the whole island with the smoke of his pipe. After that, whenever the Indians saw a fog rising, they would say, "There comes old Moshup's smoke."

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When the first of the Missionary Mayhews stepped ashore on Martha's Vineyard, the twilight of the Indian gods set in. Moshup was banished as a devil by the Christian teachers, and many of the old legends and traditions disappeared and were all but forgotten. Peter Foulger was one of these teachers. As assistant to the Mayhews, he taught the Indians for many years. He learned to know them well, to speak their language fluently and to comprehend their point of view. But what he thought of them, no one can say. Many of the early missionaries—Roger Williams, John Eliot, John Cotton and all five of the Mayhews—set down in writing their observations concerning the savages, but Peter Foulger mentions them only in connection with certain political events in Nantucket.

IV

"Eastward off Cape Codd lyeth an island called Martin's Vineyard, uninhabited by any English, but Indians which are very savage." Thus wrote Thomas Lechford shortly before the little company from Watertown landed on the island. Contemporary writers agree that the Mayhew colonists were the first English settlers on Martha's Vineyard. But more than a century and a half later, a family tradition came to light, to the effect that others were there before them. The story was handed down from generation to generation, exposed to all the changes of time and the fancies of the tellers. It is a brave tale of how the first John Pease, with several companions, landed on "Pease's Point" late one autumn, about a decade before the coming of the Mayhews; of how he made friends with the Indians by giving the chief sachem his red coat, and of how he obtained a grant of land and settled there with his family and his friends. Local tradition has made the most of the picturesque setting and the romantic possibilities of the plot, even to borrowing, for good measure, a smattering of graphic details from other fine tales of the times. But the varying versions all lack the firm props of historical fact, and come tumbling down as soon as unprejudiced investigation begins to blow upon them. It may well be that John Pease and some others "came into Martha's Vineyard sound in the winter," as one unembroidered account says, "got froze in and was obliged to remain there until spring." It may well be that they made their way to the island and lived among the

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savages until their ship was released from the grip of the ice. And it is quite possible that John parted with his red coat. But there is little reason to suppose that Thomas Mayhew found an English Colony established there when he arrived. The story of the pest-ridden ship, the caves of Katama, the mysterious Black Book and the lost land titles, must be taken with a smile and a grain or two of salt.

John Pease is the founder of one of the largest and most prominent families of Martha's Vineyard, and has a real as well as a legendary history. Hailing from Great Baddow in England, he emigrated to the colonies when a young man and settled in Salem, where he engaged in the coastwise trade. Had there been any gentlemen narrators on board his ships to preserve the story of his adventures, they doubtless would have handed down to us a true recital every bit as lively as the traditional one. According to court records, John moved from Salem to Martha's Vineyard about 1645, with his wife Lucy, whose religious ideas offended the Salem authorities, and their two sons. After the death of Lucy, John married Mary Browning, probably a member of the family of Malachai Browning, whose land adjoined the Foulger homestead in Great Harbour (Edgartown). In the course of time, John and Mary Pease became very friendly with the Foulgers, and in later generations there were a number of Foulger-Pease marriages.

In the spring of 1642, the shallop bearing Peter and Mary Foulger dropped anchor inside of Chappaquiddick, and landed her handful of passengers with their young leader on the savage shores of Nope. It is thought that sometime before this, Thomas Mayhew the elder, with his son, several friends and an interpreter—possibly Peter Foulger—had made a visit of reconnaissance to the island, in order to decide on the best location for a settlement, and to secure the Indian rights to the territory. The convenient sheltered harbor between the main island and Chappaquiddick, together with the good spring of sweet water discovered near the shore, attracted them to the site chosen for the planting of the new English town. Thomas Mayhew probably selected his own home lots at this time. The first land acquired from the Indians was bought of Tewanticut, Sagamore of Nunnepog, and came to be known as the Old Purchase. When the first group of colonists arrived, under the leadership of the younger

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Mayhew, they were allowed to land unchallenged by the natives. But the savages, mindful of past grievances, did not welcome the newcomers. Aloof and wary, they kept their distance and watched the planting of the English settlement with sullen suspicious eyes.

"It was a hazardous and lonesome task for these few pioneers," writes the Vineyard historian, "cut off from communication with the distant settlements of the main, and little that they did in the early years of the plantation is known to us. We can picture them as busy clearing the land east of Pease Point Way, felling timber, building houses, laying out lots, tilling the soil, and fishing in the adjoining waters." During that first long pleasant summer, they labored to make themselves a snug harbor for the coming winter months, when few, if any boats would touch upon their shores, and when there would be neither supplies nor new settlers coming from the mainland. Life was rough and work unceasing, but the planters had no regrets. New hope, new freedom, and the joy of hunting and fishing in unspoiled grounds, took the place of the conveniences of the settled community they had left. There were no wolves to trouble the cattle, and although the Indians outnumbered the whites a hundred to one, they showed no inclination to attack the little colony.

The first home lots were laid out along the harbor, running side by side from Pease Point to Katama. Thomas Mayhew and young Thomas each reserved a tract of forty acres, but most of the original homestalls averaged about ten acres. All of the unassigned land was held in common. Thatch lots were taken up on the south shore, and the first houses and barns were roofed with the salt hay of the ocean marshes. A church was soon gathered, but it was several years before a meetinghouse was built. The people met for religious services in one another's houses—more often than not, in the Mayhew home. In the absence of an ordained minister, the people turned to young Mayhew as their spiritual leader, and he very soon came to be regarded as the regular pastor of the Vineyard Church. When the first meetinghouse was finally built, it was probably placed on Burying Hill, "the acre set aside for the dead in the little town." For although the Puritans denied themselves the comfort of religious services at their burials, the Puritan church was invariably set next to the cemetery. The old cemetery on Tower Hill in Edgartown, where the

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first settlers were buried, is now overgrown with wild flowers, vines and meadow grasses, and most of the early slate gravestones have long since disappeared.

During the first decade of English occupancy, the white population of the island increased but slowly, and the land first bought from the Indians was sufficient for their needs. In these early years, few people were attracted to Nope, cut off as it was from the mainland, and known to be thickly settled with savage tribes. The boat trip from Boston was long and uncertain, and there were no roads running south from Plymouth. The mainland nearest the Vineyard was still a trackless wilderness—it was eighteen years after the planting of Great Harbour that the first settlers of Falmouth sailed along the sound and camped on the southern sands of Cape Cod. The first census of Martha's Vineyard reported simply "divers families," and twenty years passed before the little community could count more than a hundred souls. The plantation was known as "the Towne uppon the Vineyard," until 1652, when the name of Great Harbour first appeared in the records. Later it was often referred to as Old Town Harbour. It was not until 1671 that it received its present name of Edgartown.

During the first few years of settlement, the Indian menace hung like a dark cloud over the English colonists. But the very paucity of their numbers was a protection. The savages knew that they could wipe out the small alien plantation any time they chose. So they waited and watched—at first with contempt, then with curiosity and finally with admiration and a desire to imitate. The first Indian to be won over was a young man by the name of Hiacoomes. His wigwam was not far from the English town, and sometime during the summer, two or three of the settlers ventured to call upon him. Hiacoomes was pleased and returned the call, not only once but several times, in spite of the jeers of his comrades and the anger of the chiefs and the medicine-men. Pahkehpunnassoo, Sagamore of Chappaquidick, is said to have reproached him after this fashion:

I wonder that you, that are a young man and have a wife and two children, should love the English and their ways and foresake the Pawwaws. What would you do if any of you were sick? Whither would you turn for help? If I were in your place, there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwaws.

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Nevertheless, the Chappaquiddick chief eventually forsook the ancient gods of his tribe, and joined the Praying Indians. It is said that some time before his conversion, he was struck by lightning one stormy night and grievously burned—which incident, no doubt, pleased the worthy Hiacoomes and gave him confidence to pursue the new way he had chosen.

Hiacoomes became a frequent visitor in the habitations of the English and soon began attending their public meetings. One day, young Mr. Mayhew took particular notice of him and invited him to come to his house "every Lord's day at Evening." The result of the Sunday evening discourses was that before a year had passed, Hiacoomes was converted to Christianity, and young Mayhew was filled with a holy zeal to gather in more converts. "His English flock being then but small," writes Thomas Prince, "the Sphere was not large enough for so bright a star to move in. With great Compassion he beheld the wretched Natives, who then were several thousands on these Islands, perishing in utter Ignorance of the true God and eternal Life." He determined to labor for their illumination and deliverance. In spite of the reluctance of the Indians to meet him halfway, or even so much as a step of the way, he persisted in his efforts to get acquainted with them, and earnestly applied himself to the study of their language. Carefully instructing Hiacoomes, he sent him out to prepare the way before him; and two years after his arrival on the island, began preaching to the Indians in their native tongue. He made clever use of his scientific knowledge to combat savage superstition, and successfully pitted his skill in medicine against the crude methods of the Pawwaws. When the elder Mayhew arrived in 1645, and relieved his son of his executive duties, young Thomas devoted himself wholeheartedly to the spiritual welfare of his dusky followers. By 1652, there were over two hundred Praying Indians on the island.

The senior Mayhew was deeply gratified at the results of the missionary work of his son, and coöperated with him in every way possible. He lost no time in demonstrating to the Indians that he was their friend and protector. Although his title to the island had come to him from the English Crown, he was not satisfied until he had secured the native rights to every foot of land occupied by the whites. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, he learned the Indian lan-

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guage, so that he could personally explain to the chiefs the nature of the deeds they signed. Over such parts of the island as remained in the possession of the savages, he claimed no control. Always ready to hear and redress grievances, the aborigines found in him a true father and protector, and before long he was elevated to a high place in their regard. "The Indians admired and loved him as the most superior person they had ever seen. . . . His grave and majestic presence struck an awe into their minds and always raised their great attention to what he spake. . . . Thus this pious gentleman concurred with his lovely son in his endeavors to open the eyes of these wretched heathens, and turn them from darkness to light." (Prince.)

So lasting was the influence of the Mayhews, that throughout all the years that followed, the Indians and the white settlers of Martha's Vineyard lived together in peace, offering a shining example of what might have been done in other places. The descendants of these Indians, now intermarried with negroes, still own the land at Aquinnuh—the place of the rising ground—or Gay Head as the English called it. They still live there on the land of their fathers, farming, fishing and amusing summer visitors. There are only "divers families" left—as many perhaps as there were whites in that first little group of pioneers who landed on Martha's Vineyard in the year 1642.

V

The Vineyard home of Peter Foulger was on Tower Hill, a few hundred yards north of the old cemetery. If there were sails to see on the bay, Peter and Mary could watch them from their doorstep. Their land bordered the harbor, running down the steep bank to the water's edge, and stretching back to Katama Road and the sunset. Their next door neighbors to the south were the John Smiths, and to the north the Malachai Brownings and the John Daggetts. But in the sparse little settlement, every family was near neighbor to every other—sharing, helping, sympathizing, mourning and rejoicing.

Peter Foulger's practical education, his understanding of the Indians and his knowledge of surveying, were useful assets in a pioneer settlement. His versatility, determination, honesty and vision, made his opinion and advice sought after and respected. "His mind was constantly at work while pursuing his daily labor," and it was not

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long before his name began to stand out as one of the most important names of the community. He continued his study of the Indian language, and in a few years his fame as an interpreter spread beyond the shores of his island home. The Thomas Mayhews, father and son, found in him an able assistant in their work among the Indians. In 1647, we find the name of "Peeter ffoulger" signed as a witness to a deed relative to the guardianship of Mr. Mayhew's young stepson, and from then until he removed from the Vineyard fifteen years later, his name appears more and more frequently in the town annals and official records of Great Harbor.

Meanwhile, children were beginning to gather around the Foulger hearthstone, and Goodwife Foulger was busy at home, her long days crowded with the incredible number of domestic tasks that fell to the lot of pioneer women. During the first five years of marriage, three daughters were born to Peter and Mary. They were christened Joanna, Bethiah, and Dorcas. Although girls were welcome enough in the new town, it was boys who were eagerly watched for, longed for and prayed for. Great was the rejoicing and thanksgiving in the Foulger homestead when, in 1648, Mary gave birth to a son. He was given the name of Eleazer. If ever fairies ventured to attend a Puritan gathering, they were certainly present at the christening of baby Eleazer, showering him, in proverbial fairy fashion, with their gracious gifts. One gave to him a charm to protect him from the perils of the sea, another promised success and prosperity, and another a loyal wife, while the wisest one of all laid hold of father Peter's mantle of ability and snipped off enough to fit about the shoulders of his little son. The wicked witch who somehow always manages to sneak into such affairs, contrived to slip some sorrow into his life and to nick two years from his allotted life span of threescore years and ten. But Eleazer lived long enough to see his grandsons growing up around him, and all his days were filled brimful with zestful living. His descendants have spread far and wide across the country, and more than a few famous names may be counted among them.

To John and Merible, living quietly in Watertown, the arrival of a Foulger grandson was indeed a blessed event. It was probably about the time of Eleazer's birth that they moved to the Vineyard, and were welcomed by Peter and Mary and the children. John Foul-

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ger was granted a half share of land—a lot of five acres fronting the harbor south of Burying Hill. His nearest neighbors were the Thomas Daggetts and the John Butlers. Merible must have been well content to settle so near her son's home, almost within hailing distance of her grandchildren, who delighted in running across the commons from their house to hers. The two families were but five homesteads apart.

Peter Foulger was the town's first schoolmaster. The building where he taught was on the Old Mill Path near the Sarson lot on Slough Hill. It is said that from the first day of school, Indian children were made welcome. In 1652, "Mr. Mayhew fit up a school to teach the natives to read, *viz.* the children and any young men who were willing to learn, whereof they were very glad. And as quickly there came in about thirty Indian children; and more and more coming every day." (Prince.) Peter Foulger, employed by Mr. Mayhew to teach these young savages, found them "very quick to learn and willing to be instructed in the ways of the English."

The first time that the name of John Foulger appears in the town records, is in September, 1652, when he was chosen hog-reeve. "These men to see to hogs. Thomas Bayes, John Foulger and Peter ffoulger, and if any of these do see any hogs unguarded they are to give warning to ye owner thereof."

Set fees were attached to these warnings. Later, all of the cattle and hogs found straying in cornfields and other places where they were unwelcome, were impounded, and could only be released upon payment of a fine. In all the settlements of New England, cattle-reeves, hog-reeves and fence-viewers were among the indispensable petty officers of the town. The standard for fences was that they be "bull strong, hog tight and sheep high." Many of the fences of Martha's Vineyard were stone walls, built, it is claimed, with Indian labor and paid for with rum, despite strict laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to the natives. In the earliest days of the settlement, however, there were but few fences—cattle and hogs ran at large identified by private ear-marks. The reeves were kept busy. So far as is known, this was the first and only position held by John Foulger in the colonies. Possibly Peter was influential in obtaining it for him, but in so small a community every able-bodied man took over some civic respon-

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sibility. Thomas Bayes, mentioned above, was an old acquaintance of the Foulgers. He was one of the signers of the Covenant of Dedham, and was a selectman of the town the year that John was proposed as proprietor. Bayes was the Miles Standish of the Vineyard, being for many years the leader of the town militia. The Vineyard "army" rather resembled the army of Oz—even when the sons of the first planters were old enough to train, there were not above forty men who could do military service. The town set aside six "Trayning Dayes the yeare," and voted that each man should be complete in arms. The arms prescribed included a "peece" or matchlock musket, a pound of powder and twenty home-made bullets.

The purchase of the proprietorship of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket gave to Thomas Mayhew full power to plant, inhabit and enjoy the islands, and provided for a government similar to that of the Bay Colony. But the setting up of an intricate civil establishment was hardly practical at first, and no immediate attempt was made by the Mayhews to provide for a suffrage. When the elder Mayhew arrived to take over the reins of government, he simply acted as chief executive and was soon recognized as Governor. The first semblance of a democratic form of government was in 1653, when six men, one of them Peter Foulger, were appointed with Governor Mayhew to "stand for a year." This group, with the Governor as Chief Magistrate, corresponded roughly to the Massachusetts Court of Assistants. The next year a similar body was elected "to end all controversies." In 1655, only four assistants were chosen, Thomas Burchard, John Daggett, Peter Foulger and Nicholas Butler, and the records are more explicit in regard to their powers. In all these elections, corn and beans were used as ballots, "the Indian Corn to manifest election, the Beans contrary." Peter Foulger once referred to this custom in a letter written from Nantucket to Sir Edmund Andros:

"In the like uncivil manner they choose two young men more, the sayd Stephen bringing his corn which betoken Choice in his hand and called upon others to Corn this man and that man." (New York Colonial Manuscripts.)

Year after year, Governor Mayhew was chosen magistrate, sometimes with and sometimes without assistants. There was no higher authority for appeals. Martha's Vineyard, although nominally under

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the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, was virtually independent. This simple form of government, directed by Thomas Mayhew as Lord Proprietor, continued with only slight disturbances for many years—until such time as his lordship, the Duke of York, appeared upon the scene, and the island was taken over by New York. Finally, in 1692, it passed back to the control of Massachusetts.

The earliest allotment of the town's common lands took place sometime during the first decade of settlement, and included the so-called Dividend Lots, bordering on Great Pond and Katama. Next came the division of the meadows on the north side of the town. Divided into twenty ten-acre lots and granted to the twenty proprietors, this land came to be known as the Planting Field. The proprietors included both John and Peter Foulger. Soon after this, the list of proprietors was increased to twenty-five. The twenty-five homesteads, stretching along the harbor from Pease Point to Katama, were ever afterwards known as "The Five and Twenty," and retained the names of their original owners for nearly a century. The granting of the "Line Lots" soon followed, and after that the various necks of land included in the Old Purchase were surveyed and parceled out. Meanwhile, Governor Mayhew had secured the aboriginal rights from Chief Pahkehunnassoo to parts of Chappaquiddick, in return for a payment of twenty bushels of corn for three years, and the provision that the chief's son be given two of the lots. This land, separated from the main island by a narrow strip of water, made an excellent place for the grazing of cattle. For a hundred years after the founding of Edgartown, Chappaquiddick was occupied solely by savages and cattle. Later, as the whites began building homes there, a reservation was assigned to the Indians, who occupied it until quite recent times.

For the special grants of land made to Peter Foulger and for some account of his activities as surveyor, we turn to the old Edgartown records (revised spelling):

June the 26th, 1652—Ordered by the Town that Peter Foulger shall have 2 acres of land, where he shall choose, near the school house, to make use of as long as he pleases. This land is now given to the said Peter Foulger for a full propriety.

Oct. 4, 1659—Ordered that Peter Foulger shall have ten acres of land next Nicholas Norton's lot, toward the west, as the line runs.

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Dec. 2, 1659—Granted by the Town to Peter Foulger a commonage, a lot upon the line . . . the said Peter to bear a single share of fence.

Jan. 30, 1660—Philip Tabor and Peter Foulger is appointed to lay out Cracketuxent.

1662—the 8th month of the 23rd—Voted by the Town that Peter Foulger and Thomas Harlock shall and are to go forth, two days in a week, until they have divided the town land into three divisions, that is, the woodland upon the north side of the Plain, unto the ends of the bounds of the purchased land, to Sanchacantacket. And they are for their labour, to have three shillings a day, of the townsmen that owns the land.

Governor Mayhew decreed that no individual be allowed to buy land from the Indians without the consent of the town. An item in the records notes that "John Daggett hath done that which he could not lawfully do, in buying from the Indians the piece of whale and commonage for cows of Towantecutt, for that privilege of buying the whale, the fishing, and pasturage, is the Town's privilege to buy, and no one man's without the Town's approbation." Young Thomas Paine, the Governor's stepson, was granted liberty by the town "to buy of the Indians the lot lying upon Chappaquiddick which hath the graves in it; provided the said Thomas Paine do not exceed the value of 3 bushels of corn in his pay for it." The native rights to new land were for the most part acquired by the Governor for the town. Little by little, during the years that followed the original purchase, more and more land was bought from the Indians and divided among the white settlers. The English had come to stay.

VI

In the meantime, the shadow of tragedy lay upon Martha's Vineyard. The House of Mayhew was in deep mourning, and there was sorrow in the houses of the settlers and in the wigwams of the Indians. For the brightest light of the island had gone out.

The work of Thomas Mayhew the younger among the natives of Nope had quietly spread from the wigwam of Hiacoomes to the far corners of the island. Hiacoomes himself had been transformed from a humble despised member of his tribe to a fearless "wild apostle of the wood," whose eloquence rang through the forest trails, and

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against whom the Pawwaws plotted in vain. Once the savages were freed from the fear of the medicine-men, their interest wandered and was caught by the mystical religion of the whites. Young Mayhew travelled among them, "sparing not himself either by day or night, lodging in their smoky wigwams, where he spent a great part of the night relating the ancient stories of God in the Scriptures, which were very surprising and entertaining to them." The Indians grew to love him, and began flocking in to be converted, sometimes as many as fifty in a day. At their request, he drew up a church covenant for them in their own tongue, which they promised faithfully to keep. The little mission gradually rose from obscurity to shining heights, and stories of the work of the inspired young preacher went winging their way across the sea to the Mother Country.

The Puritans of England, who now had the upper hand, began to take an active interest in the work of christianizing the Indians of New England. The efforts of both Thomas Mayhew and John Eliot attracted their attention and invited their concern. In July, 1649, six months after the execution of Charles I, the Long Parliament passed an ordinance establishing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. The commissioners of the United Colonies were named as local agents. Under the direction of Oliver Cromwell, a general drive for funds was made throughout all England and Wales, and nearly twelve thousand pounds was raised. Among those interested in the work was Master Hugh Peters, who was still in England as agent for the Bay Company, and who had become deeply involved in Puritan politics.

In due time, the Vineyard Mission was placed under the patronage of the Missionary Society, and annual salaries were paid to the little staff of workers. Before this, the work had been supported entirely from the private purse of the Mayhews. In 1654, the commissioners voted to allow Thomas Mayhew the younger, the sum of forty pounds, "for his pains and labour this yeare." A schoolmaster (Peter Foulger) employed by Mr. Mayhew, and two Indian teachers (Hiacoomes and Pannuppaqua) were to receive "the summe of ten pounds a peece." There was also a grant to Mr. Mayhew of ten pounds "to dispose to sicke, weake and well-deserving Indians," an appropriation for the building of an Indian meetinghouse, and an

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allowance of eight pounds for a boat, "for the safe passage of your selfe and Indians betwext the Island and the Mayne." Two years later, Thomas' salary was increased to fifty pounds and Peter's to thirty.

By this time the mission was so well established and the work so well organized that the younger Mayhew felt that he could safely leave for a few months in order to visit England. Proceedings connected with the patrimony of his wife and stepbrother demanded his attention. He also wished to give to the English people "a more particular Account of the State of the Indians than he could well do by Letters, and to pursue the most proper Measures for the further Advancement of Religion among them." His request for leave of absence was granted by the commissioners in 1657. He was thirty-seven years old. In order to lend color to the enterprise, Thomas arranged to take one of the native preachers with him. This caused the greatest interest and excitement among the Indians.

The day before leaving, young Mayhew held a solemn service in the wilderness of Takemmy, for the most distant of his converts. At the close of the meeting, the Indians, loathe to let him go, rose up and followed after him. Others joined them along the way and many came from the eastern part of the island to meet them, so that presently a great multitude was gathered together. When they reached the open plain, they stopped by the wayside and surrounded their white leader as he stood to bid them farewell. A cold November mist blew in from the sea, veiling the forests and hiding the hills. The blood-red foliage of the whorthe-berries had shriveled and dropped to the ground, leaving the moors gray and desolate, with empty ghosts of goldenrod marching across them. Cries of seabirds came from overhead and the dull roar of breakers rolled over the dunes in dreary monotony. The Indians were filled with foreboding. They listened gravely as their beloved shepherd blessed them and bid them be steadfast in his absence, recommending them to the care of their protector, Governor Mayhew, and of their teacher, Peter Foulger. After the last prayer was said, "all the chiefs placed a stone where Mayhew stood, and throwing their blankets over their faces and with heads bowed in grief, followed by their tribes, marched silently over the Plains to their homes."

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The next morning, Thomas Mayhew the younger, with his step-brother and the native minister, set sail for Boston. Indian runners raced along the shore, following the boat as far as they could, and silent groups stood on the banks and watched her pass. Their hearts were sad. The simple savages could not picture to themselves the return of their leader from the unknown world that lay beyond the great sea. They knew only that he had gone from them.

A few days later, Thomas and his companions took passage "in the best of two ships bound for London, whereof one James Garrett was master." Sailing proudly out of Boston Harbor, the great ship cleared the white shores of Cape Cod and headed for the green pastures of Old England.

"But alas—the mysterious ways of Providence! Neither the ship nor any of the passengers were ever heard of more!"

People in England waited expectantly for the arrival of the noted missionary and the Indian convert from the wilderness of the New World. But weeks passed into months, until at last came the realization that Master Garrett's ship must be reckoned among the missing. On Martha's Vineyard, hope still lingered. Every sail that appeared on the horizon was looked upon by the weary watchers as a possible bearer of good tidings. Even as late as the following August, Governor Mayhew wrote: "I cannot yett give my sonnes over." Finally all hope died. The young Christian warrior and his companions were the first of hundreds of Vineyard men to perish at sea.

The place where young Thomas Mayhew met for the last time with his followers, became to the Indians holy ground. For long afterwards, no Indian passed it without stopping to place a stone on the pile started by their chiefs on that memorable November day. The sacred cairn has disappeared, but in its stead stands a rough boulder, put there not so long ago by the Indians of Gay Head. A bronze tablet set in the stone tells the story of the "Place on the Wayside."

"The Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my Brother Mayhew," wrote the Apostle Eliot when he heard the tragic news. The loss seemed irreparable. But Governor Mayhew, though greatly saddened, determined that the death of his son should not mean the loss of his mission. With the help of Peter Foulger, as elder, and of native teachers, he carried on the work, "his heart

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exceedingly engaged in this service." He tramped many miles every week to preach to the Indians, and to visit and talk with them in their homes. He established native churches, courts and civil government, and was for over half a century the Indians' protector and spiritual guide.

Vast sums were raised by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but Governor Mayhew received only a small share of them for the Vineyard Mission. Where all the money went, no one could tell. There was, it seems, "a snake in the weeds." The accounts of the commissioners varied from year to year, not according to the need, but depending on the amounts available. The payroll for Martha's Vineyard for 1658 was as follows:

To Mr. Thomas Mayhew senr for his pains in teaching and instructing the Indians this year to September 1658	20	00	00
To Thomas and James two Indians Interpreters and school masters that Instruct the Indians att Martins Vineyards each ten pounds.....	20	00	00
To Peter Folgure English schoolmaster that teacheth the Indians and Instructs them on Lords day..	25	00	00
To Mrs. Bland for healpfulnes in Phisicke and Chirurgery att Martins Vineyards.....	02	00	00

There was also the usual allowance of ten pounds made for Hiacoomes and a special fund granted to Jane Mayhew, the young widow, who was left with three sons and three daughters and was without means of support.

Governor Mayhew petitioned repeatedly to have a minister sent to the Vineyard to take his son's place. But with the exception of John Cotton, who remained only two years, no one applied for the vacant chair. The burden rested upon the Governor's own aging shoulders from the time of his son's death until his own. He died in March, 1682, in the ninetieth year of his age, "to the great Lamentation both of the English and the Indians." The staff which dropped from his hand, was picked up and carried on by his grandson, John Mayhew. And after John, came Experience and Zachariah, so that the personal work of the Missionary Mayhews on Martha's Vineyard extended over a period of a hundred and sixty-three years.

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Governor Mayhew was buried in the family burial ground near his home. At his own request no marker was placed upon his grave. Unaware of its significance, hundreds of summer visitors pass within ten feet of the spot every year. In a private yard on South Water Street in Edgartown there are several gravestones erected to the Mayhew family. A small rock under an evergreen tree marks the resting place of Thomas Mayhew, patriarch of Martha's Vineyard.

VII

At the time of the fateful voyage of Thomas Mayhew the younger, Peter Foulger was forty years old. He had changed from the eager impetuous youth who stepped ashore into the New World twenty-two years before, to a serious forceful middle-aged citizen, father of six children and owner of many fair Vineyard acres. Cotton Mather describes him as "an able godly Englishman, employed in teaching the youth in Reading, Writing, and the Principles of Religion by Catachizing, being well learned likewise in the Scriptures, and capable of helping them in religious matters." His work as a schoolmaster, missionary and surveyor, did not leave him much time for home chores. Mary must have had her hands full to overflowing. The little family on Tower Hill was growing—every few years there was a new baby in the Foulger cradle. After Eleazer's arrival, two little girls, Bathsheba and Patience, took their places in the family circle. In 1659, a second son was born. He was christened John, after his grandfather. Although young John did not become as prominent as his elder brother, he lived a long useful life and was blessed with many sons and grandsons. Today there are John Folgers in all parts of the country. Every American who bears the name of Folger and traces his ancestry to the first Peter, is descended from either Eleazer or John. For Peter and Mary had no other sons.

When John was about two years old, his sister Experience was born, making six daughters and two sons born on the Vineyard. By this time, Joanna was a comely young woman of eighteen, and Bethiah, Dorcas and Eleazer were old enough to help with the work of the home. It seems strange that with a schoolmaster for a father, the Foulger daughters were raised without any school learning. Perhaps Peter, finding his wife and his mother admirably equipped for man-

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aging pioneer households without formal education, saw no reason why his daughters should be taught anything more than the domestic virtues. Perhaps he was right—considering the times and the domination of the menfolk, they would have had but little use for culture. For them, homemaking was all absorbing; spinning and weaving, soapmaking and candle dipping, milking and churning, baking and brewing, kitchen gardening and baby tending and a thousand and one other tasks, completely filled their lives. Son Eleazer, however, following closely in his father's footsteps, received a good elementary education, learned to speak the Indian language and was early initiated into the secrets of political life. While still a small lad he could write his name with a flourish. He was taught the trade of a shoemaker—a useful calling and one to be proud of.

The year of young John's birth, 1659, was an important one in the Foulger family. It marked the time of Peter's first meeting with Tristram Coffin and Edward Starbuck and his first visit to the island of Nantucket.

Tristram Coffin is generally regarded as the patriarch of Nantucket. He came to the American Colonies with his large family in 1642 and settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts. "During the summer of 1659," relates Alexander Starbuck, "having in view a change of residence for himself and family, Tristram Coffin determined to visit the islands lying off the southwest coast of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Accordingly, accompanied by Edward Starbuck and Isaac Coleman (the latter a mere youth of twelve years of age) he visited Martha's Vineyard. Learning there that the title to Nantucket was vested in Thomas Mayhew, and that he was willing to dispose of the larger part of his interests there, they sailed to that island to make a survey of it, and to ascertain its adaptability to their purpose, taking with them Peter Folger for an interpreter. Coffin hoped to provide there a place where his children could be located around him. He also desired to find out if the Indians were willing to sell their lands and on what terms."

Mr. Coffin found the island admirably suited to his plans, and the Indian sachems, thanks to the persuasive tongue of Peter Foulger, willing to part with the aboriginal rights to the land. Returning to Salisbury, Tristram pictured in glowing terms to certain of his

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friends and fellow-citizens the possibilities for settlement on Nantucket. The result was that that same year Coffin and eight associates purchased from Thomas Mayhew his rights and interests in the island "for and in consideration of the Sume of Thirty pounds of Current Pay. And also two bever Hatts one for my selfe and one for my wife." (A true copy of this deed was made some years later by Eleazer Folger.)

Mr. Mayhew reserved a small part of the island for himself, and is included among the ten original proprietors. The following February, at a meeting held in Salisbury, it was agreed that each of the proprietors choose another "to an equal Share in Power and Interest," making twenty in all. These men have always been known as the Twenty First Purchasers. The shares were ultimately increased to twenty-seven, as it was found necessary later on to admit a number of tradesmen, seamen, craftsmen and mechanics—among them Peter Foulger—as half-shares men.

At the Salisbury meeting it was ordered that Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Barnard, and Peter Foulger of Martha's Vineyard, "shall have power to measure and lay out the said land (Nantucket) and whatsoever shall be done and concluded in the said case by them or any three of them, Peter Foulger being one, shall be accompted legal and valid." (Worth.) A formal deed was obtained from two of Nantucket's Indian chiefs. It was signed by Wanamamack—his mark—and Nickanoose—his mark—and was witnessed by Peter Foulger, Felix Kuttashamaquat and Edward Starbuck. A few months later, Wanamamack gave a separate deed which was witnessed by Peter Foulger, Eleazer Foulger and Dorcas Starbuck. Dorcas was the daughter of Edward Starbuck, and not only knew how to write but was considered important enough to act as a witness. Eleazer Foulger, a sturdy lad of thirteen, accompanied Peter on several of his trips to Nantucket, and was evidently his father's righthand man. In May, 1661, Peter was again called to Nantucket, being appointed with the before-mentioned proprietors, "to measure and lay out all the rest of the lands both meadow and wood and upland that is convenient to be appropriated within the bounds of the first plantation or township." He was present at a

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meeting of the owners the following July, and he went there again the next year as witness to various land transfers.

The intolerant and overbearing attitude of the leaders of the Bay Colony was, in part, responsible for the discontent which caused the purchasers of Nantucket to seek homes outside of Massachusetts. The General Court in Boston was overly fond of prying into the private concerns of the people, and the clergy and magistrates were becoming utterly merciless in the persecution of heretics. Baptists were banished from the Colony and Quakers were whipped "at the cartes taile from towne to towne." The Nantucket proprietors were influential and independent men, all of them prominent in their communities and many of them descended from honorable old English families with coats-of-arms and ancestral castles in the background. Most of them had at one time or another crossed swords with Puritan law. Edward Starbuck was cited for Anabaptist beliefs, Thomas Macy fined and admonished for harboring Quakers, Robert Pike disfranchised for favoring free speech, his friend Christopher Hussey incurring the displeasure of the court by standing by him, Richard Swain fined and disfranchised for the entertainment of Quakers, and Dionis Coffin, wife of Tristram, "complained of" for the price charged for beer in her husband's tavern. (It was very good beer, as Dionis was able to prove, and she finally won her case in court.)

The proprietors determined to remove to their island as soon as possible. The Thomas Macys are thought to be the first family to settle there. According to song and story, Thomas Macy was so incensed at being arrested for giving shelter to some wandering Quakers during a violent storm, that he made up his mind then and there to betake himself and his family out of reach of the Massachusetts courts.

"In the fall of 1659," writes Obed Macy, "he embarked in an open boat, with his family and such effects as he could conveniently take with him, and with the assistance of Edward Starbuck, proceeded along the shore to the southward. When they came to Boston Bay, they crossed it, passed round Cape Cod, and extended their course by the shore until they were abreast of the island to the northward, thence they crossed the sound, and landed on Nantucket without accident." Thomas had apparently visited Nantucket before—his

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name appears on one of the earliest Indian deeds—and Edward had been there the previous summer with Tristram Coffin and Peter Foulger, so that they already knew something of the lay of the land.

Edward Starbuck, who hailed from Derbyshire, had settled in Dover, New Hampshire, then a province of the Massachusetts Bay. It may be that the death of his wife, Katherine Reynolds, as well as his views concerning infant baptism, had caused him to seek a change of scene. Thomas Macy's ancestral home was in Chilmark, Wiltshire. The Macys of Chilmark and the Mayhews of Tisbury were kinsmen. Thomas and his bride, Sarah Hopcott, had sailed for the colonies about 1642 and settled in Salisbury. All of their children were born there. The youngest, John, from whom all the American Macys are descended, was four years old when they embarked for Nantucket. What a winter that must have been for Sarah—the only white woman on the island! Two men, one woman and five children lived in the rough cabin they built beside the spring on the bleak shore of Madaket Harbor. They were surrounded by savages, who were very numerous on the island. Fortunately the Indians proved to be kindly disposed toward the adventurers, and were courteous, hospitable and helpful. Game, fish, berries, firewood and good spring water were plentiful, and corn was supplied by the friendly natives, so that the homesteaders managed to work their way through the winter. They even had an Englishman come to visit them—"one Daggett, who came to the island from Martha's Vineyard for the purpose of hunting." In the spring, Edward Starbuck returned to the mainland, to fetch his six children from Dover, and to report to his associates in Salisbury as to living conditions on Nantucket. They were pleased with his findings, and during the summer, eight or ten families removed to the island. The Indians exhibited the greatest admiration for Edward Starbuck, who was a man of commanding presence, and during the thirty years of his life in Nantucket, he was very influential among them. When at times, suspicion or alarm arose among the early settlers, it was always Edward Starbuck and Peter Foulger who were called upon to quiet their fears and to placate the Indians.

Peter Foulger's leaning toward Anabaptism, was undoubtedly strengthened by his meeting with Edward Starbuck and Thomas Macy. For some time he had been troubled by an inner religious

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conflict, and was becoming more and more irregular in his orthodoxy. Soon after his first visit to Nantucket, he made his decision, and asked to be permitted to resign from the Vineyard church. The records of October, 1659, state that the request of Peter Foulger "touching the laying down of his creed" was granted. There was no religious persecution on Martha's Vineyard, and Peter was allowed to go his way unmolested, even to the point of teaching Anabaptist doctrines to the Indians. But it must have caused a serious rift between him and Governor Mayhew, and considerable bewilderment to the Indians. He is said to be responsible for the Anabaptist schism which later occurred among the Indians of Gay Head. After resigning from the Puritan Church, Peter was no longer contented in Edgartown, but he continued his duties as schoolmaster for another two years, although much of this time was spent in Nantucket. His growing acquaintance with the independent Nantucket proprietors, several of whom were Baptists, served to strengthen his own views, and he determined to follow the new light wherever it might lead. To this end, his thoughts turned toward Rhode Island, the stronghold of the Anabaptists, and he began shaping his affairs with the idea of one day removing from Martha's Vineyard and entering the more congenial colony of Roger Williams.

VIII

In the fall of 1660, a quarter of a century after his arrival in the New World, John Folger, father of Peter, passed quietly away. He was never one to seek the limelight, and his passing caused but little stir outside of his family circle. It is difficult for us to bring him clearly to mind. In the dim shadows of the past, he is all but obscured by more sharply defined figures—the bold form of his enterprising son, the vital figure of his youngest granddaughter, and towering above them all, the blazing personality of her son Benjamin.

John Foulger was buried in the little cemetery on Tower Hill, not far from his homestead. His noncupative will is recorded in the old Edgartown records:

The Testimony of John Pease Sayth that Goodman Foulger said to him that his wife should have that Estate he Left During her Life to use for her Comfortable Living: though she spent itt all for her Livelyhood: this was a Little Be Fore he Sickened and Died. This

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was as nigh as I can deem about a month or six weeks afore he Sickened and Died.

The Testimony of Mary Pease the wife of John Pease, Saith she heard Goodman Foulger the Elder Say upon his Last Sickness that what Estate he Left his wife should have after him Duering her Life:

The Testimony of Goodwife Arey Before the Town was: she saith that she went to John Foulgers when he was sick before he died and saith she heard him say—wife to have all he had as long as she lived. Eleazer to have house and land after his wifes death. Mary to have the Cow presently and another after his wifes death. Nothing to Peter, because he had spent or Put away so much Before.

During the very month and year that John Foulger gazed for the last time on the beauty of the Vineyard autumn beyond his quiet doorway, Hugh Peters was executed in England, in the midst of a brutal jeering London rabble. The charge was high treason. He was hanged, drawn and quartered with all the barbaric horrors meted out to traitors by English justice. The Civil War was over, Archbishop Laud and King Charles I had both been beheaded. Oliver Cromwell had died unhappily in his bed, and a new Parliament had restored Charles II to the English throne. Master Peters, who had "beat the pulpit drum for Cromwell," was among the unfortunates charged with abetting the execution of Charles I—an indictment which he vigorously denied. He met his miserable death with courage and comfort: "Death, my good friend, is come to guard me out of time into eternity. Lord Jesus, I come to thee upon the wings of faith." No peaceful grave received his mutilated body. The parts were exposed upon the tops of the city gates, and the head set up on London Bridge.

When the tragic news of her old master reached Mary Foulger, living in the security of her tranquil Vineyard home, the message must have seemed like the echo of a long forgotten nightmare.

Young Sir Henry Vane, who had turned away from great riches for conscience's sake, and who had governed the Bay Colony for one stormy year, was also arrested in London at the time of the Restoration. He was beheaded after spending two years imprisoned in the Tower. Sir Henry was well liked by the people, and an admiring populace cheered and blessed him as he marched gaily to the scaffold, dressed in his long black cloak, scarlet doublet and plumed hat. It is said that his ghost still walks along the ancient avenue of lime-trees, in the gardens of Fairlawne.

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Political changes in England did not, at the time, greatly affect the American Colonies. With thousands of acres under cultivation, hundreds of ships upon the sea, and many thriving home industries, the colonists were well content to be ignored by the Mother Country. The settlers of the independent Proprietaries of Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket especially, were undisturbed by historic events abroad.

IX

In the year 1662, Peter Foulger, having lived for two decades on Martha's Vineyard, sold his home and his lands, and removed to Rhode Island. Most of his holdings were bought by Richard Arey, who disposed of the lots he owned on Pease Point, and moved with his family into the Foulger homestead. Part of the property he acquired is listed as follows in the Edgartown records:

The Petickeler parcells of Land of Richard Arey which he Bought of Peter Foulger and are Now in the sd Areys Possession, first: Ten acres which is my house Lott Bounded By the Sea on ye East, John Smith on ye South, Ye Comon on ye West, Mr. Browning and John Doggett on ye North: with two acres of Meadow more or Less Beginning on ye Comon wading place on ye East Runing West and Joynes to ye Pastors Meadow on ye West with one Ten acre Lott upon ye Line with a full Right of Commonage.

Richard Arey was drowned six years later while on a trip to Nantucket. Peter sold some of his land to William Weeks, namely: "One Neck Lying West to ye Planting field Being Eight acres More or Less which Neck was part of his share in the Planting Field, which John Foulger had of Richard Smith." William Weeks was a seafaring man and did a packet business between Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard. Quite likely he was the captain who ferried the Foulgers across to Newport. A few years later, while making a trading trip in his "vessel of 15 tunnes, laden with corn, pork, hides, tobacco, wheat, vegetables and other miscellaneous freight," he was wrecked at Quick's Hole and his vessel seized and looted by Indians of the Elizabeth Islands. An appeal was made to Governor Mayhew to deal with the piratical savages. Captain Weeks was the first tavern keeper of Great Harbor. He was later in Nantucket and sat on the jury in the case of Massaquet's complaint against Eleazer Folger for taking away his whale. Eleazer was ordered to pay the Indian

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for the whale the sum of four pounds in goods at the usual price of trading.

What Mary Foulger thought of the upheaval of moving and of leaving her Vineyard home, we can only guess. But of one thing we may be certain—whatever were the wishes of Peter, Mary made them her own. Her youngest child was still a babe in arms when they left. The older ones were probably pleased and excited at the prospect of traveling and looked forward to the glamor and opportunities of a larger community. For Grandmother Merible, however, their departure was hard. Perhaps they urged her to go with them, but she did not care to leave the little plot of ground where John lay. She spent her few remaining years in Great Harbor. Her name appears from time to time in the Edgartown records, bringing her to life during these last years, more clearly than ever before. In 1662, she sold some of her shares of fish and whale to Joseph Codman, son of Robert Codman, who had bought from Richard Arey a lot of eight acres on Starbuck's Neck. The original deed, signed with "the marke of Merrible foulger," is preserved in the Edgartown Courthouse, gainsaying the statement sometimes made that Merible Foulger died in England. A true copy, with revised spelling, was transcribed from the Old Book by John Norton, town clerk, in 1731:

The 27 Feb. 1662—This deed declareth that I, Merible Foulger, the wife of John Foulger, deceased, now inhabitant uppon the Ile called Martin's Vineyard, have sold to Joseph Codman, mariner, inhabitant upon the same Island, that is to say, one share of fish, called alewives, at the weir that belongeth to the inhabitants of the Town upon the Island, consisting of 26 shares; as also one share of whale, being in like manner; which shares of fish and whale, I do fully sell and deliver over from me, my heirs, executors and assignners into the hands of Joseph Codman, him his heirs, executors and assignners forever, for and in consideration of 3 pounds and 10 shillings of current pay, in wheat or other goodes, as the said Merible Foulger shall demand, and this to be payed at all demands, as she, the said Merible, shall require.

In witness the hands—

The mark of MERIBLE FOULGER

The mark of JOSEPH CODMAN

Witnesses

JOHN PEASE

The mark of JORGE BENTLY

The mark of JOHANNA FOULGER

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The fishing weir referred to was at Mattakeese. In 1663, Merible brought action against William Elliston, a former bond servant, for debt. That same year she received a share in the division of Quanonmica, and the following year a share in the division of Felix Neck. Her mark appears for the last time early in 1664, as a witness to a sale of commage and shares of fish and whale. It is thought that she died in the spring or summer of 1664 and was buried beside John on Tower Hill.

Peter sold all of his mother's property to Thomas Mayhew.

18th Oct. 1664—This is to certify that I, Peter ffoulger of the Is. of Nantucket, do by these presents for myself, my heirs and assigns forever, sell all that my houses and lands and fences, meadows, fish and whale, late in the possession of my mother myrable foulger, widow, upon Martin's Vineyard, with all the privileges thereunto belonging whatsoever, unto Thomas Mayhew of the Vineyard, for him, the said Thomas Mayhew, himself, his heirs, and assigns to enjoy quietly and peaceably forever, without any trouble or molestation from him, the said Peter ffoulger, his heirs or assigns forever, or any molestation or interruption from any other persons whatsoever. The bargained and sold premises are the old and new house; all the fencing; the home lot, commage, the meadow of Thomas Birchard, 2 acres more or less; the meadow of Chappaquiddick, 2 acres more or less; the fish, one 25th part of the ware and one 25th part of the whale, the putting over cattle to Chappaquiddick. All which named premises I, the said Peter, do hereby acknowledge to have sold as aforesaid to him, the said Thomas Mayhew for and in consideration of the sum of 34 pounds 10 shillings of current pay. (Edgartown records—transcription.)

This sale was made with the full consent of Eleazer Foulger, to whom John had left the property after Merible's death. Six years later, having attained his majority, Eleazer confirmed the deed, bearing witness that he was "absolutely satisfied and contented with the sale of the house and land, which my father, Peter Foulger, sold to Thomas Mayhew of the Vineyard, which house and land was my grandfather's, John Foulger's." The property eventually became part of the Daggett Estate—Thomas Daggett being the fortunate husband of Hannah Mayhew, eldest and favorite daughter of Governor Mayhew. Thomas Daggett's younger brother, Joseph, dis-

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tinguished himself in the eyes of future generations, by marrying an Indian "Princess," Alice Sessetom, daughter of the Sachem of Sanchacantacket. This branch of the family was known as the Bow and Arrow Daggetts.

With the sale of Merible's homestead and lands, the name of Foulger disappears from Vineyard activities. But mention of Peter Foulger and of "old John Foulger" crops up in the records for a number of years thereafter. Several of Peter's grandchildren and great-grandchildren married into such well known Vineyard families as the Mayhews, Peases, Daggetts, Chases and Butlers.

X

When Peter and Mary and their offspring arrived in Newport in the fall of 1662, Rhode Island was rounding out a quarter of a century of turbulent political history. Settled by outcasts from orthodox Puritan communities, the Colony had labored stormily to bring forth a working government based on toleration and the rights of man. From the beginning of its settlement, it was a land of refuge for religious independents who found the way to Massachusetts barred against them. Anabaptists, Antinomians, Gortonists, Familists, Quakers, Seekers and Jews turned their steps to the Providence Plantations and the Island of Aquidneck, oftentimes after enduring stripes and imprisonment in the Bay Colony. Rhode Island welcomed them all. The story of its planting is the story of Roger Williams.

A dissenter from childhood, Roger Williams and Mary, his young wife, took passage for New England in the winter of 1631, on the ship *Lyon*—the supply ship that was welcomed by Winthrop's starving colony with tears of joy and thanksgiving. Mr. Williams, too, was warmly greeted. But the Puritan Fathers very soon discovered that they had received into their fold a contentious and disturbing spirit. His unorthodox preaching in Plymouth and in Salem, and his radical political views, could hardly be overlooked by the authorities, and he was summoned to Boston to answer to serious charges. The court argued and struggled in a valiant attempt to make him see the error of his way—but in vain—and finally, on the ninth of October, 1635, he was sentenced to be banished from Massachusetts. He was given permission to remain in Salem until the following spring. The decree

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of banishment, however, failed to muffle his prophesying, and in January the General Court resolved to ship him off to England without further delay. Warned by friends, Roger Williams quietly left Salem, and wandered by a narrow Indian path through the deep snows of the wilderness to the country of the Pokanauket Indians. Here he was hospitably received, finding lodging with his friend, Massasoit. His nearest white neighbor was William Blackstone, content among his books and his apple trees in his wilderness home. Roger Williams knew the Indians well. Ever since his arrival in the New World, it had been his "Soul's desire" to help the natives. To that end, he had learned their language, and had visited among them, often lodging with them in their "filthy smoke-holes." He was loved and trusted by the savages as long as he lived.

The disturbing declaration of Roger Williams that the lands held by the English Colonists really belonged to the Indians and that therefore they could not be granted to the settlers by the King, and his persistence in advocating complete separation of church and state, pleased neither the Crown nor the Colonies. Small wonder that he was banished! In England his punishment would have been much more severe, involving at the very least, the loss of his ears. In New England, however, he retained not only his ears, but the love of many of his Salem parishioners and the lifelong friendship of some of the more liberal-minded Puritan leaders—among them the John Winthrops, father and son, Edward Winslow and Sir Henry Vane.

During the winter in the wilderness, Roger Williams preached to the Indians and acted as peacemaker between the Pokanaukets and the Narragansetts. The following year, "when the Lord drew the bow of the Pequot war against the country," it was Roger Williams who prevented Miantomono, the great Narragansett chief, from joining the Pequot forces.

Early in the summer of 1636, Roger Williams, with four or five humble followers who had sought him out, set off in canoes to seek a suitable abiding-place outside the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony. Disembarking at a point marked by a spring on the left bank of the Mooshassuc River, in the territory of the Narragansetts, they planted the town of Providence—"to be a shelter for persons distressed for

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conscience." The lands and meadows were purchased from the Narragansett sachems, Canonicus and Miantonomo. During the summer, Mary Williams with her two baby daughters, made her way on foot and by canoe through the forest from Salem to Providence. And during the months that followed, dissenters of all kinds, many of them "savouring of Anabaptism," began flocking to the new settlement. Three years later, in March, 1639, what is generally regarded as the first Baptist Church in America, was organized. The members, many of whom were from Salem, were promptly excommunicated by Hugh Peters, who had taken Mr. Williams' place as pastor of the Salem church. Roger Williams himself did not walk in the Baptist way for long. Troubled by many vexing questions, he finally renounced fellowship in all the New England churches, and became for the remainder of his life a spiritual seeker.

Meanwhile, the so-called Antinomian controversy had shaken Boston to its very foundations, and Anne Hutchinson and her friends were ordered to leave the Bay Colony. With the advice and help of Roger Williams, they bought the island of Aquidneck from the Indians, paying forty fathoms of white beads, ten coats and twenty hoes. Later, arrangements were made for grass privileges on some of the smaller islands of the bay, for which more wampum, coats and hoes were given. According to Mr. Williams, "the Narragansetts were very shy and jealous of selling their lands, and did so only by the love and favor which that honored gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself had with the great Sachem Miantonomo." (Sir Henry had once entertained the chief and his braves in Boston.)

In the spring of 1638, the first white settlers of Aquidneck, led by William Coddington, John Clarke, and William Hutchinson, Anne's loyal husband, founded the town of Portsmouth, or Pocasset, as it was then called. The first house lots were laid out near the spring along the western border of a quiet cove at the northeasterly end of the island. At that time the cove had a navigable outlet to Narragansett Bay on the northern side. Despite the doctrine of Soul Liberty, Puritan influence was strong among these wanderers from Boston. The first law made at the first meeting of Pocasset was that "none shall be received as inhabitants or Freemen to build or plant upon the Island but such as shall be received in by the Body Politick and do submit to

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the Government that is or shall be established according to the word of God."

William Coddington, who had been elected chief magistrate, soon realized that it was not easy to get along with his independent confrères. In the spring of 1639 the entire Coddington contingent, including the chief magistrate, John Clarke, Nicholas Easton, William Dyer and others, withdrew from the fellowship of Pocasset, and leaving the plantation in the hands of the radical Antinomians, retired to the southern end of the island. Here the seceders planted a new settlement on the shores of a stately harbor. They named the town Newport. The following year, feeling the need of mutual protection, Portsmouth and Newport united under one government. And four years later the General Court of Aquidneck ordered that the island henceforth be known as the Isle of Rhodes or Rhode Island.

The first Baptist Society of Newport was founded by John Clarke in 1644. This is the church that Peter Foulger is said to have joined.

The Massachusetts Bay Company kept a wary and jealous eye on her heretical neighbors, taking advantage of every opportunity to harry them as they tried out their newly-fledged wings. In 1643, the four Puritan Colonies—Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven—united for purposes of "mutual help and strength in all future concernments," forming the United Colonies of New England. There were thirty-nine towns, with an aggregate population of twenty-four thousand, fifteen thousand of whom belonged to the Bay. Needless to say, the Narragansett Plantations were not invited to join the Confederacy. Nor was the Province of Maine, a Church of England Proprietary of the aged Sir Ferdinando Gorges. But Roger Williams, whose early training under the shrewd eye of Sir Edward Coke stood him in good stead, was not to be caught napping. The month following the formation of the Confederacy, he embarked for England, *via* New Amsterdam, in order to petition Parliament for a Free Charter for the Providence Plantations and the Island of Aquidneck.

Mr. Williams arrived in New Amsterdam to find the Dutch and the Indians at each other's throats. He conferred at length with the Governor and attempted to restore peace, but was only partially successful. It was during that same summer that Anne Hutchinson, who

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had left Portsmouth after the death of her husband and moved into Dutch territory, was massacred by a roving band of Wecquaesgeeks. Sixteen of her household perished, only one little girl surviving the horror. There were devout Puritans in Boston who believed that the hand of God guided the savages. The unrest among the Indians spread to the Narragansett country, and hostilities broke out between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans. The "quencher of their fires" was far away on the high seas, and the trouble, long brewing, burst into flame. In July, near the present town of Norwich in Connecticut, the Narragansetts launched an attack against their ancient enemies. They were defeated and their leader, Miantonomo, taken prisoner. According to tribal law, the life of the royal captive was forfeit to Uncas, conquering Mohegan chief. But the crafty Uncas decided to delay execution until he received the consent of the United Colonies. The pious Puritan clergy, remembering Miantonomo's friendship with the despised Roger Williams, and disregarding his support against the Pequots, chose to consider the Narragansett sachem a menace to their safety. In agreeing to the death sentence, the magistrates forbade the customary ceremonial tortures. Miantonomo was killed from behind by a sudden blow from a Mohegan war-hatchet. The Narragansetts never forgot the treachery of the English.

Meanwhile, Roger Williams, ignorant of the turn of Indian affairs at home, spent the long hours on shipboard working on his "Key into the Language of America." This unique piece of work is not a mere dictionary, but is filled with the most entertaining and revealing observations concerning the Algonquins of New England. It was published in London, soon after his arrival, and attracted much favorable attention. He also published, anonymously, "The Bloody Tenent," which exerted a powerful influence on the insurgent thought of the time.

With the backing of such influential independents as Sir Henry Vane, John Milton and Oliver Cromwell, Roger Williams applied to the Parliamentary Board in charge of colonial affairs for a Patent of Incorporation for the settlements about Narragansett Bay. After numerous delays, his application was granted. He returned to Providence in 1644 with Rhode Island's first charter, and was enthusiasti-

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cally received by his followers. Several years of political disputes were to follow, however, before the several settlements came to a satisfactory agreement among themselves. Such advanced ideas as separation of church and state, liberty of conscience for all (even women and children!) and freedom of speech and press, could hardly become the established order of the day without a struggle. The voices of fanatics rose and fell like the pounding of the surf on the rocky shores. Free speech became an uproar and the recognition of private inspiration seemed but to lead from one state of confusion to another. There were bitter quarrels and intrigues, and numerous trips to the Mother Country by factional leaders. Interference from the New England Confederacy, who strove by fair means or foul, to gain control of the Narragansett lands, added to the tumult. Massachusetts, pointed scornfully to the contentions of the Tolerationists as proof of the superiority of the Puritan Theocracy. And it looked for a time as though the Bay Colony was right. But Roger Williams' vision was grounded upon the rock of truth, and gradually the structure of a well-ordered democratic government rose out of the sea of clamor. The four original towns—Providence, Warwick, Portsmouth and Newport—united under one administration. A code of law was drawn up for the welfare and safety of all which is noteworthy for its humanity and for its freedom from Old Testament allusions. It concludes with these words:

These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent are ratified and established throughout the whole Colony; and otherwise than what is thus herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God.

After the Restoration, John Clarke, who had spent several years in England engaged in the diplomatic struggle which involved the very life of the Colony, obtained a Royal Charter from Charles II, granting to the people of Rhode Island full religious liberty.

Our royal will and pleasure is that noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted or called in question, for any difference in opinione in matters of religion which doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colonye.

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The charter was acclaimed with demonstrations of joy by the Rhode Islanders. Benedict Arnold, great-grandfather of the unhappy Arnold of Revolutionary days, was the first Governor under the new document.

Meanwhile, Massachusetts was finding it increasingly difficult to keep out undesirables. No sooner was one group disposed of, than another arrived to harass and perplex the magistrates and the ministers. The stern policy of John Wilson and Thomas Dudley was driven to extremes and took a cruel turn. Somewhat kindlier souls, such as John Winthrop and John Cotton, caught in the struggle between love of their fellowmen and duty toward their God, were carried along on the waves of persecution that rose again and again in a vain attempt to sweep clean the hallowed streets of Boston. When the irrepressible Quakers began to arrive, the Confederacy became truly alarmed, and sent a letter to Rhode Island—signing themselves as loving friends and neighbors!—requesting that the Narragansett towns help to “preserve the whole body of colonies against such pests, by banishing and excluding all Quakers.” Rhode Island replied: “We have no laws among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of God.” This was followed by a letter to Massachusetts affirming that freedom of different consciences was the principal ground of their charter and that “this freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that man can possess in this world.”

The first Friends, or Quakers, to appear in Rhode Island, arrived on the little vessel *Woodhouse* in the summer of 1657. They made Newport their headquarters and from there went forth to carry the light to other settlements of the New World. Their pilgrimage to Martha's Vineyard was not crowned with success. According to the two Friends who visited Great Harbor, they were thrust out of the meetinghouse door by the constable, “after the priest Maho, the Governor's son, had ended his Divination.” Leaving the town, they went among the Indians, who received them more courteously. “They went to some of the wigwams,” writes Daniel Goodkin, “and discoursed with some of the Indians that understood English, as divers of them do. . . . The Indians heard all this discourse patiently; then one of the Principal of them that could speak English, gravely

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answered the Quakers in this manner: 'You are strangers to us and we like not your discourse. We know Mr. Mayhew that he is a good and holy man, but we know not you. . . . Therefore we pray you, trouble us no further with your new doctrines.' So the Quakers not long after departed the Island." When they visited Nantucket some forty years later, they were received by the settlers with open arms and understanding hearts.

Roger Williams did not like the extravagant behavior of the early Friends. He was willing to let them "try their faith" undisturbed, but he felt that "a due and moderate restraint and punishing of their uncivilities" might not be amiss. John Clarke remained a devoted Baptist all his life, but William Coddington and many of the leading men of Rhode Island embraced the Quaker faith. In the course of time the Friends came to hold most of the chief offices of the Colony, and exercised an immeasurable influence for good.

The year after the arrival of the Quakers, another group of religious refugees entered New England through Rhode Island's open door. Fifteen Jewish families who had been refused the privilege of practicing their religion in Holland, settled in Newport and formed the congregation of Jeshaut Israel. They were accorded the same protection as any strangers residing among the inhabitants.

There were constant boundary disputes between Rhode Island and the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut. For many years the lines were not clearly defined, and only in recent times has the last of the bitter quarrelling been settled. As some one once remarked: "The boundaries of Rhode Island might as well have been marked on the north by a bramblebush, on the south by a bluejay, on the west by a hive of bees in swarming time, and on the east by five hundred foxes."

But however much the settlers of Rhode Island may have quarrelled among themselves and with their neighbors; however much they may have disappointed their kindly leader, Roger Williams lived to see his dream come true—his dream of a country where men and women could live and work and worship as they pleased, so long as they did not interfere with the rights of others. And always he was able to look beyond the confusion of the foreground where he labored, to the everlasting hills of truth beyond.

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For in calm midnight thoughts, what are these leaves and flowers, and smoke and shadows, and dreams of earthly nothings, about which we poor children disquiet ourselves in vain? What are all the contentions and wars of this world about generally, but for greater dishes and bowls of porridge? But the matter with us is not about these children's toys of land, meadows, cattle and government. But here all over this colony, a great number of weak and distressed souls are scattered, flying hither from Old and New England, and the Most High hath in his infinite wisdom provided this country and this corner as a shelter for the poor and persecuted, accordingly to their several persuasions. (Roger Williams.)

XI

At a meeting of the freemen of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, on December 3, 1662, it was recorded that "Peter folger late of martins Vineyard presented to the free inhabitants of this towne of portsmouth a lease of house and land from William Corry, the Assembly doth graunt that the said peter folger shall have a beinge amongst us during the terme of the saide lease."

The Foulgers had arrived in Rhode Island earlier in the fall, and had lodged in Newport while looking for a home. Newport, with a population of close to a thousand souls, was a dazzling place compared to Great Harbor, with its twenty-five or thirty families. There were long streets of two-story wooden houses, several fine homes built of brick, many shops, half a dozen taverns and—strangest of all for a seventeenth century town—a choice of four or five different meetings for the free worship of God.

Although agriculture was the main occupation of the settlers of Aquidneck, commerce and ship-building were conspicuous. There were always ships coming and going in Newport's fair harbor. Horses and sheep, grain, lumber, dairy products and tobacco were shipped to the Barbados, and exchanged for molasses, sugar, indigo and rum. Grave Connecticut Puritans and jovial Dutch traders rubbed shoulders with elegant English captains from the West Indies. The town was teeming with merchants, mariners, travelers and religious pilgrims, with farmers, craftsmen and mechanics. There were plenty of Indians, too—but Indians were no novelty to the Foulgers. The natives who frequented the English towns were apt to be a sorry lot. It was strictly forbidden to sell them strong drink, either

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directly or indirectly; but somehow the Indians always managed to get rum—and the results were disastrous.

Reckoned in worldly goods, most of the early colonists of Aquidneck were poor. But the country was fertile and fruitful, and the people, by dint of hard work, lived comfortably by improving the wilderness. Good English wheat, oats, rye, barley, corn and peas were harvested, also hemp, flax, tobacco and apples. "In this Province is the best grasse and the most sheepe," writes a visitor. William Coddington's farm was a magnificent estate of some 750 acres—beautiful acres of fruitful valleys and wooded uplands, of grassy meadows, clear ponds and rough rocky shores. It was generously stocked with horses and cattle and with the finest of English sheep. William Brenton had another large estate, and built a splendid brick mansion capped by four great chimneys and surrounded by landscaped gardens and orchards.

In the towns the taverns were always crowded, and the law provided that any person retailing wine or "lickers" must provide at least one bed and victuals for the accommodation of travellers. The Foulgers may have found temporary lodgings in Newport in one of the public inns, or with some family who had rooms to rent; or they may have stayed with friends. In Portsmouth they had several old friends, among them Edward Lay, who had recently moved there from Great Harbor, and Philip Tabor, Peter's fellow-surveyor in Martha's Vineyard. Perhaps it was because of them that Peter decided to live in Portsmouth and was able to rent a homestead. There were strict laws in Portsmouth regarding strangers—"No inhabitant shall intertain any sojourner above one month without the aprobation of the town." A new person coming into town was required to give bond or to bring a certificate from his last legal place of abode.

Peter's lease for the Corry place was signed on November 3, 1662, and it is thought that the family moved in about that time. A month later, Peter was accepted by the Town Assembly for five years, which was the duration of the lease. The Corry-Foulger agreement appears in full in the early records of Portsmouth:

This Agreement made the twenty Eighth day of october in the yeare one thousand Six hundred Sixty two Betwen william Correy

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of Portsmouth on Road Island on the one parte and peter ffoulger of Newport on the other pt witneseth, that the said william Correy Lett or hiered out his Now dwelling house and all the Land that is now fenced in on both sides of the house, with all the priveledges and apurtinances there unto belonging, for five yeares beginenge at the day of the date here of, and the said peter ffoulger for the Rent of the said howse and land is yerely to Clere two Ackres of swamp, in manner as followeth, that is Cut down Evry yeere duringe the said five yeeres, two Ackres of the said Swamp and to Cut it out and lay it on heaps. And also to Sow three pound of clear hay-seed, upon Evry two Ackres of Swamp so Cleared, And the said peeter ffoulger is also to rive out two hundred and a halfe Rayles, by the next springe on the other side of ye Swamp, for to pay to those that have pt in ye Lower fence to whom the said william Corry is ingaged, also the peeter hath free liberty to improve all ye aforesaid land to his beste Advantage, duringe the said five yeres, only he is to presarve all the Rayle timbar upon the upland unbroken up, Exceptinge so much as is Needfull for the Repairinge of the fences, or the makinge of any New fence, Either for the partinge of the aforesaid land from goodman Anthonys land, to any other fence to part out any of the aforesaid land, that then the said william Corry is to pay unto the said peeter ffoulger at the End of the said Terme of five yeres, so much as the said fence or fencing shall be Judged to be worth, providing that it be no hedge fence, It is also agreed that all the trees in the aforesaid swamp ground yt will beare fourteen Inches over and upwards a foote, above ground may be only gurdled and not fald, in witnes here unto the parties afore said have InterChaingably Set to there hands the yeare above written

Signed and delivred in the presents of us

3th of november 1662

HUGH PARSONN

JOHN ANTHONY

WILLIAM CORRY

A trew Copie by me

RICHARD BULGAR

Towne Clarke

On the same date, two agreements were drawn up between William Corry and William Wood of Portsmouth, both of which were signed by William Corry and the mark of William Wood, and witnessed by Hugh Parsons and Peter Foulger. William Wood was to have, for a period of five years, "all that peece of land that is william Corres that lieth with out the fence Adjoynenge unto the Common." He also exchanged with Corry "a little peece of land by the said william Correys howse from he marked tree upon a straight line to the fence at the brooke about twenty seven pole of land for as much

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land allowed by William Correy of his Eight Acres that Joynes to the said William Wood."

The homestead the Foulgers occupied ran from Cory's Lane to Mill River and the land of John Tyler. The stream was sometimes called Two Mill River, as both John Tyler and William Freeborn had mills on its banks. A century later, after the battle of Rhode Island, it became known as Bloody Run.

After the townsmen of Portsmouth had granted Peter permission to live among them, we hear nothing more of the Foulgers until the following summer. But judging from the terms of the lease, Peter and Eleazer were kept busy during the winter clearing the swamp and splitting fence rails, to say nothing of all the other occupations of the early Colonial husbandman. Eleazer also worked at his trade of cobbling whenever there was an opportunity. It may be that Peter had a chance to do some surveying, although there is no official record of it. Many of the original grants had changed hands several times, and as the boundaries were fixed by such natural markers as white oak saplings, rounded hills, flat rocks lying in the wash of the sea, marked trees, bends in brooks and little spits of sand, there was endless questioning and measuring to determine where the lines actually ran. Boundary disputes between Portsmouth and the Newport men were always current.

The question of defence received much attention by the early lawmakers, and because of the liability of a scarcity of ammunition, archery was considered important as a means of defence against the natives. Every man between the ages of seventeen and seventy was required to keep a bow and four arrows and to exercise with them. And every boy between the ages of seven and seventeen was to be furnished, by his father or guardian, with a bow and two arrows and be taught to shoot with them. This was doubtlessly good sport for the fourteen-year-old Eleazer Foulger. There were also the congenial tasks of hunting and fishing to help fill the larder, and there were pennies to earn shooting the thieving blackbirds, for whose detached heads the town paid a bounty. Game was still plentiful on the island of Aquidneck, for the settlers had early enacted conservation laws. Deer were carefully protected, the Indians being forbidden to kill them except by special license. It was against the law to use traps or

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snarers in the hunting of deer, and there was a closed season from May to November. Foxes were very troublesome to the farmers and had a price on their heads, and a dead wolf brought as much as five pounds to the fortunate hunter. For in spite of frequent hunts and drives, there were still wolves on the island. In November, 1663, the town meeting of Portsmouth ordered that "for as much as there is very greate distruction of sheep by wolves and other vearmin . . . upon Saturday next if it be faire wether, if not then upon ye monday followinge and if it be foule wether then upon ye wensday Next, the Iland shall be driven." The Indians joined the whites in these great drives against the wolves.

Both Peter and Eleazer added the Narragansett dialect to their knowledge of Indian tongues. There is no record, however, that their services as interpreters were called upon in any official capacity during their residence in Aquidneck. Many of the Indians of the island could speak and understand English, and most of the land negotiations had long since been completed. The chief concern of the settlers at the time was adequate defence against the natives. For the Red Man was growing restless. Three great chiefs, friends of Roger Williams and keepers-of-peace with the English, no longer counselled the tribes. Roger Williams himself had closed the eyes of the aged Canonibus, and although the young braves revered the friend of their father, they were eager for war. For Miantonomo lay buried in enemy soil and the Narragansetts had not forgotten the manner of his death. And Massasoit, chief sachem of all the Pokanaukets was dead, and in his place ruled a young chief who brooded upon the wrongs of his people and patiently bided his time. King Philip's blazing star was slowly rising on the New England horizon.

The Foulgers apparently intended to become permanent residents of Rhode Island. Although Peter was sometimes irked by the close domestic supervision of the town fathers of Portsmouth, he found the spiritual atmosphere of the Colony congenial. His Baptist sympathies crystallized into firm faith. There was no organized church in Portsmouth at that time, and Peter eventually joined the Baptist Society in Newport. It is not clear whether he became a member while living in Aquidneck, or some years later when a resident of Nantucket. The influence of his Rhode Island sojourn, short though

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it was, is apparent in his "Looking Glass for the Times," written in Nantucket a decade later. Had he remained in Portsmouth until the termination of his lease, he indubitably would have identified himself in some way with the administration of the town. But in the summer of 1663 there came a message from Nantucket which completely changed his plans:

NANTUCKET, 4th July, 1663

These presents witnesseth that we whose names are underwritten do give and grant unto peter foulger, half a share of accommodations on the land above sayd, that is to say half so much as one of the twenty purchasers, both in respect of upland, meadow, wood, timber and other appurtenances belonging to him and his heirs forever on condition that he com to unhabit on Island aforesayd with his family within one year after the sale hereof. Likewise that the sayd peter shall atend the English in the way of an Interpreter between the Indians and them upon all necessary ocasions, his house lot to be layd at the place commonly called by the name of Rogers field so as may be most convenient.

This agreement was signed by Tristram Coffin, Thomas Mayhew, Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Coleman and most of the other original purchasers of Nantucket.

Here was an opportunity for work after Peter's own heart—the building up of an English plantation in a free island wilderness. Once more he would be a landowner, a freeman, the creator of a homestead and a man of importance in the town meeting. Once more he would hold lengthy discourse with grave Indian sachems, and measure out home lots in virgin fields. His children would grow up around him, building homesteads of their own and becoming useful and respected members of the little island community. He accepted the call—and Mary prepared to move again. They did not plan to leave for several months, however. There was the lease of house and land to be adjusted and various other matters demanding attention. These affairs were apparently settled without difficulty. But the fates had unexpected discomfiture in store for the Foulgers, and before they could leave Portsmouth, they were plunged into a tangle of domestic trouble.

XII

Joanna Foulger, the first-born of Peter and Mary, fell passionately in love with a young man by the name of John Samson. She

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was about twenty years old and liked to have her own way. Unfortunately, Mary disapproved of her daughter's choice, and forbade her to marry him. Unmarried daughters were subject to the will of their parents—but opposition never halted a Foulger. Joanna followed her heart, and however much happiness it may have brought her at first, it led her eventually to the court room.

The morals of the settlers of Rhode Island were carefully guarded, notwithstanding constant complaints to the contrary by the New England Confederacy, whose own records are notorious for the number of cases of sexual offence. Punishments in Rhode Island were milder than in Massachusetts, and the peculiar Puritanical desire to punish as a means of salvation, was lacking. But the Rhode Island towns had their prisons, their stocks and their whipping-posts—and Portsmouth its "droppinge stoole sett att the water side." It is true that there was no ecclesiastical interference, but the majority of the colonists firmly believed in enforcing not only law and order, but also virtue and morality. In Portsmouth, especially, there was close domiciliary supervision. The town records are filled with detailed regulations concerning the management of the land and the manners and morals of the people. In the Bay Colony, adultery was punishable by death; in Rhode Island, both adultery and fornication were punishable by fines and whippings. At a meeting of the Rhode Island General Court of Commissioners, held in Newport in May, 1657, it was ordered that "any person convict of the act of Fornication within the jurisdiction of this Collony, shall be publicly whipt in the Towne where the fact was done, with fiftene stripes for the first offence, or pay forty shillings."

This was the law upon which the romance of Joanna Foulger and John Samson was shattered. Haled before the court, Joanna and her lover were found guilty and were sentenced to pay forty shillings each or be whipped. We may be sure that Peter Foulger would have paid any amount of fine rather than see a daughter of his publicly whipped. Whatever he may have said to Joanna in private, he went to her defence in court, and it was largely through his testimony that one-half of the fine was remitted. In the meantime, Mary had ruefully given her consent to the marriage. The case was heard before the Court of Trials held in Newport in October, 1664:

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John Samson and Johannah folgiour being Indicted for fornication and being called before the Court pleads both of them Guiltye of the acte and Referes themselves to the bench upon the Debate whether they Intended marradge yea or noe there answer is they did Intend marradge but weare hendered by her mother

The Question being asked whether any Did know that Johannah parrance Did Concent upon which James Rogers gen sargent Doth Testifie that upon Discorse with the mother of the foresd Johanah shee Did owne that shee had given Concent

John anthony beinge engaged Sayth that upon Discorse with peter folgiour the sayd folguour Did aske whether hee Did know John Samson to which anthony sayd noe hee did not know him folgiour farther sayd that hee hade a mind to his Dauter and that hee had a Report that hee was a good husband and hee did Intend to looke out for land for him at Nantucket whether he was going and father sayes that he had heard her mother spicke to the same porpose that shee alsoe Did give her Consent

The sentence of the Court upon John Samson and Johanah folgiour that the law is to pay fortye shillings or be wipt but they are soe far favorable to them that they Doe for the present Remitt the Excution of the law for some Cartaine tim it appearing that ther is a Constant purpose of marridge between them

John anthony who was bound for Johannah folgiour: the Court Declare his bonds to be voyd.

About two weeks later the case came up at the fall meeting of the General Assembly, sitting at Newport:

Upn the consideration that hath been upon the petition presented by John Samson and Johannah Folgiour . . . this Court doe order that the one halfe of their fine or punishment be remitted.

Presumably the fines were paid and the case closed.

But Joanna did not marry John Samson after all. We can only guess the reason. Perhaps by the time the courts had stripped their romance of all its glamour, the young couple were heartily tired of the whole affair. Or perhaps John's family objected to the match. At any rate, Joanna sailed away to Nantucket without her lover. Two years later she married the son of one of the proprietors of the island. Let us hope that she was happy and that young John Coleman made up to her for her lost love.

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No one seems to know who John Samson was. So far as is known, he was not a resident of Aquidneck—and naturally his family made no attempt to cultivate the little patch of wild oats he had sown in Portsmouth. He may possibly have been the son of Henry Samson, or Sampson, of the Plymouth Colony. In that case, his mother was Ann Plummer. Henry Samson came over in the *Mayflower* with the Tilley family when he was a small boy of six, and later settled in Duxbury. He was one of the original proprietors of Dartmouth in 1652, when the land was purchased of Massasoit. Henry and Ann had a son John, a few years older than Joanna Foulger, who was given some of the family acres in Dartmouth. The new township, which included all the country around New Bedford, Dartmouth, Westport and Acushnet, was settled largely by people from Plymouth, who disliked the rigid ecclesiastical requisitions of the old Pilgrim communities. Many of them joined the Quakers. Naturally they were in sympathy with their tolerant neighbors to the west and some of them moved on over the line—thus incurring the intense displeasure of the Plymouth Court. At the time, it was difficult to tell just where the Plymouth Colony ended and Rhode Island began. There was considerable traffic between Dartmouth and Portsmouth, both overland and by the convenient waterways. The narrow Indian trail along which Roger Williams had wandered a quarter of a century before, had widened into a wood-road suitable for man and beast. It was called the Rhode Island way, and ran from Plymouth through Dartmouth to Portsmouth and Newport. There was a ferry across the Sakonnet, near where Stone Bridge now spans the river. And so a Portsmouth maid might easily have met a lad from Dartmouth. But whether or not this was the manner of meeting between Joanna Foulger and John Samson, no one can say.

Joanna's trial delayed the Foulgers' removal to Nantucket, but apparently Peter was able to arrange with the proprietors to extend the time of their offer. Meanwhile, he had taken up his legal residence on the island and was there a good part of the time. During the year, he made several trips both to Nantucket and to Martha's Vineyard, to see about his land and to settle his mother's estate. It must have been well along in the fall of 1664, however, before the whole family finally reached their new home. The following spring,



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Peter was formally accepted by the town meeting of Nantucket, as tradesman, surveyor, interpreter and miller, and stood upon the threshold of the tempestuous career of his later years.

Vocational Education

BY WILLIAM H. CLARK, WINTHROP, MASSACHUSETTS



IN the uncertainty of ideas and institutions, so characteristic of modern times, the problems of youth are as grave as any confronting the world. Even in America, as yet unblighted by the troubles which have overcome elder nations, the plight of youth is serious. Mrs. Roosevelt, speaking from the eminence of the White House, declares that there are four million youngsters out of school who cannot find a place for themselves in the world. It seems that they have not been educated properly. They have passed through the traditional courses. They have a speaking acquaintance with literature, science and the arts. But they cannot step behind a lathe or a drill press. They cannot pick up a hammer and enter the building trades. They are idle because they are not trained to fill the vacancies existing in the great industrial establishments of the Nation. Indeed, according to the United States Chamber of Commerce, this Nation faces a shortage of skilled labor.*

No one can quarrel with the formal education which is the necessary basis for later specialization in the professions. No one wishes to deny the enrichment of personality which is the gift given by society to the graduates of our great universities. But educators are concerned with the problem of unemployed youth, and industrialists are fearful of the consequences of a continued shortage of skilled labor. Evidently, our national educational system, successful as it is in the professions, the sciences, and the arts, is not geared to meet the demands of the changed economic and social conditions of America as the fourth decade of the twentieth century opens.

Much has been attempted in the past few years to improve the situation. The American Youth Commission has spent a half million dollars to study the problems of boys and girls in their teens.

* This was written before the swiftly-paced events of the Second World War brought this situation to the point of a national emergency.—Ed.

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The National Occupational Conference has spent almost as much with financing from the Carnegie Corporation for the same purposes, while a million dollar fund has been given by Charles Hayden for youth education. The Federal government itself has spent astronomical sums through the National Youth Administration and through the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Essentially, the answer to the problem that has appeared from all the study which has been given to the unhappy situation of youth is that greater emphasis must be placed upon vocational education. By definition, vocational training or education is that form of instruction which directly prepares an individual for the practice of remunerative occupation. In practice, this has come to mean generally, preparation for the industrial and mechanical arts, or trades, as distinguished from the so-called liberal professions. A boy who gives his secondary period of education to learning the skills of a mechanic or a plumber or an electrician, for example, is being given vocational training. Undoubtedly, the graduating of annual classes of skilled mechanics and artisans will not solve our national economic difficulties but, in the opinion of the authorities, who are devoting themselves to the problem, such a development will provide a healthier future than will the continued production of boys fit only for clerkships and girls trained only to be stenographers. America, it appears, has a sufficiency of professional men and women. What we need are more mechanics. We need more trade schools than we possess.

Historically, this vocational education traces back directly to the medieval system of apprenticeship, or even still further back to the father and son system of ancient days. In this sense there is nothing new about vocational education. The idea, however, is new in its modern form because, when the guilds of Old Europe decayed during the industrial revolution consequent to the development of steam power and the factory system, nothing arose to take the place of the apprentices who flourished under the paternal fostering of the guild. In short, as long as the spirit of craftsmanship prevailed, the trades had no problem in recruiting their ranks. But, under modern mass production, the assembly line has utterly destroyed all that went before. Here in America our problem is at the moment particularly acute because of the peculiar social conditions under which our Nation

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flourished for the first century of its phenomenal industrial sky rocketing. For decades upon decades, our mills and factories could count upon a constant and adequate flow of labor, both skilled and unskilled, from abroad. Thus there was no need for any species of apprenticeship in our country. Indeed, instead of the father and son idea which prevailed in Europe, in America, this land of limitless opportunity, as long as the frontier endured, every father expected and every son attempted to improve his station in life. Thus, generation after generation, the children of laborers and mechanics flocked into the offices where white collar jobs gave them social advancement, or else, if they were particularly ambitious and industrious, they entered the professions. No critic can deplore this system. It is the American way of life. However, it has not given this Nation native mechanics and artisans and now, with immigration restriction damming the sources of supply, we do face a shortage of skilled labor.

To look back beyond America, and to trace the roots of vocational education in its original form of apprenticeship, evidence of the system is found as early as 2250 B. C. About that time, the celebrated Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, required all artisans to teach their trades to their sons. If no son existed, then the artisan was expected to adopt a lad for the purpose of instructing him. Thus, the King hoped to provide his nation with an adequate number of tradesmen.

This same father and son system flowered in Palestine, where the Talmud specifically declared that all boys should be taught a trade. Not only was economic sufficiency thus assured the Jewish people, but the social system was safeguarded in that it was considered that a young man who was not educated as a craftsman would necessarily be idle—and even then it was known that idleness is the precondition of misbehavior, the source of crime and unrest.

In Europe, up until the time of the crusades, this ancient family system persisted, to the degree in which Europe, sunk deep in feudalism, enjoyed the services of artisans. After the enlightenment resulting from the crusades, the enlightenment which flowered so magnificently in the cathedrals and the paintings and in the printing press and the laboratories of the Renaissance, the medieval system of apprenticeship within the guilds developed. The basis of the guild

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was simply, of course, the winning of financial independence by the city from the feudal lord and master. The crusades cut deeply into the treasuries of the knights. To meet their expenses in their far-off voyaging, they borrowed money from the merchants within their fiefs. When the good merchants loaned their gold, they extorted concessions for this and for that and, ultimately, overthrew the feudal lords by limiting their powers. It is often said that the arrows of the archers of England and the muskets of the infantry which developed later dethroned feudalism. That is not correct. It was the financial power of the merchants which, year by year, whittled away the prerogatives of the lords in their castles that ended the Dark Ages. That the merchants fell from the hands of the knights into the clutches of monarchy and subsequently into the stew of nationalism, is beside the point. What is immediately important is that, within the walls of the free cities thus established, craftsmanship flourished. Merchants needed goods to sell and, freed from the yoke of feudalism, the neighbors of the merchants provided those goods. Like all good things, the example of freedom won by the merchants intrigued the craftsmen and they, in turn, organized themselves against the merchants by means of the guilds.

These guilds were originally thus merely a sort of trade union for mutual protection. Eventually, they developed high standards for themselves and, what is more important, took up the safeguarding of their rights and privileges thus obtained. This the guilds accomplished not only by protecting the quality of their products but by making it certain their ranks would be self-perpetuating. This latter value was secured by means of the apprentice system.

In the beginning, the apprentice was simply a neighbor boy who was taken into the family and taught the "mysteries" of the particular trade. The family unit persisted because all the trades were practiced in the home. A room or two was set aside for the use of the head of the family and his assistants, while the rest of the house served the customary living purposes. The apprentice was of value to the master because he served as cheap labor. Day by day as the home workshop functioned, the apprentice was taught the secrets, the rules, the mathematics and the arts which were necessary to the trade. It was learning by imitation and practice. Eventually, when

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the term of apprenticeship was ended, usually when the lad was twenty-one, he knew his trade thoroughly and became a full-fledged member of his guild. Social and economic security was his at once. He could take a house of his own, set up his own shop, marry, take on his own apprentices, and sit in the guild councils.

But this was not all. Because the guilds realized the necessity of combating the forces arrayed against them, legal, social, economic, they knew they could survive only if they constantly produced a well-educated and able succession of generations. Leaders were needed to battle with the merchants and to outwit the minions of the king. So, each master within the guilds was charged with the responsibility of not merely teaching his apprentices their trade, but also with giving them moral, religious, civic and general education. In fact, the guild-apprentice system was the major common educational system of Europe. The level of learning was not high, of course. Most people received little, if any, education. Only the sons of the gentry received the education needed to fit them for the professions, unless the youths entered the church. Thus, an apprenticeship was highly regarded, a privilege not lightly given—for it gave to the selected youths both an assured economic status and the social standing consequent to knowing how to read and write, to cipher and argue in the courts. Indeed, in 1601, the English Parliament made it lawful for the guardians of paupers to seek apprenticeships for their wards. Thus the orphaned boy was assured of a home, of a responsible guardian and the best start in life any commoner could have. Early Colonial America brought over the apprenticeship idea from England and, as in Massachusetts Bay Colony, the General Court required so much schooling for apprentices that the idea of the public school was so extended that every town as established was required to support a school, free to all.

Excellent as this guild-apprentice system was, it contained the seeds of its own destruction. Under it, as long as the spirit of craftsmanship endured, the handiwork of the trades reached levels long since abandoned. The trouble was perfection could not withstand the pressure of production. As Europe, in the intervals of the wars consequent to the establishment of nationalism, prospered, markets demanded more and more products. Thus, even while the guild

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system was developing, the merchants caused its downfall by demanding more quantity and ignoring quality.

In the beginning, the master knew the whole of his trade and his business. His apprentices worked under his eye and he, as a rule, sold his products directly from his shop, thus constantly improving his work through the free criticism given by bargaining buyers. But, when he found he could sell more than he could produce by his individualism, he hired more and more help. Not apprentices these, but graduates of the guild who, lacking either the initiative or the capital to start for themselves, chose the easy and secure livelihood of wages. These hirelings were known as journeymen and eventually came to exercise supervision of a sort over some particular branch of the trade. To each journeyman was assigned a group of apprentices and, since wages for the journeyman depended upon the amount of work they turned out, they tended to keep those apprentices who showed the most skill. This system was, of course, profitable to the master of the establishment. Thus, in direct proportion to the decay of craftsmanship and the growth of the profit motive, apprentices learned less and less. Labor had become divided into specialties. The father and son relationship was destroyed and the employer-employee system came about.

In essence this was the factory system. However, it was not until the invention and application of power machinery came about with Hargraves, Arkwright and the rest that the "mill" came into being. Water power was the first source of energy utilized and thus capitalists erected their great barns wherever a stream offered the means of turning the wheels which drove the looms. Because quantity production was thus stimulated, competition became keen among the mill owners and, as always, costs were cut by paying as small a wage as possible. The demand for cheap labor became so great that before long children were brought into the factory and driven for twelve and thirteen hours a day—meal-times not included! Actually pauper children were delivered in droves to the mill owners by the workhouse overseers—those worthies who had charge of the unfortunates being only too glad to cut taxes by getting rid of the children. Legally, these unfortunates were "apprenticed" to the mill owners, held in bondage until they were twenty-one—if they lived that long.

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Naturally, the horrible conditions which resulted aroused agitation and laws were passed by various towns and cities which required the mill owners to continue the educational program which was such a part of the old guild system. Just about this time, James Watt invented the steam engine. With this means of power, the mill owners were not limited to water power, nearly universally found in cities where commerce through the centuries had concentrated population about navigable water. Instead, the mill migrated to less well-organized centers, where children could be obtained without any legal restrictions being placed upon their exploitation. No longer did the employers find it necessary to feed, clothe, educate and "assume the responsibility" of their slaves.

Once again conditions became so frightful that various humanitarian leaders arose in wrath and worked to ameliorate the system. The Earl of Shaftesbury was such a man and much of the credit for the series of reforms which featured the nineteenth century in England must be credited to his account.

Meanwhile, it was evident that as industry developed, reaching out first into one field and then into another, that the old guild system was no longer able to recruit its ranks, even in the few trades that industry, for the moment, ignored. Moreover, the guild system, crusted with tradition, had become hated. The guilds really controlled the trades left to them. They dictated prices and working conditions. They ruled costs and production so that no man could build a house, for example, unless he met the demands of the guilds concerned. Further, the guilds dictated who should be accepted for apprenticeship. They, in effect, fairly in the teeth of the blossoming industrial revolution, endeavored to maintain their wealth and privileges by every means they could devise. As a result, laws were passed in one country after another which abolished the guild system. By 1800, in general, the guilds were dissolved and any man could follow any trade he wished.

The trouble with this was that there was no longer any adequate means of training youth in the trades. A father might, and usually did, bring his son along in the family calling, but not a tenth of the necessary tradesmen were or could be produced by this means. New nations, like the United States, where golden opportunity smiled, had

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no trouble in securing mechanics, but the old countries found themselves fairly faced with shortage of skilled labor.

France, one of the first countries to face this trouble, led in the efforts to correct the situation. Long before, the French had established their Academy of Painting and Sculpture, a school founded in 1648. In 1747, the training schools of bridge and road building engineers were founded and, in 1795, the famous Polytechnic was started off on its long career. These were national schools and all demonstrated to be of value. So, the realistic French turned to the establishment of trade schools. The farm school of the Duke of Rochefoucault-Liaucourt, which the nobleman began in 1788 at La Montagne, was taken over in 1799 by the First Republic and transferred to Compiègne. There, with but a third of the school day being given to general education, boys were taught to be blacksmiths, machinists, metal spinners, foundrymen, carpenters, cabinetmakers, wood turners and wheelwrights. Thus the French began their system of trade schools which has played such an important part in the economy of the Gallic nation.

In Russia, although the country was not industrialized, there soon existed a grave need for railroad engineers and operatives. So, in 1868, the Imperial Technical School at Moscow was given the job of filling the need. Victor de la Vos, the president of the school, a military engineer, studied the problem the Czar had given him. Believing that the old apprentice system was slow and wasteful, he dissected teaching methods and created an entirely new method of instruction which, in a general sense, is the modern method of vocational education. He first established a new set of shops, each one for a particular trade. In each shop he stationed a teacher and laid out a program for him to follow. Each boy was given an individual set of tools and a place to work. With this equipment, the teacher went to work. The subject was broken down into as simple elements as possible and, arranged in order of difficulty, formed a series of steps by which the student climbed from ignorance to mastery. The teacher, himself an expert in his subject, the first day gave a demonstration lesson of the first step. Then the boys, working with their own tools, mastered that step. The next day the second step was similarly grasped and so, on and on, until finally, examinations were held. The students

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were given an actual piece of work, one which they would be called upon to do out in the world. If they accomplished it easily and accurately, they were graduated.

So successful was this method of turning out mechanics quickly and inexpensively, it attracted wide attention and De la Vos was called to the Centennial Fair at Philadelphia in 1876 to give a demonstration of his work. British and American educators were greatly impressed and, adapting the idea of their own problems, established it in force. The modern instruction method of manual training can be traced back to this accomplishment of De la Vos.

In Germany, this trade teaching began even earlier than elsewhere. Johan von Lieb, in 1708, published his volume, "*Von Verbesserung Land und Leuten*," and attracted the attention of such men as Leibnitz, the philosopher, with proposals to establish state trade schools. The Crown of Prussia were interested and, in 1747, Hecker's Realschule was opened in Berlin under the patronage of Frederick the Great. From this beginning, the trade schools developed slowly but with characteristic thoroughness and the school system more or less made at least some vocational education compulsory for every child in secondary schools—an educational philosophy based upon the principle that manual dexterity is a necessary phase in the thorough training of intelligence.

In England, hidebound in tradition, comparatively little progress in vocational education was accomplished at first. The British people, secure in their confidence in native ability to do anything whatever, allowed the schools largely to continue to give only formal theoretical instruction while specific skills were left to be acquired in practice. Largely this removed the old guild-apprentice system of trade education from the trades and placed it squarely within the province of the parents. If you had a boy, the English system held, it was your duty to educate him in the schools to the extent of your purse. When that was accomplished, you helped him find a place in some office or shop—and your duties were at an end.

Naturally, this substitute for the apprentice system was not satisfactory. The first attempt to correct the situation came from the workmen themselves. It was impossible to revive the guild idea—steam power, international trade, and the profit system had ended

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that. Instead the so-called mechanics' institute movement came into being under the leadership of such enthusiasts as Dr. George Birkbeck of Glasgow. He began by giving free lectures in scientific subjects for the working "classes." Probably the good doctor was little more than a free entertainer—for the sober folks of Glasgow have always been avid for lectures upon any subject which would improve the mind. However, the free lectures were very successful and the doctor began to systematize his talks into courses which were aimed at giving specific instruction to men engaged in particular trade. For example, men working in a plant making steam boilers, would be told of the physical properties of steam, of the historical development of the steam engine, and even of the qualities of the stubborn metal with which they worked in their shops.

This took place in the early part of the nineteenth century. By 1824 Dr. Birkbeck, who had moved to London, was so widely known and honored for his eleemosynary labors that he was assured of adequate financial support. Thus encouraged, he applied the English club idea to his work and forthwith established the London Mechanics' Institution—an organization which not only offered lectures and even classes in various scientific and practical subjects to workingmen, but also provided a library, a reading room and a museum of scientific and mechanical exhibitions.

Immediately, the mechanics' institute idea mushroomed. Within ten years, some 216 similar organizations came into being in the United Kingdom while, in America, the larger cities, such as Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia and even Cincinnati adopted the idea. Unfortunately, the movement, as originally conceived, suffered a fatal fault. The very men of the trades who were expected to benefit most, could not take advantage of the opportunities offered. They lacked the elementary education which alone could have prepared them to understand even the simplest courses of study. Thus, as the movement slowly died, it featured merely demonstrations and illustrated lectures—entertainment rather than instruction.

However, the mechanics' institutes did serve a very great purpose. They demonstrated the need to English-speaking people of the things the Continental nations had put into practice earlier—the necessity of public elementary schools and of secondary trade schools,

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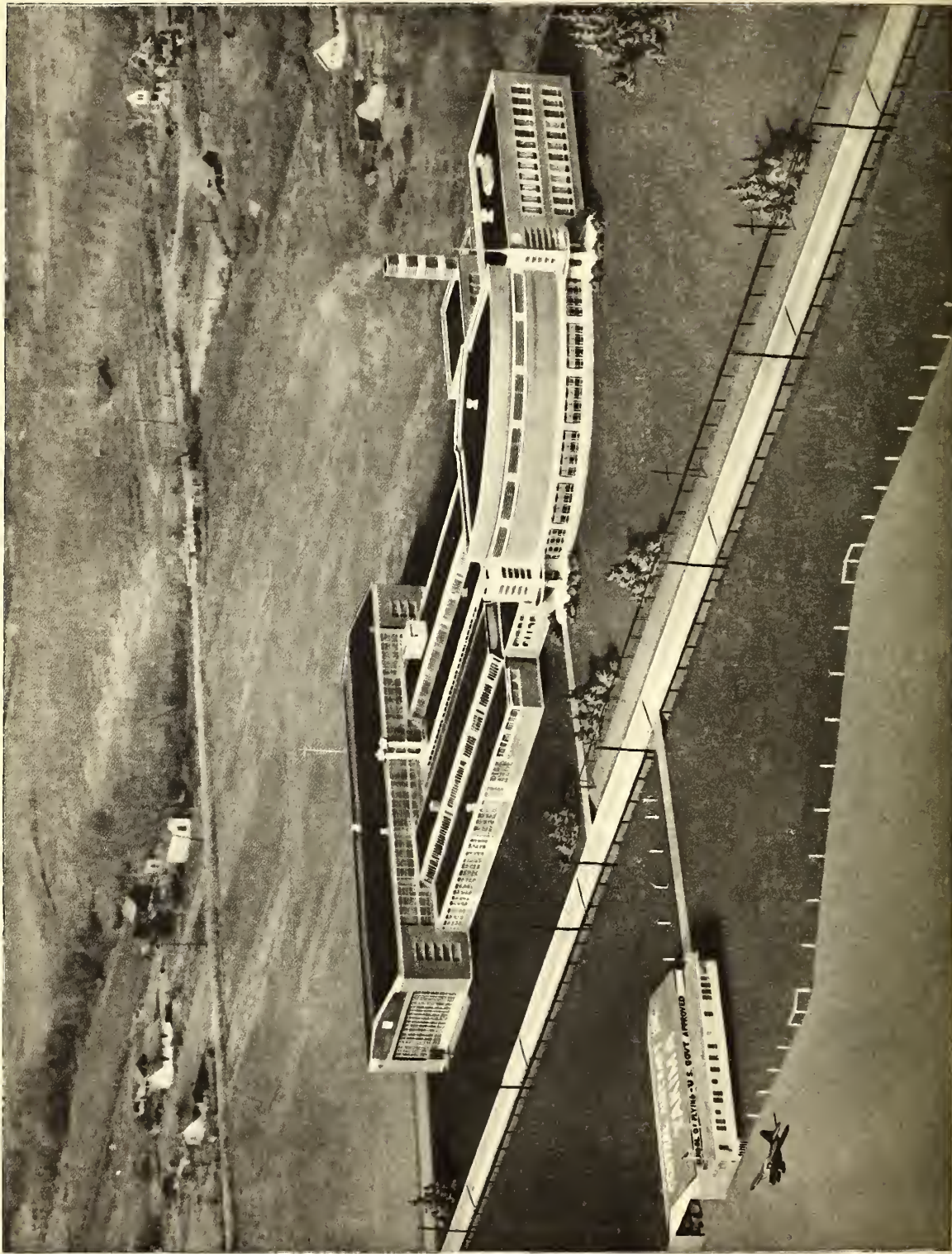
either publicly supported or privately endowed. Great Britain shortly did establish such schools and, in the United States, similar schools came into being in many large cities.

Thus begun, trade schools continued their development. Being new and not popular in America, the course of their growth in this country has been uneven. Indeed, the history of the vocational education movement is tangled and confused. In some cities, trade schools were established either in separate institutions or as courses within formal high schools. Public funds supported these schools and these courses and even today the tendency persists to regard these schools and courses as the refuge for the less capable students.

In the conventional high school of the day, the brighter students are herded into the college preparatory courses, if the least desire for such education can be coaxed out of the parents of the children. Students who cannot successfully carry along this course of study, courses to which the best teachers are usually assigned and courses upon which the resources of the school are lavished, are weeded out so that in the end, the students who are certified or prepared for college entrance examinations may be expected to support the good name of the school.

The students weeded out are dropped easily into less arduous courses. The lower levels are, of course, slipped into the "general course," where all poorly endowed youths are cosseted through their four years with as little admonition as possible. Between these two extremes are the vocational courses. In the so-called business courses, students are taught the standard matters of bookkeeping, stenography and commercial law in the hope they can find office jobs for themselves. In the mechanical courses, usually limited to boys, the rudiments of shop-practice and the various trade "mysteries" are explained—the idea being that, upon graduation, the boys will have a reasonably good general education and still have enough knowledge of a trade to find work in industry, although, usually, a further intensive course in a private trade school is advised.

The purely trade schools are free from this blight resulting from the preoccupation of grooming children for college. Many of the larger cities have such trade schools and teach thoroughly and competently the various trades. However, public support is as a rule



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given grudgingly to these schools—naturally perhaps because in most American communities the public school budget is the heaviest drain of all civic activities upon the public purse. To meet this situation, various benefactors have arisen who provided their municipalities with a trade school. In this service, many of the modern humanitarians find the ideal use for their gifts to their fellows. The method of benefaction differs. Here and there, it is enough for the city or town to receive a building and equipment with the community ready enough to assume the cost of maintenance. Less often, the benefactor provides an endowment which is sufficient to relieve the community of any burden. In such schools as this latter type, trade education has reached its greatest development. Free from public interference, unhampered by inadequate appropriations, the faculty is free to devote itself to the careful instruction of its students and to fit them precisely into the economic and social needs of the neighborhood.

Of interest in this field is the new J. M. Perry Institute of Trade, Industry, and Agriculture in Yakima, Washington. This institution, now under construction, is a memorial to the late John Mansfield Perry, a Maine boy who became one of the leaders of the development of the Yakima Valley. The school, an independent unit not supported in any way by the city, is costing about a half million dollars to build and has been generously endowed for perpetual service. Boys within its walls will have the opportunity to acquire not merely a good general education, but will also learn the trades they elect soundly and thoroughly, giving the Yakima Valley a supply of ambitious young men equipped to meet the needs of the area.

Side by side with this private endowment and support of trade schools, the last few years have witnessed a steady growth in the determination that vocational education shall stand as firmly buttressed by public support as are the conventional schools. This tendency was organized as early as 1906, when the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education was formed for the purpose of publicizing and promoting the need for a national program of vocational education. This society won its first victory in 1914, when Congress created the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education. This commission studied the problems of the decade and,

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as a result, recommended the legislation which resulted in the Smith-Hughes Act for Vocational Education in 1917.

This Act provides for Federal grants to promote, in coöperation with the states, education in agriculture, trades, industries, commerce and home economics. Later extensions of the Act have increased appropriations and enlarged its field, particularly in the special work of vocational rehabilitation.

The importance of this regulation by Washington of vocational education cannot be over-stressed. Undoubtedly, there are difficulties remaining which are yet to be overcome. Equally unpleasant to many educators is the invasion of education by the waxing paternalism of the government. However, the Act has stabilized vocational education in the United States. Particularly is this important in the light of the growing protests against tax burdens which would have greatly curtailed educational programs if it had not been for Federal grants.

The present brightness of the situation lies in the fact that, although the states are required to match the Federal funds only dollar for dollar, most states pay out two dollars for vocational education for every dollar received. Still another illustration of progress is obtained from statistics of enrollment. In 1918, vocational students in Federally-aided vocational schools numbered about 164,000. In 1935, the last year for which figures are available, the total was in excess of 2,125,000. Expenditures have likewise increased from three millions annually to nearly forty millions.

In general it may be said at the present time that vocational education has assumed national importance. The tendency seems to be that more and more training in the trades shall become the privilege of all American children who desire it and that it shall be provided at the public expense wherever necessary.

However, the problem at the moment is far from solved. There is the question of striking the proper balance between vocational and general education. The American principle of democracy presupposes an electorate educated to satisfactory levels—an ideal, perhaps, more honored in lip service than in practice, but nevertheless, the basic fact of American existence. There is also the problem of the frequent technological upheavals in industry—for every process

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and every new product demands new techniques as American inventiveness progresses on its way to whatever waits. Again, there is the matter of trade organizations, in which the labor union has taken the place of the old guild in so far as controlling, or in attempting to control, working conditions. And, of course, there is the perennial matter of protecting youth against exploitation. And, perhaps, most serious of all, there is the seemingly increasingly important matter of the stratification of production. More and more, as mechanisms are perfected, fewer and fewer skilled workers are needed in proportion to the submerged mass of unskilled hands.

Doubtless, vocational education will adjust itself to these problems and to the difficulties impending developments threaten. Vocational education has always displayed in its history its close dependence upon the character of the economic organization in which it operated.

Today, it can be considered that America stands at one end of existing vocational education organization. Here the tendency has been and is to combine an adequate proportion of general education with specific mechanical instruction. Great Britain operates in a somewhat similar manner as does France and Germany, with the important difference in the last case that, under Hitler, girls are being barred from such training on the grounds that the proper place for a woman is in the home—the nursery and the kitchen.

At the other end of the situation stands Soviet Russia. There, little, if any, difference is made between the training of men and women. Further, under the simplification made possible by preliminary destruction of all social order, education has been completely reorganized. Reports vary somewhat, but it seems certain that the Soviet educational program is based upon the principle that all training must be socially useful. Thus, all education has, in the larger sense of the term, been vocationalized. The whole economic organization of the nation is geared together, theoretically, and children are drafted into the schools and educated to fit into the various points at which they may be needed. The needs of industry, of agriculture, of transportation and the rest are estimated a generation in advance and the school system ordered to educate children to fill those expected needs.

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No criticism of the two systems need be attempted. As said before, vocational education, because of its very nature, is conditioned by the need of the social order it serves. The American way of life has different ideals from the Russian. Our system of education will move and grow as the needs for its product develop. Meanwhile, here in America, we have at least made an adequate beginning towards a system of vocational education suited to our country. It is young, really, this system of ours. For that reason, if for no other, it is flexible and, while problems remain to be solved, we can be confident that through both public and private support, the United States will work out the system of vocational education needed.

A Review of California Banking

BY J. R. SHAW, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



FOR nearly a century, California enjoyed in its first historical period an almost perfect Arcadian way of life. This period began in 1769 approximately, the year being that of the establishment of the missions, the first permanent settlement. It ended about 1846 when news that gold was to be found in the sands of the rivers made California the scene of one of the most abrupt changes that has ever overtaken American soil.

In all these seventy-seven years, the white inhabitants of the Golden State had as little need for banks and bankers as did the original red-skinned natives. Essentially, life was ordered on an agricultural basis. Land alone was the only property of importance since, given land, everything else needed was forthcoming. Perhaps the most significant point of all was that in the midst of this land-hunger, there was never any litigation over land-titles. Records fail to show the existence of a single lawyer. Perhaps one reason was that there was land enough and to spare. Up to the year 1847, when the gold rush was being initiated, the population of the entire area now the State of California was only something like eight thousand persons. This number does not include Indians, of course. The Spanish and the Mexicans never bothered to count their red brethren, any more than did the British and the French on the Atlantic side of the continent. But, even if there was plenty of land, it does not follow that estates were of no value. In fact, the reverse is true, for many of the more important families built up tremendous holdings. Perhaps the real reason for the lack of litigation lay in the pastoral nature of the people. Days ran into years and years into decades in peaceful and happy monotony. Such travelers as appeared were lavishly entertained and sent on their way rejoicing. The missions labored to convert the souls of the Indians and succeeded in maintaining order in an all but unexampled degree. Really, the history of relations between the white settlers and the redskins is far more laudable in California than in any other section of the New World.

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Thus ran the economy established by Spain and continued almost without change by Mexico when that country won its independence in 1822. Men acquired land, established their fields, flocks and herds, married and engendered children. Sons stepped into their fathers' places or made new ranches of their own. Daughters married into neighboring families and widows lived with their children. All this without ever a lawsuit.

And as there was no need for lawyers and courts, it follows that there was no need for credit. Hence, no bankers or banks appeared.

Then, the Yankees, as the Californians called the inhabitants of the United States, came to change Arcady into Modernity.

They came first about 1800 as New England sailors from Boston and Salem, making the long and perilous voyage around Cape Horn. Of course, Spain in her might forbade any trade between Californians and the New Englanders. But Spain was far away and the Yankee ships were right on the coast, laden with all sorts of merchandise well calculated to please any customer. To the blithe Boston traders, the California business was a mere incident. They were sailing on the Great Northwest fur trade which began on the sea islands off the coast of both Americas, where seals were slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands for their pelts. These furs were considered very choice by the Chinese, who gladly traded silks, teas and porcelains. However, the Yankee ships had plenty of cargo room outbound for merchandise for California and were willing to take fruits, vegetables and such things as hides in return. Naturally, the profits on this trade were considerable and, although ships and sailors were confiscated and imprisoned by the Spanish authorities when the law could catch up with the smugglers, the trade progressed merrily.

Then, when Mexico took over the reins of authority, the ban on trade was eased and a custom house was established at Monterey, where the Californians could trade their furs, hides, tallow and produce for whatever the Yankee ships had to offer. With this encouragement, the California trade blossomed. The missions themselves produced grain, beans, wine, brandy, olive oil, cotton, hemp, oranges, lemons and figs, while the ranchers did likewise. Statistics, such as they are, indicate that, by 1835, agricultural products were worth some two millions of dollars annually. Side by side with this was the

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live stock industry. In the forties, hides were exported each year to the total of about a hundred thousand, while tallow ran up towards one hundred tons annually.

This was big business for a sparsely settled area to support, but the amazing thing was that it was accomplished entirely without any of the present-day indispensable aids of finance. The ships from the East Coast, no longer making the long voyage to China, for the fur trade had died with the extinction of the seals, coasted along the shore. Here and there, they would drop anchor and, since harbors were few and far between, boat-loads of merchandise would be rowed to the beaches. There the goods would be taken over by the ranchers and, without the merchants taking any notes or bills, the ships would sail on up the coast, repeating the process as they went. Then, perhaps six months or a year later, the ships would return and would collect payment in hides, furs and tallow according to the oral agreement made on delivery. Accounts show that this trading system was universal and there is no evidence that any difficulty was ever experienced by the American ships in collecting what had been agreed upon.

Then came the discovery of gold; the swarming in of thousands upon thousands of Easterners. Men came around the Horn on the experimental clipper ships, sailing more rapidly than ever ships had sailed before. Others shortened the time in the mad race by coming across the Isthmus of Panama, while others, more hardy, crossed the greath width of the continent on foot, by ox-teams or astride a horse. Harbor towns were rudely awakened from their slumbers as the gold rush mushroomed them into cities, while hordes of men flung themselves inland in search of the precious metal. No desert was too hot, no mountain too forbidding, no wilderness too drear to stop these men with the gold fever in their brains. Everywhere new towns sprang up and, if far from being civilized, at least the multiplied population found it impossible to endure the leisurely ways of the Spanish and Mexican days. From what had been the placid ease of the seventeenth century, California was pitchforked fairly into the middle of the bustling nineteenth at its worst.

Law and order followed the flag of the United States as the Stars and Stripes replaced the Mexican banner, and with the wholesale transformation of life, lawyers and bankers found their services required.

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The situation in regard to currency is an example of the chaos which resulted before financial institutions were organized. Because of the vast volume of mercantile transactions required to meet the needs of the thousands upon thousands of gold-seekers, a critical scarcity of money rapidly developed. This was so despite the fact that most new arrivals brought coins with them and despite the fact that gold, the raw material of currency, was in tremendous supply. Gold dust, of course, automatically became a medium of exchange. Every store, every saloon and every business establishment that bought and sold or extended services for payment had scales upon which it weighed the dust its customers offered in payment. Even the United States authorities received gold for customs dues, although the government did not really buy gold or accept it. The system was that the government took the gold in payment of duties, but placed it on deposit only, requiring the importer to redeem the gold within three or six months.

The trouble with this use of gold as currency was not so much that it fluctuated in quality, gold from some "diggings" being of better purity than that from others, but that gold itself, regardless of its source, fluctuated in value. At the mines it was worth in the early days of the gold rush anything from five to ten dollars an ounce in reputable dealings, while in less respectable transactions the dust was worth as little as the seller of a commodity was willing to take. Indians, utterly ignorant of the value of the yellow grains, would sell their harvest from some stream-bed for whatever caught their fancy, while saloons, once a miner was mellowed, would charge incredible prices for equally incredible liquor. Ultimately, so serious did the situation become that the price was set by mutual agreement in the larger towns at sixteen dollars the ounce.

As for coins, almost anything went so long as it was silver or gold. Copper coins were worthless, as no commodity, even the meanest, was offered for sale in terms of cents. American money was, naturally, the standard, but pockets carried a weird collection of the coins of other nations as well—Mexican silver dollars, Spanish doubloons, pesetas and reals, English sovereigns and guineas, not to mention the silver of France, Germany and Russia. At first, these coins all circulated far above their actual worth, but they were eventually regu-

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larized when by agreement a scale was established which set their worth in terms of their actual bullion content. The supply of coin was also increased by various private firms being given permission to issue gold coins in denominations of five, ten, twenty and fifty dollars. This uncertain and dangerous medley was finally ended in April of 1854, when a branch of the United States Mint was established in San Francisco and the days of makeshift currency were ended.

Of course, from the beginning of the American occupation, banking became necessary. But it was some time before real banks were formed. The first convenience offered was that of the merchants. In the rough and ready organization of trade and credit, any man doing business who was possessed of a place reasonably well protected was asked to keep gold dust and other valuables by his customers. From this safe deposit business, it was only a step to private banking, and thus most merchants who owned a reputation for probity, ran what amounted to private banks as a side line to their regular business. The Wells, Fargo and the other express companies also developed what was in essence a banking business. Their lines ran deep into the mining regions and they would accept gold at the mines for shipment either to San Francisco or even to the East. When they accepted gold for shipment, they gave their drafts in exchange. While these drafts were hardly much more than receipts, they were actually bills for the delivery of a specified amount of gold at specified points and, as such, they were as good as the gold itself and could be used as money.

However, real banks were soon organized. The reason for the delay in regularizing the establishment of conventional types of banking institutions was that the people of the State feared the establishment of a moneyed class. Back in the East, where for years the history of finance had not been particularly confidence-inspiring, where the Nation had passed through a series of financial panics and where, in part at least, the history of politics had been that of a struggle between moneyed interests and the agricultural class, particularly those of the frontier, banks were not popular. This distrust of banks, as instruments of oppression, whether fancied or real, was intensified in California because the bulk of the citizens were horny-handed individuals who had won what they possessed by toil and hardship. Then,

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too, most of the citizens were drawn from classes in the East which were largely the "Have-nots," as opposed to the "Haves." Naturally bankers, although business men needed their services, were opposed.

Indeed, when the First Constitutional Convention was held, the delegates fought bitterly against having any banks whatever. Any corporation was viewed with distrust, for fear of the encouragement of a monopoly, and the idea of allowing a corporation to issue money was utterly prohibited. Days were spent in efforts to solve the problem of finding a means of banning the establishment of banks of issue without, at the same time, handicapping the conduct of business. Paper money was the hobgoblin the Californians feared. They wanted hard money; metal you could feel in your pockets, metal that would ring when flung upon a counter, metal that had a definite bullion value. Paper money was only the promise of some persons or some corporation to pay. And coins were better than promises.

Even corporations established to receive deposits of gold were feared, for they would of necessity in the course of business give receipts of deposits. These could be circulated as money and would thus be in effect paper money. Indeed, this form of banking was described by some of the delegates as the most dangerous form of all, being even worse than a regular bank, whose paper was at least restricted by the banking laws of the United States and could be similarly controlled by whatever laws California chose to enact. Said the delegates, banks of deposit could simply issue certificates of deposits as being payable to the bearer. Thus anyone could accept the receipts and paper money would be in circulation without any safeguards being available whatever. Indeed, the sense of the constitutional convention went so far as to declare that there was no need of any corporate banks at all. The delegates concluded that if banks must be formed, let them be private, for a private banker can be dealt with by law if he violates the confidence of his customers, while a corporation, given a supply of legal talent, might escape punishment. Men such as Girard in the East, the Barings in London, and the Rothschilds on the Continent, were held up as shining examples of the ideal banking system.

Finally, when all the debating was ended, the section of the California State Constitution concerned, read, in part:

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The Legislature shall have no power to pass any act granting any charter for banking purposes; but associations may be formed under general laws, for the deposit of gold and silver, but no such association shall make, issue or put into circulation, any bill, check, ticket, certificate, promissory note, or other paper, or the paper of any bank, to circulate as money.

Thus, due to the Californian's fear of paper money, a stand was made for solid currency. Although the State has long since brought its banks into agreement with the national ideas of banking, this emphasis for metal continues. Silver dollars, so seldom seen in the East as to be a curiosity, are still popular in the West. Gold coins were very popular there, too, until the Roosevelt administration called gold into the Treasury.

But, of course, banks were sorely needed by California. With gold worth something like a million dollars a week pouring down from the mines, some financial system was necessary to accommodate the miners as well as to meet the requirements of the merchants who were supplying the miners with goods and the farmers and ranchers who were feeding them. Banks had to come and come they did, being organized under the general laws as associations rather than corporations.

The first bank in California was that of Nagles & Sinton. The partners were Henry M. Nagles, a captain in the United States Army, who came West in 1847, and Richard H. Sinton, who came to California as paymaster of the United States Navy Ship *Ohio*. These men organized themselves and opened for business January 9, 1849, with an office in San Francisco in the Parker House—the site of the present Hall of Justice. They received deposits of gold and sold exchange. Sinton shortly withdrew from the association but Nagles continued under the name of H. M. Nagles & Company until he was forced out of business by a run on September 7, 1850.

The second bank in San Francisco was that of Burgoyne & Company, which was opened June 5, 1849, at Montgomery and Washington streets. The third bank was that of Benjamin Davidson. He managed to remain in business for many years, being an agent for the Rothschilds. Fourth was Wells & Company (Thomas G. Wells). He opened his counting room in October of 1849 and failed two years later.

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Other early banks, with some account of their ultimate fortunes, included: James King, who opened his office at Montgomery and Commercial streets, December 5, 1849, failed in 1854, but turned his experience to account by becoming a cashier for Adams & Company. Drury J. Tallant opened his bank at Montgomery and Clay streets in February of 1850. He was joined by Judge Wilde and the association became Tallant & Wilde. Then, after a period as Tallant & Company, the firm was incorporated (under new laws) as the Tallant Banking Company in 1881. Finally, in 1898, the house was affiliated with the Crocker Woolworth Bank. The express company, Page, Bacon & Company, in association with the firm of Argenti & Company, formed a bank in June of 1850, their office being located on Clay Street between Kearney and Dupont streets. This house was followed in turn by Adams & Company, Palmer, Cook & Company, Drexel, Sather & Church, Robinson & Company, Carothers, Robinson & Company and, finally, Lucas, Turner & Company. General William T. Sherman was a partner and resident manager of this last association.

Of these associations, that of Drexel, Sather & Church is most noteworthy. It was reorganized under the name of Sather & Company and, in 1887, was incorporated under the name of the Sather Banking Company. On December 1, 1897, the corporation became the San Francisco National Bank and in July of 1910 was taken over by the Bank of California.

Savings banks also existed in these early days. Robinson & Company had a savings department while Wright's Miners Exchange & Savings Bank, located at Washington and Kearney streets, under the management of Dr. A. S. Wright, did a thriving business with an interest rate to depositors of nothing less than eighteen per cent.!

Outside of San Francisco, banks were established very early in Sacramento. D. O. Mills, of that town, a prosperous merchant, turned his energies to banking in 1850 under the name of D. O. Mills & Company. His partner in this enterprise was E. J. Townsend. Townsend retired shortly and Henry Miller and Edgar Mills joined the firm. In 1872 the bank became a nationalized institution with the title of D. O. Mills National Gold Bank. Another Sacramento bank of the time was that of B. F. Hastings. All the express companies

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also maintained offices in Sacramento as well as in San Francisco and combined banking accommodations for their customers with the express business.

As was to be expected, the mushroom growth of private banks, only the outstanding of which have been listed, was not healthy. They met the banking needs of California well enough, probably, but they were far from being what they should be. The bankers, as a group, were doubtless honest and ethical in their business methods, but they were too poorly organized in most cases to withstand adversity. This became evident in 1855, when disaster arrived.

On February seventeenth of that year, the mail arrived from the East with word that the house of Page, Bacon & Company, of St. Louis, had failed. The local bank of Page, Bacon & Company at once published the declaration that the San Francisco house had no connection with the St. Louis establishment and that, therefore, Californian clients had nothing to fear. Nevertheless, the depositors at once began to withdraw their funds. Within two days the run assumed serious proportions and by February twenty-second, the bank closed its doors. Since the bank had deposits to the total of about two millions, this was a very serious matter. Other banks were weakened in the confidence of their depositors and very soon a number of houses suffered runs and closed down. These establishments included Palmer, Cook & Company as well as Adams & Company. Some of the smaller houses reopened eventually, but the larger institutions either went out of existence or were reorganized into virtually new concerns.

Such was the fate of Adams & Company. At the company's branch at Grass Valley, the agent, Alonzo Delano, is reported to have received orders from San Francisco to close his doors. Instead of doing so, Delano called a meeting of his depositors, read them his orders and then told the depositors he would pay them as long as a dollar remained in the branch's coffers. As a result of this action, Delano obtained a reputation for integrity and, winding up his affairs with Adams & Company, opened his own bank and shortly enjoyed larger deposits than the branch had ever enjoyed. Another bank growing out of the wreckage of Adams & Company was that of Macy, Low & Company of Marysville. This firm became Low Brothers when

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Charles B. Macy died and, in 1860, the firm was taken over by Rideout & Smith. Frederick F. Low, the original partner with Macy, enjoyed great popularity, becoming Governor of California, superintendent of the San Francisco Mint, United States Minister to China and, finally, a manager of the Anglo-California Bank.

It happened that this banking calamity of 1855 coincided with the wave of political reform in San Francisco. A corrupt administration of the city's affairs had climaxed in frauds and defalcations, while the tax rate climbed to \$38.50 for each \$1,000 of valuation. Of course, the basic trouble with politics was that reputable and responsible citizens for the most part had neglected their various civic duties almost completely. Everyone was busy amassing wealth and much too busy to bother with politics. But the vigilance committees, if no longer necessary to maintain law and order, had bequeathed their spirit to the fifties and, once aroused to the need for action, a wave of reform swept rascals out of office, reduced municipal expenditures something like eighty per cent. and administered a thorough house cleaning to all San Francisco.

The pendulum once started swinging, the reform movement was inevitably carried over into State affairs and, with the hardships caused by the bank failures still smarting, agitation was begun to establish a better banking system. The old prohibitions were evidently causing more harm than they were doing good. Accordingly, legislation was in order to legalize the establishment of corporate banks. By 1857 this new banking arrangement was completed and that year the first corporate bank was organized. It was the Savings & Loan Society of San Francisco, with E. W. Burr, the city's reform mayor, the president. For fifty-three years this bank enjoyed a high position, its career enduring until 1910, when it was amalgamated with the San Francisco Savings Union.

Two years later, on April 12, 1859, the second banking corporation, the Hibernia Savings & Loan Society, was launched. This was first a capital stock bank but in 1864 it was reincorporated as a mutual bank. As such it has continued to thrive, being the only such bank in California. Another mutual bank, the French Savings & Loan Society, was founded February 1, 1860, but it failed in 1878. Another of these banks founded early in the 'sixties was the San Francisco Sav-



THE OLD WELLS, FARGO & COMPANY BANK, THEN LOCATED AT NO. 114 MONTGOMERY STREET, BETWEEN SACRAMENTO AND CALIFORNIA STREETS, ON THE EAST SIDE

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ings Union, which was established May 18, 1862. This institution became the Savings Union Bank & Trust Company and, as such, continued to prosper and is now one of the pillars of the banking system.

The first chartered commercial banks appeared about the same time as the savings banks. The first one was the Pacific Accumulation Loan Society. This opened for business in 1863 and, after obtaining a special authorization from the California Legislature, on April 18, 1866, became the Pacific Bank. As such the institution met a very great need. It became popular immediately and was soon active up and down the coast, doing a very great business. But, in 1893, disaster overtook the institution and on June twenty-third it closed its doors.

This great bank was organized by three men: Samuel Brannan, Peter H. Burnett, and Joseph W. Winans. Samuel Brannan, an erstwhile preacher and elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, was one of that hardy band of Mormon pioneers who did so much to develop California and to bring it into the Union. Energetic and ambitious, he was one of the ablest business men that California has ever known. Consequently he rapidly amassed a very considerable fortune. Peter H. Burnett, a native of Tennessee, who came to California in 1848, after a stay in Oregon, was another able man and very popular. He was the first Governor of California. Joseph W. Winans was perhaps even more able than his partners. A lawyer, using the title in its deepest sense, he was a member of a New York family which traced its descent back for generations through Revolutionary stock. After graduating from Columbia in 1840 and practicing in New York City, he came to California in a ship which he and a few associates purchased and fitted out as a private venture. Once in the Golden State, they anchored their ship in the Sacramento River and used the vessel as a floating hotel. Winans practiced his profession in Sacramento until 1862, but then reestablished himself in San Francisco. Building up an impressive practice, he became one of the city's leading citizens, being a trustee and treasurer of the San Francisco Law Library, a founder of the University of California and a member of its board of regents, president of the Society of California Pioneers and active in many other organizations. Under the direction of the three founders, the

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bank enjoyed a reputation of lofty integrity, but it was not so fortunate in its subsequent officers and so closed its doors.

Roughly contemporary with the Pacific Bank was the even more celebrated Bank of California. Since this institution became of such overwhelming importance and since its career illustrates the weaknesses and strength of California banks and bankers, it merits discussion in detail.

The Bank of California dates back to December of 1855, when Garrison, Morgan, Fretz & Ralston was organized, opening for business January 2, 1856. William C. Ralston and Ralph S. Fretz, the two prime movers, who had been steamboat men on the Mississippi River, were San Francisco representatives for a line of steamships operating between Panama and San Francisco. C. K. Garrison and Charles Morgan, the first an official of the Nicaragua Steamship Company and the latter a New York banker, were associates of Ralston and Fretz in the shipping business. Garrison and Morgan were both steamship captains and, while Garrison was active in San Francisco, where he served as a mayor, Morgan elected to remain in New York. Later, by the way, Morgan established himself in New Orleans, where he eventually established the celebrated Morgan Line, steamers running between New Orleans and New York. Garrison and Morgan did not take much part in the conduct of the affairs of the bank and in 1857 withdrew; the bank being reorganized under the name of Fretz & Ralston for four years when, with the entrance of Joseph A. Donohoe and Eugene Kelley, the firm became Donohoe, Ralston & Company. Evidently, the new partners did not find affairs being conducted according to their wishes and they became antagonistic to Ralston. Ralston, fearing their withdrawal began to organize secretly a new bank. As subscriptions poured in, he invested the funds in choice bonds and various loans, thus, in effect running a private bank of his own within the form of the established concern. On the fifteenth of June, 1864, Ralston suddenly announced the incorporation of his new bank, the Bank of California. Donohoe and Kelley were thunderstruck and, naturally angered, dissolved the firm of Donohoe, Ralston & Company. For a few days, until the new Bank of California could adjust itself, the business was run under the name of Fretz & Ralston.

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Donohoe and Kelley at once formed a rival bank with the name of Donohoe, Kelley & Company, and this firm entered into competition with the Bank of California for the business of the former Donohoe, Ralston & Company. However, thanks to the brilliant leadership of Ralston, the Bank of California very soon outstripped its competitors. The bank opened with a capital of \$2,500,000 in the old offices of Fretz & Ralston on the corner of Washington and Battery streets. D. O. Mills, previously mentioned, was president, and William C. Ralston cashier. Two years afterwards, in 1866, the bank's capital was increased to five millions and the next year the bank opened its magnificent building at the corner of California and Sansome streets. That same year, Thomas Brown, who had been the St. Louis manager for Page, Bacon & Brown, the firm whose failure precipitated the disastrous bank collapse in San Francisco of 1855, joined the Bank of California as assistant cashier. Thus he began an association with the bank which endured until his death in August of 1902.

Almost at once, the Bank of California assumed a commanding position in the affairs of California. It climbed overnight to a position of financial leadership in the State and took over dictatorial powers in other fields as well, assuming the rule not only in politics but in social affairs, too. Seldom, in fact, has any bank dared to extend its powers to such a degree. Its smile was enough to bless any business venture with certain success and its frown enough to damn any undertaking, however well conceived and managed. Practically every commercial house of whatever character, and all manufacturing and distributing organizations, rushed to offer the bank their accounts, for the cachet of the Bank of California was almost as good as the seal of the United States.

Much of this success was due, of course, to the boom with which the bank was launched and the unparalleled good fortune which smiled upon it. Any bank can prosper when everyone has confidence in its growth. But something at least was due to the astute management of Mills and Ralston. Both of these officers were considered popularly to be ablest financiers and capable bankers. They, it is certain, did nothing to disturb this belief. In fact, they did everything possible to encourage the opinion. They formed a board

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of directors whose names would be enough to win confidence from the sourest cynic and they selected, by means of excellent salaries, the best tellers, clerks and accountants they could find. And if no man was too good to be employed, so the bank building and the bank offices themselves were furnished and decorated with the best materials and furniture that money could buy.

Probably the guiding genius of all this magical growth was William C. Ralston. This former Mississippi River pilot, this steamship line agent, this self-made banker, was a man of rare ability and possessed extraordinary forcefulness of character. With these qualities, he boasted a most admirable personality. Warm-hearted, amiable and kindly to everyone he fancied, he voiced an extreme civic earnestness and patriotism. Not alone for his command of millions, but also for his abilities and qualities, his services were widely sought in every project for the advancement of the city and the State.

Probably if he had been given time enough to consolidate his position, he would have built his bank to the heights of which he so optimistically dreamed. Two things worked to ruin him, however. One was the element of time. Master of millions though he was, practically every cent he controlled was owned by others. At any moment, he realized, his depositors and his stockholders could both call him to account and demand their funds. Thus, to advance his bank, he felt himself driven to haste and, in his case at least, haste meant reckless speculations, for only from such manipulations could he keep his capital turning over rapidly enough to make himself and his bank secure. The other factor against him was his personal extravagance. Any man with unlimited funds at his command is apt to be self-indulgent. Ralston, naturally a spendthrift apparently, launched himself on a career of unbridled extravagance. Examples of his spending are still current in San Francisco. He built himself a residence, planning to expend some \$25,000. When the mansion was finally completed, the cost was in excess of \$200,000. The Palace Hotel was another venture of his. Desiring some oak timbers and feeling that the cost of the material in the market was unreasonable, he purchased a ranch which happened to have a stand of oak trees on a few of its acres. Then, discovering that the cost of getting out the timber was prohibitive, due to the remote location, he forgot the

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ranch and purchased the oak from a lumber dealer. In furnishing the hotel, he met his grandiose ideas only by purchasing a going furniture manufacturing company. And so he went. He never hesitated to spend any sum of money required to obtain precisely what he thought was required. The Bank of California was beyond any questioning.

As a result of this extravagance and waste, the funds of the bank were depleted. Because of his recklessness in floating loans to obtain rapid and large returns, much of his paper proved worthless. Naturally, the directors became alarmed and, just nine years after the Bank of California was opened, it was to all intents bankrupt. Since the directors were all heavily involved and just about all of the State deeply concerned, the board labored strenuously to avert failure. Somehow, they managed to accomplish this feat and, even more remarkable, kept the news from leaking out. So far as the city knew, the proud Bank of California was as magnificent as ever.

Affairs thus temporarily straightened out, D. O. Mills, the president, evidently believing that the day of reckoning was merely temporarily postponed, resigned and sold his stock. Ralston was made president and Thomas Brown, previously mentioned, was elected cashier. For another two and a half years, all went well on the surface but, actually, the bank continued to lose ground. Finally, the shortage of cash became critical. To meet the crisis Ralston resorted to kiting. Apparently, he drew sixty-day bills on the Oriental Bank of London. Discounting these, he used the proceeds to pay other bills. Then, on August 23, 1875, Ralston met the beginning of the end. Forced to meet a large payment, he placed a quantity of the bank's bills receivable in the hands of Thomas Bell, San Francisco agent for the Oriental Bank, and had him cable the London bank that the paper was in his possession. The object was to have London accept the paper as credit for the Bank of California. London did not reply. On Wednesday night, the frightened directors met at the home of William Sharon, a partner with Ralston, and demanded to know the facts. Brown, the cashier, informed them that, instead of there being some \$2,000,000 in the vaults, as the books indicated, there was but \$500,000 in money. The other \$1,500,000 was but Ralston's paper. In short, Brown declared, the bank could keep its doors open but a short time longer and at the least suspicion becoming public, the bank would fail in a matter of hours.

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The directors voted to ask the firm of Flood & O'Brien to liquidate the Bank of California, pledging themselves a guaranty of two millions. Flood & O'Brien, at a dramatic midnight conference, refused to accept the responsibility. The next morning the Bank of California opened as usual. Ralston spent anxious hours trying in vain to obtain cash on his paper from other banks. The word of the bank's trouble leaked out and at two o'clock that day the doors were shut. Only something like \$25,000 remained in its vaults.

The next day, the directors met again and appointed a committee to manage affairs. This committee at once demanded Ralston's resignation. He had failed to attend the meeting, but was reached at home. He signed the resignation presented to him and then departed for North Beach for a swim. An hour later word came back to the bank that he had been drowned.

The failure of the Bank of California came like a thunderbolt to California. The city of San Francisco was almost panic-stricken. Many of the city's savings banks and several commercial banks were deeply involved with Ralston and ugly rumors began to circulate. Fearing a run by their depositors, these banks hastened to close their doors and sat down, paralyzed, to await what was to happen. Gradually, news came in from up and down the coast that other banks were involved and a wave of failures extended along the shore.

The committee investigating the Bank of California's affairs, reported at length that Ralston had run up liabilities to nearly ten millions, of which only four millions were secured. Of the balance, \$4,655,973 was due the Bank of California. This was desperate news. It meant certain ruin for all the stockholders. But this was not all! The financial transactions of the entire Pacific Coast were largely frozen and just about a half of the entire circulating capital of California was immobilized. And, naturally, the thousands of depositors affected were bitterly angry and threats were heard that each and every director was to be held responsible to the full reach of their personal estates. Personal violence was in the wind, as well.

In their desperate situation, the directors had but one course open. They determined to reopen the bank. This could only be accomplished by a miracle, but the need was great and they believed they had the man who could work the wonder. He was William Sharon.

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An associate of Ralston in many enterprises, he was also very deeply involved in the Bank of California. His career, however, had been distinguished and he enjoyed the confidence of everyone. A lawyer, a business man and a banker, he was perhaps ideally fitted for his gigantic task. Particularly so, indeed, because he had demonstrated his ability by building up a huge personal fortune from nothing. Indeed, his first job was that of agent of the Bank of California's Bank at Virginia City, Nevada. To accept this post, he obtained a loan of \$500 to pay his expenses from Ralston himself. Once in Virginia City, Sharon lost no time in cashing in upon the opportunities his position in the bank offered. Speculation in mining property succeeded amazingly and, within two years he formed a private mining association with Ralston. With Ralston he later formed the Union Mill & Mining Company and bought in huge properties on the Comstock Lode, obtaining control of such mines as the Ophir, Yellow Jacket, Belcher and Kentuck. Within a comparatively short time, the Union Company paid dividends in excess of \$14,000,000. Another venture of his in partnership with Ralston was the Virginia & Truckee Railroad, a property which, in its time, was very profitable.

Against this background, Sharon came to his greatest task, that of reestablishing the Bank of California. His first step was to make his own subscription to the fund. He paid over a million dollars. He then came down upon the former president, D. O. Mills, for a similar amount. Mills refused point blank. He had resigned from the bank, he declared, two years previously and was thus not responsible. Sharon produced the books and showed Mills that his stock had not been transferred and that he was therefore a stockholder and liable. Besides, Mills had issued stock far in excess of the legalized limit, according to Sharon. Mills denied this, but Sharon produced the certificates bearing his signature. Mills, it seems, had signed stock certificates in blank previous to his resignation. These, apparently, Ralston had continued to issue. Mills saw that he was trapped and, accordingly, laid down his million along with Sharon's. James R. Keene was next approached. He also subscribed a million, but soon began to regret his action. He demanded that his name be erased, but Sharon only allowed him to reduce his subscription to \$500,000. Keene was still recalcitrant but Sharon, adamant, finally compromised

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on \$250,000, giving Keene a personal note to cover him against loss. Peter Donahue, another large subscriber, also demanded and received Sharon's personal guaranty. Michael Reese was brought into line by Sharon's telling him that, unless Reese subscribed, he could never hope to recover the large claim he had against the bank. By this time reports were circulating that the Bank of California was not so badly off after all and thus Sharon succeeded in obtaining a fund of about \$7,000,000. Significant of Sharon's ability, only twenty per cent. of this fund was ever called for during the reorganization.

The next move of Sharon was to obtain the over-issues of the bank's stock. About thirteen thousand of these shares were being held by various creditors as collateral for loans made either to Ralston or the bank. Great delicacy was necessary to purchase these shares. A bit too much activity and their value would climb. Much of the issues were purchased by Sharon for fifty per cent. of their face value; others brought nearly par. The least belligerency on the part of creditors frightened Sharon, for a law suit would inevitably bare the true condition of affairs and wreck the entire undertaking. Finally, there was the complex business of the thousand and one associated and related undertakings. Not one of these could be touched without inviting an avalanche of creditors and stockholders demanding payment. Gingerly, with the utmost skill, Sharon moved inch by inch, but finally it was done and the Bank of California opened its doors once more—thanks to William Sharon.

One of the final moves that Sharon had made was to arrange with the Chartered Bank of India, China and Japan to protect the credits of the Bank of California abroad. The price the Chartered Bank asked was that D. O. Mills assume the presidency. Sharon was willing and for two years Mills headed the reorganized institution. His was not a difficult task, however, for Sharon had labored so well and the strength of the men behind the \$7,000,000 guaranty fund was so imposing that the bank never faltered. Its capital structure was so impaired that it was reduced from five millions to three millions, but within a few years earnings were sufficient to return the two millions easily. Year by year the bank progressed until it actually exceeded even Ralston's rosiest dreams. Far from being merely the leading bank of California and the Pacific Coast, the bank became

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one of the really large banks of the United States and its paper, once scorned, was honored over every counter in the world.

The later history of this bank is continued in subsequent pages. Before the present account is ended however, the work of Sharon in settling the estate of his friend, Ralston, must be told. On the day of his death, August 27, 1875, Ralston deeded all his property to Sharon. The largest single liability, that of the Bank of California, Sharon settled for \$1,500,000. Other creditors were delighted to receive fifty cents on the dollar and finally every last claim was settled to the satisfaction of everyone concerned.

To return to the 'sixties, another important bank born after the change in the banking laws was the house of Hellman, Temple & Company, of Los Angeles. Formed in 1868, this bank became the Farmers & Merchants Bank in 1871 and obtained a national bank charter in 1903. Continuing with Los Angeles, the Los Angeles County Bank was established in 1874 and continued until 1894, when it suspended after paying all depositors in full. The Commercial Bank was formed in 1876 and in 1880 became the First National Bank of Los Angeles. Many other banks, including savings institutions, were organized as the magical growth of the city came about and today the city and the area it serves is adequately equipped with the most modern financial facilities.

Back in San Francisco, private bankers continued in business, despite the failure of 1855. Belloc Frères failed in 1891 after thirty years of business. Daniel Meyer enjoyed a most prosperous career and at the time of his retirement, about 1914, was regarded as the dean of his profession in California. The dry goods firm of Lazard Freres conducted a banking business in addition to their merchandising and developed it into the London, Paris & American Bank by 1884. This was a British corporation. Another dry goods firm, Seligman & Company, developed similarly; their private bank becoming the Anglo California Bank. In 1909 these two banks united to form the Anglo & London-Paris National Bank. To conclude this account of the private banks, where they were originally the only form of banking supported by the people of the State, they have now largely vanished.

In large part, national banks have supplanted them, with, of course, the State banks. National banks were at first highly in dis-

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favor. When Congress established the national bank system as a Civil War measure, California would have nothing to do with them. As pointed out, California did not want banks of issue. However, the log-jam was broken when Congress amended the National Bank Act to authorize the issue of gold notes which were redeemable on demand in gold coin by the bank of issue. Thus the First National Gold Bank of San Francisco was formed in November of 1870 and two years later the California Trust Company of San Francisco was reestablished as the National Gold Bank & Trust Company. Other gold banks were formed about this time in Sacramento, Oakland, Santa Barbara, San Jose and Stockton—ten banks in all.

The suspension of specie payment caused considerable difficulty and when resumption came in 1879, with parity established between government bills and gold coin, the gold banks all retired their gold charters. Perhaps because of this the national banks grew in number very slowly, the people with reason still favoring the traditional policy of hard money. When the rapid growth of the southern section of the State came, national banks became popular in that area because large numbers of new citizens came from the East, where they had been accustomed to national banks. Gradually these national banks grew in public confidence and, correspondingly, the State banks declined. Events made it evident that national control was superior to State supervision and thus the State banks one by one acquired national charters.

Such, for example, is the history of the huge Wells Fargo-Nevada National Bank. This bank had its origin in the fabulous fortunes reaped in the development of the Comstock bonanza at Virginia City. This bank was opened in San Francisco October 2, 1875, and was owned by the celebrated firm of Flood, O'Brien, MacKay & Fair, the so-called "bonanza boys." Major Louis McLane, a former army officer, was president. The bank opened with a capital of five millions. This was shortly doubled, but later reduced to three millions. Two years after opening, Flood and MacKay attempted their famous world corner of the wheat market, using the Nevada National as their holding company. The disastrous failure of the corner imperiled the bank and its doors were on the point of closing when James G. Fair came to the rescue with a large part of his entire fortune, which

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he had gallantly liquidated. Fair assumed the presidency of the bank and ran it conservatively until new management and new members of the corporation were placed in the saddle. In 1897, the bank obtained its national charter in accordance with the trend in banking practice and in 1905 it absorbed the Bank of Wells-Fargo & Company.

One of the most significant features of banking in California came as a result of the 1875 crisis, when the Bank of California closed its doors. The people of the State realized that depositors deserved some protection against the actions of bankers, however honorable they might be. Publicity was the safeguard adopted and the 1876 statute was passed, the law requiring all corporations and persons engaged in banking to publish statements of their condition. The law had no teeth and was either disregarded or statements were published which were meaningless. So, in 1878, the Legislature established the State Bank Commission and provided that the bank commissioners making up the board were empowered and instructed to examine the banks, regulate the conduct of their affairs and even to close any found insolvent.

With a flurry of zeal, the bank commissioners at once went to work. The very first bank they entered in the spring of 1878 was the Masonic Savings & Loan Bank of San Francisco. They found the institution to be insolvent. So they closed it and liquidated it. The second bank they visited was given a clean bill of health, but the next three, all of San Francisco, were found to be insolvent and were liquidated. These three were: The Odd Fellows Savings Bank, the Farmers & Merchants Bank of Savings, and the French Savings & Loan Society. As soon as the news of the examiners' strictness became bruited, various small banks were so alarmed that they voluntarily closed their doors and applied for liquidation.

But the timid banks were somewhat hasty, for the bank commissioners, having done their good deed, rested thereafter. The berths as bank commissioners were regarded as rewards for deserving politicians and, although "examinations" were continued according to the letter of the law, they became as much of a farce as the statements of condition which the banks published as required.

So conditions ran along and it is vastly to the credit of bankers of California that the slack system was not made the means of vic-

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timization. In the main, California banks were sound and were kept sound by officers of high calibre and personal integrity. However, if the State's banks were thus honorable it was not because of the bank commissioners.

In 1907 the lid blew off once more with the disastrous failure of the California Safe Deposit & Trust Company, which went bankrupt October 30, 1907. The institution was found to have liabilities of almost ten millions and the real condition of its assets is shown by the fact that seven years were required before even a ten per cent. dividend could be paid to depositors. This bank, established in 1882, was built up by its founders, men of dignity and worth, to a commanding position.

The wave of indignation caused by this failure was strengthened when it became known that bank charters were being sold by their owners, who did not wish to make serious use of them, to parties who wished to set up in banking, for sums ranging from \$1,000 to several times that figure. Accordingly, the citizens of the State demanded that the Legislature take immediate steps to correct the entire banking system. A joint legislative committee was appointed to investigate and to report back suggestions for new rules and regulations. This committee was enthusiastically supported by various private organizations; the Commonwealth Club of California being particularly active and helpful. As a result of all this the Bank Act of 1909 was passed. This law provided for a bank superintendent in place of four bank commissioners and made several mandatory rules such as those which required a cash reserve, limitation of loans, limitation of bond holdings, forbade the granting of loans to officers, employees and directors without a two-thirds vote of other directors, forbade the purchase of the stock of other corporations, provided for examinations by the directors, reports to the State superintendent, and for the publication of such statements as the superintendent directed. This placed the State banking in a position by which it moved forward on an even keel into the troubled waters of the World War period, the prosperity of the 'twenties and the ten years of depression which followed.

Before concluding with a necessarily brief account of present-day institutions, a few other points of development must be considered.

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These points are the Clearing House Organizations and the Great Fire of 1906.

As for the first, the San Francisco Clearing House Association was organized in 1876 with the following members: Bank of California, Bank of British Columbia, Bank of British North America, Bank of San Francisco, Davidson & Company, Belloc Frères, Donohoe, Kelley & Company, First National Gold Bank, Hickox & Spear, London & San Francisco Bank, Merchants Exchange Bank, Sather & Company, Swiss American Bank, Anglo-California Bank, and Wells, Fargo & Company. The next year the Nevada Bank, Lazard Freres, Pacific Bank, National Gold Bank & Trust Company, and Tallant & Company were also taken into membership. From time to time other banks have been admitted and some have gone out of business, but in the main the association as formed has continued. The Los Angeles Clearing House Association was founded in 1887. In 1906 Oakland and San Jose established their clearing houses. In 1907 associations were founded in Fresno, San Diego, Sacramento and Stockton, while the Pasadena Association was established in 1910.

The first real test of the clearing house idea came in 1907, when the panic of that year brought about the failure of some twenty banks, including the California Safe Deposit & Trust Company. To remedy what would have been a serious situation, the San Francisco Clearing House Association issued clearing house certificates to the amount of nearly thirteen and a half million dollars to settle balances. This relieved the pressure and probably prevented other banks from going under.

As for the great San Francisco fire of 1906, as it affected banking, the banks of California sustained that acid test with great success. The fire not only caused terrific losses and crippled business for months, but it also sealed every bank vault in the city. The contents of these vaults, money, notes, bonds and paper of every description, had been heated far beyond the point of combustion but, due to the absence of oxygen inside the vaults, the paper was not burned. If, however, the doors were opened, oxygen would flood it and the contents of the vaults would have burst into flames and everything would have been consumed. Authorities set three weeks as the minimum time which must elapse before it would be safe to open the

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vaults and thus San Francisco in the hour of its greatest need was without funds. Millions were waiting in its vaults but they could not be touched.

On April twenty-third, the San Francisco Clearing House Association met to devise some means of meeting the emergency. Depositors who had lost homes and businesses alike were without a cent with which to buy even food for their families. Of course, for the first week the military law provided for distribution of provisions, but after a week martial law was relaxed and anyone who had money could buy food and clothing.

The Clearing House adopted what proved to be an excellent system. They formed a union bank at the United States Mint (which went through the fire unscathed). The mint could obtain cash from the sub-treasury in New York as it was needed and arrangements were made to have a large sum so transferred and made available to the member banks of the association.

These banks were then credited with a sum in proportion to the number of their depositors and each depositor was allowed to come and cash checks up to \$500 individually. This limit was placed because most of the banks could not reach their books any more than they could reach their cash. Each check so cashed was entered against the bank and formed a liability to be discharged as conditions became normal. The Clearing House Association met daily during this period and, as the system set up worked amazingly well, it was developed to afford a measure of relief for business and industrial organizations.

At last May twenty-third came and the vaults could be opened. In most cases everything was found intact so far as the contents of the vaults were concerned and almost at once business was proceeding normally—even if the banks had their offices in private homes or in temporary board shacks thrown up while their buildings were being repaired or new structures erected. Thirty-five days of banking business went through the temporary union bank at the United States Mint, but the entire volume of transactions was cleared off in a single day.

Following the San Francisco fire, the rapid march of the United States caused the West and the East to become more nearly identical

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so far as banks and bankers went. The various developments of the national banking system, such as the Federal Reserve Act, the Farm Banks and the rest, made inevitable such adjustments. California has retained certain individual characteristics, but the history of its banks during the past generation has run in so very nearly the same channels as that of other states that recapitulation is unnecessary.

Just as in the past, these banks have been distinguished as much for their officers as for their standing and probity. Two examples of modern bankers will serve as illustrations.

There was the late Charles J. Deering. For many years he exercised a vital influence in the financial life of San Francisco. Son of a California pioneer and a member of one of the State's prominent families, he entered business in San Francisco after a stay in the Hawaiian Islands as a young man, as cashier in the United States Mint at San Francisco. Five years later he became cashier of the Union Trust Company of his native city. After twenty-eight years in this capacity, in 1921 he was elected president of the trust company. Then, when his institution was merged with the Wells Fargo-Nevada National Bank to form the present Wells-Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company, he became executive vice-president of the new organization, one of the world's strongest financial institutions. In his years of service with both institutions, years which reached a Nevada National Bank to form the present Wells Fargo Bank & total of forty, he not only served his bank faithfully but also devoted himself to the advancement of many other organizations concerned with the development of the State as well as of San Francisco.

Carrying into the present day is one of the outstanding figures of California financial life, Amadeo P. Giannini, known to multitudes as just "AP."

This man, founder and head of the tremendous Bank of America, was born the proverbial "bare-foot boy." His parents, of Italian birth, made their home in San Jose, where Amadeo Peter was born May 6, 1870. His father died when the boy was but seven years of age. Later his mother married Joseph Scatena, member of the San Francisco commission merchant firm of L. Scatena & Company, dealers in produce.

The boy's particular delight was purchasing produce and he did so well at it that Scatena gradually trusted him more and more to

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attend to that side of the firm's business. When "AP" was nineteen, he was taken into the firm and he devoted himself assiduously to building up its fortunes. At the same time he prospered personally to such an extent that in 1901, when he was thirty-one years of age, he considered he had made enough money and, turning the business over to its employees, he retired.

But this was to be merely a brief rest. His stepfather, Joseph Scatena, died and "AP" found himself with the job of settling the estate. This led "AP" into finance and banking and before he realized what was happening, he found himself a director of the Columbus Savings & Loan Society.

As a banker, "AP" began to make suggestions for the development of his bank. Each idea was discouraged by the other directors. The young man chafed at these restrictions and, having gathered very firm if unorthodox ideas about banking, he determined to found his own bank. In 1904, accordingly, he established the Bank of Italy. Eighteen months later came the San Francisco fire. Through this acid test the Bank of Italy passed with flying colors.

The Bank of Italy prospered mightily. Soon "AP" sensed trouble ahead for business and so bought gold in large quantities. He was right. The panic of 1907 came. But his bank had gold by the pound. When depositors started a run, he heaped his gold on the counters and started paying off in the precious metal. The run ended before it was well begun.

This episode convinced "AP" that a small bank was inherently weak. So he went to work to build up his institution by setting up branches wherever one could flourish. That his idea was sound is shown by the fact that today his bank has 495 branches in 307 communities and deposits reach almost a billion and a half dollars.

But such growth was ahead. Once his Bank of Italy was firmly founded, by 1924 he determined to retire—again. Seeking to give the bank to its employees, he formed a holding company—which was to be the famous Bancitaly Company, later Transamerica.

Stronger than ever, Giannini sought to extend his bank across state lines. He took over large interests in banks in Arizona, Nevada, Oregon and Washington. Mergers with other banking institutions followed. His first was with the United Security & Trust Company

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of San Francisco and the Merchants National Trust & Savings Bank of Los Angeles. This gave the Giannini banking group an institution with 140 branches and resources of \$395,000,000, by October 13, 1928, the date of the merger.

Then in November of 1930, the Bank of Italy consolidated with the Bank of America of California to become the Bank of America National Trust & Savings Association of California. This institution possessed 1,750,000 depositors, deposits of \$1,054,734,910 and resources of \$1,225,035,477¹

The depression hit all banks desperately but Giannini managed to sail through the worst years magnificently, opening his banks to give personal loans. Lately, the Securities Exchange Commission and Transamerica have come into conflict. With these involved proceedings this brief outline of California banks and bankers cannot be concerned. It is enough to say that in "AP" and the Bank of America, California of today has a striking example of the financial genius of Californians when applied to finance.

Today, the State is served by a thoroughly modern financial system. Many of its larger banks are both nationally and internationally known. A list of the leading banks would include today such outstanding institutions as: The California Bank with its fifty-two offices and branches and its affiliated California Trust Company, all of Los Angeles; The Citizens National Trust & Savings Bank of Los Angeles; The Farmers & Merchants National Bank of Los Angeles, the oldest bank in southern California; the Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles; the American Trust Company of San Francisco; the Anglo-California National Bank of San Francisco; the Bank of California National Association; the Bank of America National Trust & Savings Association; the Crocker First National Bank of San Francisco; the Pacific National Bank of San Francisco, and the Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company.

John Mansfield Perry

Western Business Leader

BY J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

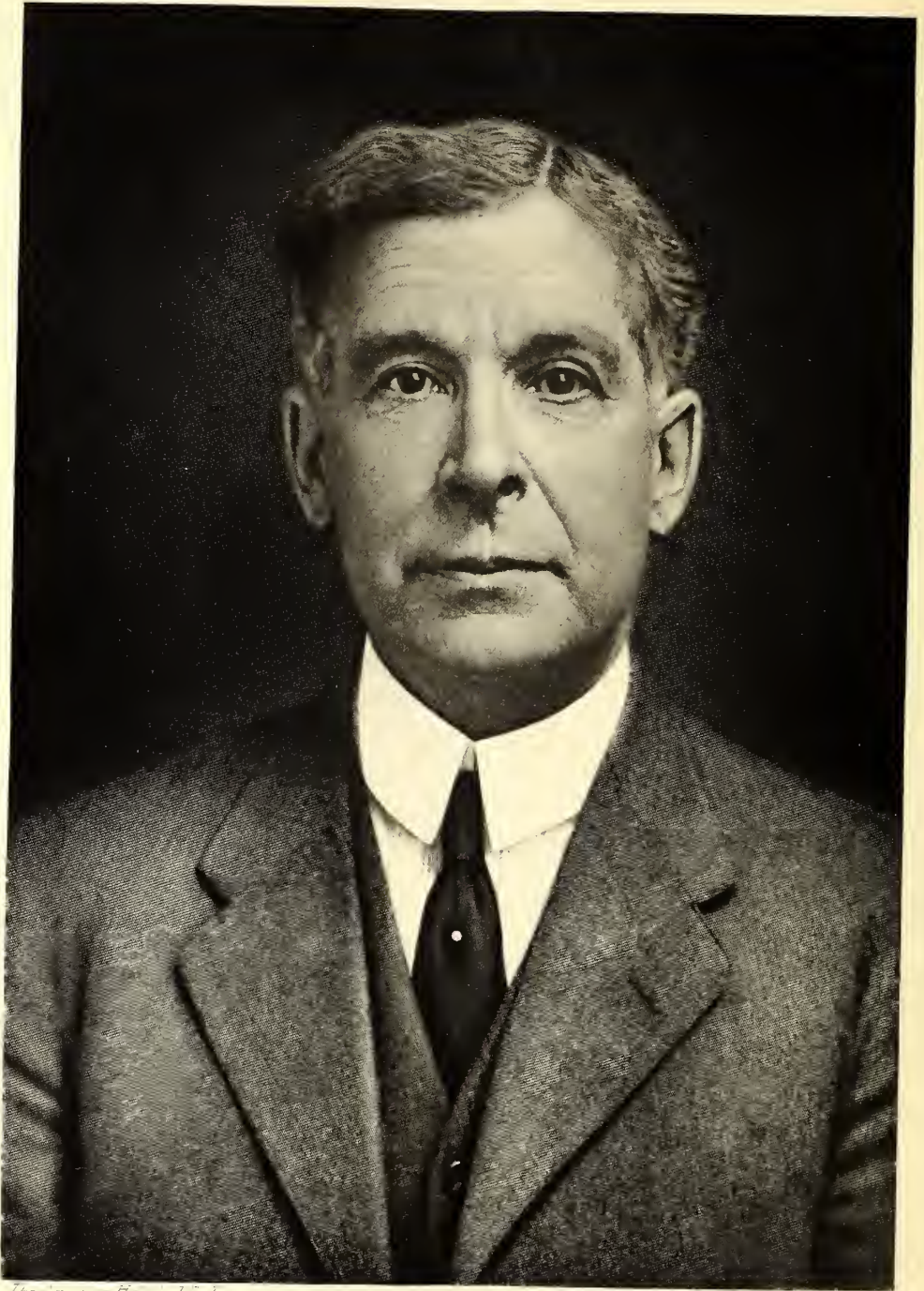


A FRIEND once humorously commented that the "story of J. M. Perry was that of a Yankee pioneer in the Northwest." While it is true that he was born and reared in Maine, he had little of the traditional cautious conservatism of New England, none of its taciturnity. It is probable that Irish ancestry influenced more potently his character, for Mr. Perry had the vigorous ambition, cheerful optimism and gift for winning coöperative associates and friends that the sons of Ireland so often bring with them to America, talents that carry them far and high in many walks of life.

Mr. Perry was a native of Houlton, Aroostook County, Maine, born July 5, 1861, son of Charles and Margaret (Hanna) Perry, who had come to the United States from Ireland in 1848. His birthplace was a thriving small city, a center of the Maine potato traffic, and the boy absorbed his first ideas concerning the problems and profits of disposing of the products of the soil. After he had completed his academic education he went to Philadelphia, where he attended a business college and spent much time around the Dock Street section and its numerous produce houses.

Despite his observations and experiences, J. M. Perry was still hardly more than a well-grown boy when, in 1888, he migrated to Washington, and for the first decade of his half century in the State lived at Spokane. For the most of this period he engaged in the grain business. Then the Yakima Valley became interested in fruit-growing, which appealed to Mr. Perry, and he moved to the section to go into the fruit business. He built his first warehouse in Yakima at the beginning of the present century and through his remaining years was identified with fruit brokerage.

He probably was the first man in the valley to realize the importance of cold storage development and as a pioneer in the field had a



The American Theatrical Co. Inc.

Portrait of J. M. Perry

J. M. Perry



Mrs. J. M. Perry

JOHN MANSFIELD PERRY

keen interest in many lines. He had long worked for a lower rate for industrial water for fruit row, and not only led in the campaign for obtaining such a concession from the city, but was active in seeking other sources of water for washing fruit and operating "Produce row" business. He similarly took the lead in the campaign for lower rates for the city and only recently was one of the business heads seeking to force the city to drop its agreement on power extensions and charges with the Pacific Power & Light Company.

Mr. Perry was founder and president of the J. M. Perry & Company, cold storage company, vice-president of the West Side National Bank, owned considerable property in Yakima, had large mining interests, including Sunshine Mining Company stock, and had been one of the organizers and president of the Yakima Valley Traffic and Credit Association, from July, 1917, to July, 1919—the important World War years. He long was prominent in the Yakima reclamation project.

Mr. Perry served as one of the regents of the University of Washington and in his work stressed the need of preparation which would enable graduates to get a foothold in the business and professional worlds rather than providing studies of "cultural" value only.

In November, 1939, Mrs. Perry announced plans for the construction of the J. M. Perry Institute of Trade, Industry, and Agriculture as a gift to Yakima in memory to her husband. The building will embody the latest developments in the field of vocational training and will perpetuate Mr. Perry's memory through service in a field of his deep interest.

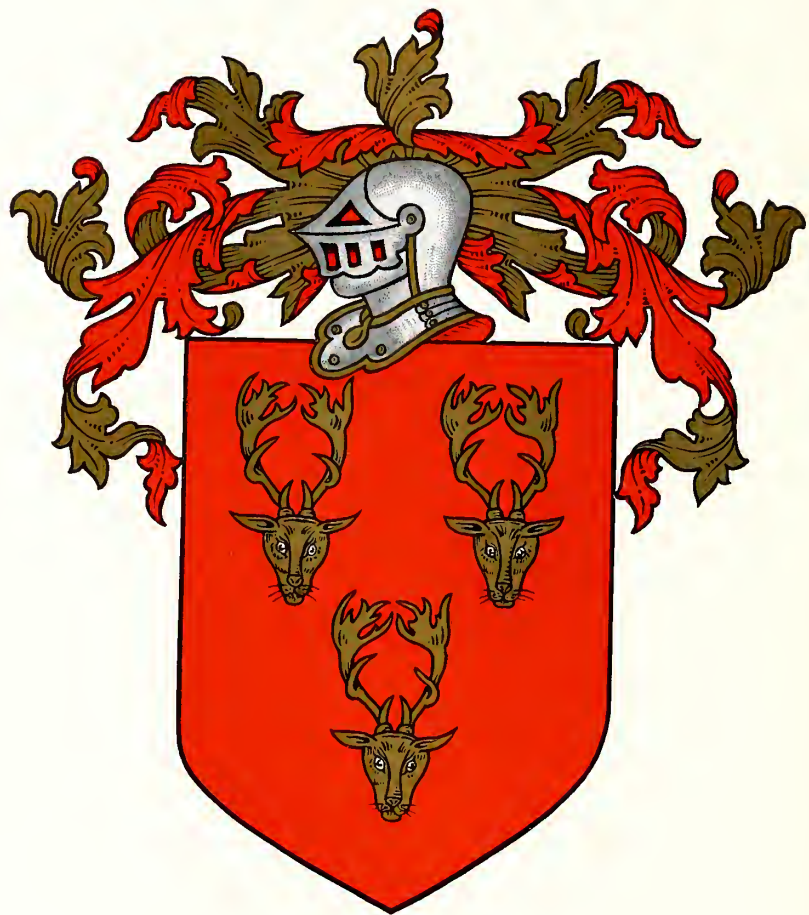
Numerous young persons had gone to Mr. Perry for aid in completing their professional and business preparation and he had been of great assistance to many of them. Fraternally, he was affiliated with Lodge No. 318, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—a life member of the Yakima organization. Especially interested in welfare and humanitarian activities, he is especially well remembered for his generosity to undertakings planned for merrier Christmas days for underprivileged children.

At Tacoma, Washington, on November 27, 1899, John Mansfield Perry married Harriet I. Martin, born in La Salle, Illinois, daughter of James Harvey and Mary Jane (Baird) Martin. Mr.

JOHN MANSFIELD PERRY

and Mrs. Perry were the parents of a daughter, Margaret Eileen, born December 14, 1903, who died when three years old.

While looking after business interests in Alaska, Mr. Perry was stricken with appendicitis and flown to Seattle by the famous Fairbanks' "Mercy Flyer," Joe Crosson. He seemed well on the way to health after the subsequent operation, but died on October 1, 1938. Regret was universal that another of the pioneers of the Yakima Valley had passed to his reward. No better tribute to his personality and character could be paid than the warm affection in which he was held by business associates, who testified to his unblemished integrity, sound judgment, and readiness to help those less fortunate than himself. He loved the place of his adoption, and to its best interests worked faithfully and well.



Meering

Charles J. Deering

Banker

By J. R. SHAW, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



IT fell to the lot of Charles J. Deering to exercise for many years a vital influence in the financial life of San Francisco. Son of a California pioneer and member of one of San Francisco's prominent families, he launched his career in this banking capital of the Pacific Coast in 1893 and by virtue of his exceptional attainments and inborn capacity for leadership, rose to the presidency of one of the city's great banks, later amalgamated under his leadership to form the powerful banking combination, Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company. Of this latter institution he became first vice-president. The offices to which he was called reflected his superlative abilities and rare character. Their administration he regarded as a sacred obligation and public trust.

Mr. Deering was born in San Francisco, California, on October 17, 1860, son of James H. and Mary Ann Reed (Brackett) Deering and a descendant of Roger Deering, who came early to New England from Dartmouth, England, and settled at Kittery, Maine, about 1662. His father, who was born at Denmark, Maine, in 1823, was a "forty-niner" in California, arriving on the Pacific Coast in the vanguard of the gold rush on June 10, 1849. A graduate of Bowdoin College, he had a brilliant career in education and the field of public service. At Mobile, Alabama, where he went as school administrator, he was responsible for establishing the graded and high school courses in the public schools. In later years, in San Francisco, he was a member of the Board of Supervisors and chairman of the city water committee. James H. Deering died in 1899. His wife, Mary Ann Reed (Brackett) Deering, was born in 1828 and died in 1873.

Arms—Gules, three bucks' heads cabossed or.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

Charles J. Deering received his preliminary education in the San Francisco public schools and after attending City College, went to the

CHARLES J. DEERING

Hawaiian Islands. Here he was able to combine a youthful taste for travel and adventure, an inheritance from his pioneer father, with his initial business training. For eight years he was associated with Bishop & Company at Honolulu, a powerful house, with world-wide mercantile connections. Upon his return to California, he was appointed cashier in the United States Mint in San Francisco, where he served for five years. Something of his exceptional qualities was already clear to interested observers and in 1893 he was offered and accepted the post of cashier in the Union Trust Company of San Francisco. His selection for this office evidenced his thorough grasp of banking practice, and his private banking career in the city of his birth, once launched, carried him to new heights. As cashier and later vice-president of the Union Trust Company, his services were continuously valuable to the institution. Mr. Deering, as it has been written of him, "went through all the stages of development necessary to the making of the ideal bank executive." Knowledge, experience, penetrating insight and tempered judgment combined to form the exceptional equipment which brought him a place among the Nation's leading bankers. These gifts were integrated by his clear conception of the high purpose to which they were dedicated. To quote again: "He carried into practice every good tenet of banking. To him the funds of the bank were a sacred trust—a trust not to be subjected to whim, fancy or laxness in himself or anyone else."

In 1921, after twenty-eight years of service in the organization, Mr. Deering was elected president of the Union Trust Company of San Francisco. In reaching this eminence he had not passed the peak of his career. As president he conducted the negotiations resulting in the vastly important merger of the Union Trust Company and the Wells Fargo-Nevada National Bank, as a result of which the present Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company, one of the strongest financial institutions in the world, was created. Of the new institution he became executive vice-president, bearing principal operating responsibilities until the close of his career. Mr. Deering's connection with the Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company not only lent strength to its councils of management, but his executive record continued to be a model of strong and enlightened leadership. His total period of service in the bank, in its different organizations,



Charles J. Deering

CHARLES J. DEERING

covered forty years. At the end of thirty-five of those years, the officers of the Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company framed and signed the following statement in the form of a letter to him:

DEAR MR. DEERING:—Thirty-five years ago, when this institution opened for business with great hopes and ambitions, the pioneers, the workers, stood steadfast and true to the helm that guided the organization into a safe harbor.

Throughout its business life, you, Mr. Deering, have given your best to the cause, you have worked hard and diligently. To have given so much of one's earnest endeavor—a great part of life itself—in the making of the organization; to have merited the love and esteem of employees and co-workers has demonstrated your superior quality, fairness, and your devotion to all in whom you took an interest. These are the attributes which we commend.

At this time—your thirty-fifth anniversary of service—it seems appropriate to tender to you, Mr. Deering, some material evidence of the high regard in which you are held by the staff of the office. It is, then, with this tribute, we seek to keep in your memory for all time to come your fellow workers and officers of the Union Trust office.

Cordially yours, ...

By virtue of his position and acknowledged attainments, Mr. Deering's services were constantly sought by other important corporations as an officer or director. Among other such interests he served as president of the James G. Walker Company and vice-president of the Eastern Oregon Land Company, the Philippine Telephone & Telegraph Company, and the Telephone Investment Company. He was actively interested in all civic enterprises, and his influence and support were frequently decisive factors in the success of useful public movements. The Boy Scout movement, whose value in building character and citizenship, he clearly recognized, had a special attraction for him. For years he was treasurer of the Boy Scout Council of the San Francisco Area and followed with the closest concern the progress of the organization in this section. He took an enlightened interest in public affairs, supporting, through strong conviction, the principles and candidates of the Republican party. Among the institutions to which he rendered unique and distinctive service was the Academy of Science, of which he was treasurer. Mr. Deering was also a member of the Society of California Pioneers; a member and

CHARLES J. DEERING

director of the Pacific Union Club of San Francisco; and a member of the Bohemian Club and San Francisco Golf Club. He was a Protestant in religious faith and found his principal recreation in golf.

On September 12, 1889, at Napa, California, Charles J. Deering married Maude Estee, daughter of Judge Morris March Estee, lawyer, jurist, political economist and statesman, and Frances (Divine) Estee. Mrs. Deering came from one of California's most famous families. Her father, who was born at Freehold, Pennsylvania, in 1833, of parents who had migrated from New York, sought fame and fortune in the West before attaining his majority and achieved both in full measure. Arriving in California in 1853, he became, successively, a miner and prospector, school teacher and lawyer. In the sphere of the law he achieved his true vocation and for years was one of the foremost members of the California bar. With the progress of his professional career, he also became prominent in public life and Republican politics. As district attorney and State legislator he paved the way for his rise as a public figure, which brought him national celebrity in 1888, when he presided at the National Republican Convention. In 1900, at the culmination of his career, he was appointed a Federal judge to serve in the Hawaiian Islands by President McKinley. His death followed only three years later. Judge Estee was a man of profound intellect, at home in the world of scholarship as in the world of affairs. He has been called one of the intellectual giants of early California. Of him a biographer has written:

The very mention of the name of Judge M. M. Estee sets the blood of old Californians tingling. He was a man amongst a galaxy of great men. The history of California abounds in the deeds of its pioneers. California has always been known as the most colorful State of the Union, and Judge M. M. Estee was considered one of its intellectual giants; a man of great courage and of great resourcefulness. . . .

Maude (Estee) Deering, through whom two of California's great pioneer families were allied, survives her husband.

Charles J. Deering died in San Francisco, California, on February 28, 1933. His contributions to California banking are written in the history of the institution with which he was so long associated; his place in the affection of his associates is graven in their hearts.



*Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company
San Francisco, California*

CHARLES J. DEERING

Mr. Deering [it was written of him] was friendliness personified and endeared himself to every employee of the bank, from those in the least important tasks to the highest executives. He was a model for the thoughtful and ambitious youngster to pattern after. Under an exterior that impressed one and was an index to the rigid character and integrity of the man was a humane kindliness that urged him on continually to help his fellowman. To mold a positive and honest character in one of his juniors was the height of pleasure to him. . . .

And again:

Known and admired as a gentleman of the old school, he was ever courteous and fair. . . . His memory will long be a force for good in San Francisco and the State of California, influencing the circle in which he moved in life.

The Hinsdale Family

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, RIDGEWOOD, NEW JERSEY



HINSDALE, as a surname, is of locality origin and in Europe is variously spelled Hinisdael, Hinisdal, Henisdael, Henisdal, Hinesdale, Henesdale, Hinisdale, Hynsdale, Hinsdael, and Hinnisdal. Although no meaning is found for the first part of the name, *dal* or *dale* is French for "valley" or "vale," corresponding to the English "dale," Dutch *dael* and the German *thal*.

Arms—Sable, in chief argent charged with three martlets sable.

Crest—Crown of a count.

Supporters—Two greyhounds.

Motto—*Moderata durant*.

(H. C. Andrews: "Hinsdale Genealogy: Descendants of Robert Hinsdale of Dedham, Medfield, Hadley and Deerfield, with an account of the French Family of de Hinnisdal," pp. 14, 16.)

The family originated in the district of Loos in the province of Liège, now in Belgium, where it was settled as early as the end of the twelfth century. This district was originally Brabant, part of France, and while the family was doubtless originally French, it made alliances with Dutch and German families situated in the Lowlands, and the name is as much Dutch as French in its derivation. All who bear the name are derived from the ancient French family; there are no records of it in England earlier than the sixteenth century, and only a few references to it then.

There is evidence that Robert Hinsdale, the American immigrant, came from England, probably from the vicinity of London, or from County Essex. Several of the settlers of Dedham, Massachusetts, came from Dedham, County Essex, and he may have been among the number. In 1663 he and his wife conveyed lands in Medfield, Massachusetts, to Jeremiah Tauke, citizen and clothmaker of London, as security for the payment of certain sums. Evidently Robert Hinsdale had known Tauke in England. Furthermore, the prominent part he took from the first in the civil, military and church affairs of the Dedham settlement would indicate that he had become a member of the

THE HINSDALE FAMILY

band which settled the place before it left England. From his leading station in the Colony he must have occupied a similar position in the Old World. As a general rule, those American settlers who occupied as prominent a place as Robert Hinsdale were of the higher middle class families in England, and almost invariably derived from ancient stock. It is strange that no early mention of the name appears in English records, and since we cannot suppose that this is due to the obscurity of the family, it can only be accounted for by the supposition that Robert Hinsdale's immediate ancestors came to England from some other country, most probably from France or the Low Countries, the seat of the Hinsdale family, and where the name was common. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, and twenty to twenty-five years before the birth of Robert Hinsdale, the persecution of the Huguenots in France caused many of them to flee to England for protection, and a large number subsequently settled in Massachusetts and Connecticut. It is therefore possible that Robert Hinsdale's family were among the Huguenots who went to England after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. The history of the French family of De Hinnisdal deals only with the elder sons, and Robert Hinsdale was probably descended from a younger branch. The most important evidence of his connection is that "Robert" appears as a family name in the early generations of the De Hinnisdals. Robertus de Henisdal or de Hinnisdal, Knight, living in 1174, made a donation in that year to the church of Liège to the memory of Robert of Fayel, his father. Five of his immediate descendants bore the name Robert prior to 1600: Robert de Hinnisdal, living in 1472, died before 1488, was the younger son of Herman de Hinnisdal, Knight, and Lord of Kerckum, and his wife Issabelle de Rickel. Robert de Hinnisdal, living in 1488, was the younger son of another Herman de Hinnisdal, Lord of Kerckum, Councillor and Chamberlain to Charles the Bold of France, and his wife Marguerite Schroots. Robert de Hinnisdal, Gentleman, Lord of Kerckum, son of Herman and Marie (de Coswarem) de Hinnisdal, married Barbe de Roost (or de Rosut); they both died in 1567 of the pestilence which ravaged Liège, and were buried at Saint-Tron in the cloisters of the Brothers of St. Alexis. They had a son Robert de Hinnisdal, and a grandson, Robert de Hinnisdal, who was born in 1582 and died March 31, 1608, aged twenty-six.

THE HINSDALE FAMILY

Robert is a French baptismal name and is comparatively rare in English records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The facts that Robert Hinsdale's family name hardly occurs in English records before the time of his birth; that his given name was rare in the English records of the period, and that "Robert de Hinnisdale" occurs in nearly every branch of the French line for several centuries before Robert Hinsdale was born, confirm his connection with this line. Since the archives of the French nobility do not deal fully with the younger branches of the family, it has not so far been possible to ascertain the exact link.

The family of De Hinnisdal were Counts of Hinnisdal and of the Holy Roman Empire; Viscounts and Barons of Fumal; Lords, before the French Revolution of 1789, in the Low Lands, of Herne, Kerckum, Danicken, Gratzen, Hercken, Stralen, Zulebeke, Monstroul, Melin, Betho, Oleve, Grand Assch, Crainheim, Saint-Pierre-Woluwe, Tonglaer, etc., and in France, of Ferfay, Couchy-a-la-Tour, Omes, Monchy-Cahours, Montagne, Moncheaux, etc. The founders of the line, feudal nobles, were defenders of the Imperial Abbey of Saint-Tron, and were prominent as early as the twelfth century. The most ancient references found in the Liège district never mention the family except by distinguishing it with the title of "Very noble and very ancient family of de Hinnisdal."

(H. C. Andrews: "Hinsdale Genealogy: Descendants of Robert Hinsdale of Dedham, Medfield, Hadley and Deerfield, with an account of the French Family of de Hinnisdal," pp. 11-13, 15, 16, 21, 22, 24, 26.)

I. Deacon Robert Hinsdale, the immigrant ancestor of all the Hinsdales in the United States, came to Dedham, Massachusetts, probably from Dedham, County Essex, England, and was a proprietor of the town in 1637. He was made a member of the board of selectmen, July 18, 1637, and his home was "on the Easternmost playne." He was one of the eight founders of the Dedham First Church, November 8, 1638, and was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts Colony, March 13, 1639. On May 17, 1639, with six others, he was given "full power to contrive, execute and perform all the business and affairs of this, our whole town." December 31,

THE HINSDALE FAMILY

1639, he and seven others were chosen "for the ordering of the town affairs" for one year and were given full power. On January 1, 1645, he, with others, signed the petition for a free school at Dedham to be supported by tax. They agreed to raise the sum of £20 per annum in support of the school, and this is supposed to have been the first school in this country to be supported in this manner. In 1645 he was chosen a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, founded March 13, 1638.

On November 14, 1649, he was chosen one of a committee of Dedham citizens to organize a new town which came to be known as Medfield, Massachusetts, when it was incorporated in 1651 by the General Court of Massachusetts Colony. Robert Hinsdale was appointed one of its first board of selectmen and served for six years. He was among the first thirteen who took up house lots at Medfield, and his homestead there was on what is now North Street, the original well being still in use. Soon after 1659 the town granted him forty-six acres of land near what is now Collin's Mill, where he built a mill which was burned by the Indians in 1676. He had mortgaged his land in Medfield in 1656, and on August 20, 1663, he and his wife, Anne, conveyed lands in Medfield to Jeremiah Tauke, citizen and clothworker of London, as security for the payment of certain sums. About 1667 he removed with his family to the Connecticut Valley, settling first at Hadley, Massachusetts, where, in 1672, he was released from military duty "on account of age and a sore leg." He was an original proprietor in the 8,000-acre grant of land made to the people of Dedham at Deerfield, Massachusetts, then known as Pocumtuck, where he drew by lot, in 1671, Lot 31, the present site of the Willard house. He was deacon of the first church there and was one of the principal and most active citizens. He and his son Samuel, with Sampson Frary, John Farrington and Samuel Daniel, were the only men of the original thirty-two Dedham residents who became actual settlers of Deerfield, the others selling out their rights.

Deacon Robert Hinsdale and his sons, Samuel, Barnabas, and John, were slain in the fight with the Indians at Muddy (afterwards called Bloody) Brook, near Deerfield, where from ambush some seven hundred Indians under King Philip attacked and killed nearly every one of the little band of white men led by Captain Thomas Lathrop,

THE HINSDALE FAMILY

about one hundred in number, on September 18, 1675. One account says that the Hinsdales were killed by the Indians while at work in their cornfield on that day, but it seems to be established that they were members of Lathrop's band. A marble monument completed in 1838, has been raised to their memory, the inscription reading:

On this ground, Capt. Thomas Lathrop and eighty men under his command, including 18 teamsters from Deerfield, conveying stores from that town to Hadley, were ambushed by about 700 Indians and the Captain and 76 men slain, September 18, 1675. (Old Style.)

The inventory of Robert Hinsdale's estate was taken October 22, 1676, and his son Ephraim was surety for the widow Elizabeth.

Deacon Robert Hinsdale married (first), probably in England, Anne Woodward, daughter of Peter Woodward, of Dedham, Massachusetts. She was a sensitive and timid woman, and fainted away on making profession of her faith before the church at Dedham, June 2, 1639. The Puritan method of admission to church membership was public profession of faith and confession of sin before the congregation. The church records relate: "The wife of our brother Hinsdale being fearful and not able to speak in publike, but fainting away *ther*, coming to the church in private gave good satisfaction, which being publickly testified and declared, and she confirming the same relation to be so, was received." She died June 4, 1666. Deacon Robert Hinsdale married (second), about 1668, Elizabeth Hawkes, widow of John Hawkes, of Hadley. They soon parted, and at the court held March 30, 1674, they were "presented for living asunder contrary to law." The court held he had "broken the Perfect rule of divine law Mal. 2:16; Matt. 19:6; and I Peter 3:7, & the law of the Colony in the intent if not in the letter in the first living assunder" and ordered him "whipped ten striped on the naked body" and imposed a fine for which his sons became responsible and which the court refused to remit after his tragic death. His widow, Elizabeth, married (third), June 25, 1683, Thomas Dibble, of Windsor, Connecticut. She died September 25, 1689. Children of Deacon Robert and Anne (Woodward) Hinsdale: 1. Elizabeth, married, at Boston, July 7, 1657, James Rising, of Boston. 2. Barnabas, of whom further. 3. Samuel, born at Dedham, Massachusetts, about 1641-42,

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killed at Bloody Brook, September 18, 1675; married, October 31, 1660, Mehitabel Johnson, born in 1644, died August 4, 1689, daughter of Humphrey and Ellen (Cheney) Johnson, of Roxbury, Massachusetts. 4. Gamaliel, born at Dedham, Massachusetts, March 5, 1642-43, baptized March 13, 1642-43, died at Medfield, Massachusetts, in 1689; married, in 1672, Rachel Martin, who died in 1679. 5. Mary, born at Dedham, Massachusetts, February 14, 1644, baptized February 25, 1644; married, June 8, 1664, Daniel Weld. 6. Experience, born January 23, 1646, baptized February 8, 1646; was killed by the Indians in the attack on Peskeompskut, May 19, 1676, in the "Falls Fight"; married, October 10, 1672, Mary Hawkes, daughter of John Hawkes. 7. John, born January 27, 1647-48, baptized April 16, 1648, killed at Bloody Brook, September 18, 1675; left a family of which little is known. 8. Ephraim, born September 26, 1650, baptized October 27, 1650, died August 20, 1681, the only son of Deacon Robert Hinsdale's to survive King Philip's War, married, September 28, 1676, Mehitabel Plympton, daughter of Sergeant John Plympton, who was burned at the stake by the Indians in 1677, and Jane (Drummer) Plympton.

(H. C. Andrews: "Hinsdale Genealogy: Descendants of Robert Hinsdale of Dedham, Medfield, Hadley and Deerfield, with an account of the French family of de Hinnisdal," p. 59. A. Hinsdale: "Chronicles of the Hinsdale Family," pp. 27, 28. G. Sheldon: "A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 201, 202. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood: "History of Hadley, Massachusetts," pp. 511-12. J. G. Leach: "Memoranda Relating to the Ancestry and Family of Hon. Levi Parsons Morton," pp. 126-30. S. G. Derby: "Burke Aaron Hinsdale," in "The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," Vol. IV, pp. 109-10.)

II. Barnabas Hinsdale, son of Deacon Robert and Anne (Woodward) Hinsdale, was born November 13, 1639, probably at Dedham, Massachusetts, was baptized November 17, 1639, and was killed with Lathrop at Bloody Brook, September 18, 1675. He went with his father to Hadley, and lived for some years at Hatfield. He was a resident of Deerfield on March 27, 1674, when he sold out his Hadley homestead. He lived on Lot No. 9 in Deerfield and owned Lot No. 15, which was sold in 1707 by his heirs to Samuel Carter. On

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May 3, 1667, he, with twenty-four other citizens of Hatfield, joined in a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts Colony to have a church established at Hatfield "on the west side of the river, commonly called by the name of the Connecticut River, where we, for the most part, have lived about 6 years, and have attended on God's ordinances on the other side of the river at the appointed seasons that we could or durst pass over the river, the passing being very difficult and dangerous, both in summer and winter, which thing hath proved, and is, an oppressive burden for us to bear, which if by any lawful means, it may be avoided, we shall be thankful to this Honored Court to ease us therein, conceiving it to be a palpable breach of the Sabbath," etc. This petition was granted and they were allowed a church.

Barnabas Hinsdale married, October 15, 1666, Sarah (White) Taylor, daughter of Elder John White, of Hartford, Connecticut, and widow of Stephen Taylor, of Hatfield, Massachusetts. She married (third), February 3, 1679, Walter Hickson, and died August 10, 1702. Children: 1. Barnabas, born at Hatfield, Massachusetts, February 20, 1668, died at Hartford, Connecticut, January 25, 1725, of the "great sickness"; married, November 9, 1693, Martha Smith, daughter of Joseph Smith, of Hartford, Connecticut. 2. Sarah, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born October 26, 1671, died March 8, 1672. 4. Isaac, born September 15, 1673, died at West Hartford, Connecticut, March 1, 1739; married, January 6, 1714-15, Lydia Loomis, daughter of Joseph and Lydia (Drake) Loomis, of East Windsor, Connecticut. 5. Mary (posthumous), born March 27, 1676; married, June 29, 1699, Thomas Hayward.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64, 69-71. G. Sheldon: "A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 202. A. Hinsdale: "Chronicles of the Hinsdale Family," pp. 27, 28. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood: "History of Hadley, Massachusetts," p. 512. J. G. Leach: "Memoranda Relating to the Ancestry and Family of Hon. Levi Parsons Morton," pp. 127-29. S. G. Derby: "Burke Aaron Hinsdale," in "The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," Vol. IV, p. 110.)

III. *Sarah Hinsdale*, daughter of Barnabas and Sarah (White-Taylor) Hinsdale, died between 1716 and 1722.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 64, 70. J. G. Leach: "Memoranda Relating to the Ancestry and Family of Hon. Levi Parsons Morton," p. 129.)

Book Note

General Washington's Correspondence concerning the Society of the Cincinnati; edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Edgar Erskine Hume, President of the Society in the State of Virginia; The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1941; \$4.50.

Colonel Hume, ever a tireless worker in the interest of the Society of the Cincinnati (as the list of forty-six books and articles from his pen in the back of the present volume testifies) has achieved a new high level of accomplishment in this work of 472 pages. He has prefaced the actual chronology of correspondence with a historical sketch of the Society, and has followed it with a supplement in the form of brief biographies of those with whom General Washington corresponded concerning the Society. This last serves as a desirable introduction to individuals, particularly the French, who have not formed a part of the generally-known American historical background.

Colonel Hume's "Introduction" states that the book is published by The Johns Hopkins Press on behalf of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, forming the official souvenir of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati, Richmond, Virginia, May 15-17, 1941. The "Introduction" further states that "never before have all these letters been published, not excepting during the Washington Bicentennial of 1932 nor in the monumental *Writings of Washington*, edited by the late Dr. John Clement Fitzpatrick. All of the earlier compilations of Washington's letters and other writings embrace only what he himself wrote. The letters that he received are not included."

The format and physical execution of the volume fittingly clothe and supplement the exacting and heavy labors of its editor, and its dedication by Colonel Hume to his Cincinnati ancestor and his own son are pleasant personal touches in what has been purely a labor of love. Its very apparent painstaking accuracy, reproducing the correspondence with meticulous and almost photographic accuracy, is what everyone familiar with the editor's scholarly research and

BOOK NOTE

authorship would expect. To this reviewer, who through Colonel Hume's instrumentality enjoyed the inspiring experience of holding in his hand the Diamond Eagle that was presented to General Washington by the Count d'Estaing on behalf of the officers of the French Navy, and that has ever since served as the badge of office of the President General of the Society of the Cincinnati, it represents another page in the impressive record of scholarship and service to the field of letters that its editor has compiled while still in the early prime of life.

W. S. D.



ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT, FEW MILES WEST OF UTICA
(Courtesy Utica Chamber of Commerce)



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AMERICANA

OCTOBER, 1941



Indians and French of the Inland Empire*

BY W. FREEMAN GALPIN, PH. D., SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY,
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK



MAN MAKES HIS APPEARANCE—A thirsty deer lapped the refreshing waters of Skaneateles Lake. Down from the wooded hills he had come, his hoofs beating still firmer the winding path that deer, bear and fox had made long before. Scores of these trails led to this body of clear water as did hundreds of others that touched the shores of the Finger Lakes, swift flowing streams, and the salt licks at Salina. Having quenched his thirst, the deer paused to nibble at a succulent plant and as he did a strange and unknown smell blew past his quivering nostrils. Head erect he viewed the situation with much alarm. It was not the odor of the bear, nor was it of his hated foe, the timber wolf, who fattened himself off deer and small prey. It was an odor the like of which he had never experienced before—an odor that forboded dire danger. With a snort of fear he made a dash for the wooded slopes, but ere he had reached an asylum a sharp missile struck his throat and with that he tottered and fell. Quickly there sprang from a nearby bush a strange form—an animal that walked on its hind feet like the bear—it was man. The first of his kind to enter this home of nature

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INDIANS AND FRENCH OF THE INLAND EMPIRE

and wild life—the first of those who were to tame this wilderness of beauty and to pave the way for the future Inland Empire.

This bold intruder had come from the West. His restless feet had followed the great trail, made by unnumbered animals in the past, that led from the shores of ancient Lake Whittlesey over the gravel beds to the Genesee River. Here the trail broke up into many others, one leading to the Oswego River, another to Rochester, and still another southward to Avon, where it joined the trail that swept northward from the Finger Lakes. Trails and paths of this type crossed and wound throughout Central New York as they did elsewhere in the State. Many of these were of secondary importance, but all combined to make an intricate pattern of roads that led to the East and the South. One of these centered at Tioga Point; another focused at Upper Mohawk Castle. And it was by means of these rough winding trails that man was able to thrust himself into an area heretofore untouched by human feet. Great credit, therefore, must be given to the deer, bear, panther and many other animals for having made the first arteries of travel and communication that traversed this country. Without them man would have been lost in a confused wilderness; without them man would have found nothing but plant life, wild berries and fish to sustain him, for the woods and valleys teemed with wild fruit and the streams were alive with fish.

Thanks to these gifts of nature and to the presence of an abundant wild life, man had little difficulty in making a secure home for himself. A small clearing by the side of some lake sufficed. Here he and his fellows established in time a tribal life after which he was ready to penetrate the forests that surrounded him on all sides. He would explore the hinterland of his small domain in search of more food and better homes. Often as he wandered through the country he found himself facing an unknown stream or lake. Speculating on what lay beyond he returned home determined to bring his canoe with him on the next trip into this area. This he did and soon he became familiar with the many portages that separated one river from another. Moreover, river valleys like the Genesee, Oswego and Allegheny became known to him. Leaving his home in the southwestern part of what is now Cayuga County,

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it was possible for him to travel, by means of portages, throughout the entire Finger Lake region to within eight miles of the present city of Rome. Here a two-mile portage was crossed and he found himself at the headwaters of the Mohawk River—Albany, New England and New York lay before him. The significance of these portages, streams and lakes upon man's movements and behaviors cannot be over stated. Not only did they permit extensive travel in search of food, not only did they stimulate contact with other tribes and promote trade and commerce, but they laid the foundation for might and power that none disputed until the advent of the white man from Europe.

Central New York, therefore, provided plenty of food, excellent river systems and lakes, and many convenient portages and trails for man's intrusion and conquest. Otherwise migratory man would have passed by this area, for man will not settle and multiply where certain minimum essentials are wanting. But nature in this quarter did not limit its gifts; rather did it shower them upon the earth. From the woods there could be obtained bark for canoes, saplings for poles and stockades, materials for bows and arrows, striplings that could be fashioned into baskets, and other pieces that skilled hands and fingers formed into bowls, casks, spoons and household utensils. And when man wished to decorate these or disfigure his face with brilliant colors, there was the hemlock ready for him as well as a number of roots such as that of the wild apple tree. From the animals that roamed through these woods and valleys, he gained priceless hides, pelts and furs, which were used in a number of different ways. Bones and guts, essential in the making of tools and weapons, also came from animals. Nor should it be forgotten that much of the elaborate ceremonial head dress worn at the corn dance, council meetings, or that which topped him as he went forth to hunt or battle, came from the feathers of the wild turkey. Turkeys were easily caught either by trap or arrow, the latter being tipped with flint which was abundantly scattered throughout the country. The rolling hills of Onondaga, rich in the history of man, contained extensive deposits in which flint could be found without much trouble.

The woods likewise provided considerable variety in wild fruits and nuts, while from the winding streams or lakes choice fish could

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be had without much effort. Finally, it should be noted that climatic conditions favored man's residence in Central New York. Seasonable rains kept his hunting ground usually green and permitted him, in time, to cultivate crops of corn and tobacco. Spring, summer and fall enveloped his domain with an even temperature which was conducive to outdoor life and extensive travel. Certainly in some quarters there were numerous cloudy and chilly days, and snow and ice drove him into his house during the long winter months. But taking all things into consideration, Central New York was splendidly equipped for man's abode. It was neither a jungle nor a desert. It was an area that provided all that was vital and necessary for the growth and development of a civilization.

No one knows with certainty when man first appeared in this area. Various estimates have been made from time to time which clearly discredit Bishop Usher's biblical date that God made man in the year 4004 B. C. Some authorities are inclined to say that man was here at least fifteen thousand years ago; others, more conservative, place it at three thousand. At present competent scholars believe that it was close to five or six thousand years ago. Long before this, however, his ancestors had left their homes in Asia and by slow-stage journeys to America by the way of the Bering Strait. According to the best authorities, the first inhabitants of America, and that included Central New York, were of Mongoloid extraction. Many hundreds of years must have elapsed before the first emigrants had fingered their way down the Pacific Coast, and many more must have passed before they penetrated Mexico, and the New York and Atlantic Coast area. Although it is highly conjectural to set a fixed time for man's entrance into New York, it seems reasonable to assume that he was here long before Etruscan kings ruled in Italy or when Bronze Age man crushed the Neolithic inhabitants of ancient Britain.

Equally perplexing, if not baffling, is the moot question as to who were the first invaders. Earlier writers, leaning heavily upon their imaginations, described them as the lost tribes of Israel and then spun fine theories as to how they reached North America. Wilful wishing and thinking, however, is apt to produce historical myths and nonsense. Our histories are over-burdened with such, and the



SACRED STONE OF THE ONEIDAS, FOREST HILLS CEMETERY, UTICA

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Israelite story is a fine example. Written records, of course, do not exist for so early a time and it is to the archeologists that one must turn for a plausible explanation. But even here there is some confusion as there has been some evidence brought to light of human activity during or immediately following the last glaciation. At present, however, opinion tends to discredit this as an unwarranted assumption and concludes that the Indian was the first to roam over the drumlins and valleys of Central New York. Competent authorities have called these early invaders Algonkins, though they have not denied the possibility of a pre-Algonkian people. If the latter existed, and there is some evidence that they did, they most certainly must have been a related race of Mongoloid extraction. To assume otherwise would necessitate the scrapping of the established theory of the Asiatic origin of the American Indian, and this scholars are not willing to do.

The Algonkian age extended, in all probability, to the late thirteenth century. During this period, which must have lasted several thousands of years, wave after wave of Algonkins swarmed into New York State. The earliest intruders must have come from the West by way of the American plains following trails through Ohio or the Province of Ontario. Precisely what forced this eastward movement is not known. Surely it could not have been caused by an excessive population. Archeological discoveries do not indicate any great number of inhabitants in western America, nor could an agricultural and hunting economic base sustain so many people. Possibly the imperative need for larger and newer hunting grounds was a factor of importance. Basically, however, it must have been the pressure of kindred tribes to the rear who, being shoved along by others, sought new homes and hunting grounds.

The first Algonkins, sometimes called the Archaic Algonkins, must have lived for some time in relative peace before they were called upon to defend themselves against the inrush of other invaders. That a kindred people swarmed over Central New York and appropriated the land of the older inhabitants is well established by an examination of burial grounds and living centers. In one station, the term often applied to an excavated area, one encounters a paucity of remains which would seem to indicate a very simple culture. A

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few weapons, crudely fashioned and more reminiscent of the spear than the arrow, carbonized ashes in which animal bones have been found, an occasional polished stone implement, and some rough bit of soapstone pottery, is about all one discovers. There is little if anything to indicate a knowledge of agriculture. When a station of this type is disclosed it is marked as the site of an Archaic Algonkin. However, when one discovers smoothly polished stone tools and weapons in great number, bone implements for fishing, scraping and cutting, more refined pottery, certain accessories like beads, grooved axes and notched arrow heads, one may be certain one has stumbled upon the remains of a more civilized people, commonly known as the Intermediate Algonkins. These hardy people, whose superior weapons must have speedily crushed the original inhabitants, came from the South and Southwest, and from the North along the shores of Lake Ontario and the banks of the St. Lawrence. Like their predecessors they made their homes along rivers or lakes, though some sites have been found inland away from a large body of water. Archaic Algonkins generally built their homes far above the present rivers and lakes; the Intermediate Algonkin seems to have favored the lower sites. Possibly, as one writer has suggested, Archaic Algonkins erected their homes at a time when the waters were higher than at present, thus accounting for the difference between the building habits of these related peoples.

Evidences of Algonkian occupation appear in all of the counties of Central New York. Knifelike blades have been found in Lysander, arrow heads of waxy chalcedony have been unearthed near Oneida Lake, a shoulder drill of yellow, orange and red jasper from Onondaga County, stone choppers from Chenango Forks, a horned banner stone from Baldwinsville, stone and clay pipes from Madison and Cayuga counties, mortars and pestles from Cortland County, and so on in infinite variety and number. Probably one of the richest stations is that found at Owasco Outlet, Cayuga County, which was carefully examined by E. H. Gohl, of Auburn, and Dr. A. C. Parker, whose archeological studies for New York need no introduction and from which much of this particular narrative has been borrowed. Hundreds of bits of pottery, fragments of pipes, an ovate knife of chalcedony, stone anvils and scrapers, perforated

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stones, and some fourteen ash pits containing remains of fish bones, charred kernels of corn and hickory nuts were found at this station. In one of these ash pits there was discovered the jaw bone of a dog, man's ever faithful friend and companion, who must have come from Asia when his master left thousands of years ago.

On the basis of these and other excavations one is able to piece together a fairly complete picture or pattern of Algonkin culture. Of course, this culture was by no means uniform. Conditions favored variations here and there. Moreover, when one recalls that the Algonkian stock consisted of many different tribes and was constantly being modified by infiltrations and internal changes, one can not speak of a uniform or constant cultural life. To illustrate, reference can be made to the presence of copper tools and weapons. Now none of these, it is believed, were fashioned by the Algonkins; rather were they obtained by them through trade with Indians to the west.

Both Archaic and Intermediate Algonkins were migratory people. Although the latter appear to have had some knowledge of agriculture their chief economic activities centered around fishing and hunting. Their abodes, therefore, were more in the nature of a camp than a settled home, and usually were situated on the sloping banks of some stream or lake. The Third Period Algonkin, however, was far more sedentary in his habits. Instead of a camp he lived in a village, close to a lake or navigable stream. The village was generally laid out on the flat land and spread itself out over a considerable area. It would appear, from this type of a scattered village, that its inhabitants feared no enemies beyond wild animals. Each village or tribe seems to have hunted and fished within its own well marked sphere of influence and seldom encroached upon the domains of a neighboring tribe. As the Algonkin began to feel the pressure of the warlike Iroquois he constructed stockades, the remains of which are few in number and not at all impressive. Stockades and houses were built of wood and bark; tents never having been used, so we are informed, by the Indians of Eastern North America. In all probability this form of village life rested upon a broad agricultural base. Our later Algonkin, though he continued to take keen delight in hunting and fishing, was more of a farmer than his predecessors. Agricultural activities, probably borrowed

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from other people, therefore tended to limit the roving and migratory behaviors of the Third Period Algonkin.

As farmers they were vitally and chiefly interested in the raising of corn, beans and tobacco. Tobacco was smoked in clay or stone pipes of various shapes and sizes; a favorite form was the elbow pipe. That farming must have been conducted on relatively a large scale is attested by the numerous tools that have been found. Stone hoes made from slate or limestone, choppers, celts, grooved axes and hammers must have been used to clear the land or cultivate the soil. Later, after harvest time, pestles, mortars, mullers and metates were employed to grind the corn into meal. Corn and beans together with wild fruit, honey, meat, fish and nuts must have constituted the chief sources of food. Probably the cooking, except in winter or during a rainy season, was done out of doors, the refuse in most cases being carried to an open place, where it was quickly disposed of by ruminants. Wooden, clay and stone bowls, jars and vessels were used for cooking and serving. Spoons and ladles were also employed. Forks were unknown. Most if not all of the work was done in the fields, preparing the meals, dressing the hides, making of household tools and baskets, and caring for the children being handled by women. At first glance this might seem to indicate that women were held in low repute and that at best their lot was no better than that of a serf or domestic servant. Actually, women were held in high regard and though the individual homes were built by the men they were the property of the women. Algonkian women knew quite well that their husbands had ample work to do, such as clearing the land, building homes and stockades, hunting and fishing, and defending their homes against wild animals and later the Iroquois. The folkways and *mores* of the Algonkins provided, in short, for what was considered an equitable distribution or division of labor.

When the Algonkian man went forth to hunt he usually took with him a spear, the shaft of which was of stout wood. The spear head itself was a pointed piece of hornstone or flint, varying in size from three to ten inches. In addition, he carried a bow and some arrows, the latter being made like the spear point, but having distinct shoulders and necks. Fastened in some manner to his waist was a stone knife made of jasper, chalcedony or a fine grade of flint.

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Many of these knives were as long as ten inches. For fishing he had a harpoon, fish hooks made of bone, and a net which was sunk by means of stone sinkers. Bone implements were quite common among the Algonkins as is shown by the stations that have been excavated along the shores of Oneida Lake. Awls, beads, blades, harpoon heads, needles and the like made from bone have been discovered here and elsewhere. Finally, it should be noted that in most Algonkin stations polished stones such as banner stones, bird stones, bars, amulets, gorgets, pendants and perforated discoids have been found. Not in every case has it been determined to what use these articles were put. The bird stone, for example, may have served as a head dress or have been used in certain games.

One of the most interesting remains left by the Algonkin is his pottery. With the exception of some crude bowls of soapstone of Archaic and Intermediate ages, most of these date from the Third Period. Algonkian pottery is quite distinctive both as to form and decoration and the expert has little difficulty in distinguishing it from the pottery of the Iroquois. Many of these vessels are ovoid in form, the small end being downwards, while the large end stands open as the mouth. A splendid example of an Algonkian clay vessel from the Chenango Valley may be seen in the Otis M. Bigelow collection in the State Museum at Albany. Equally interesting is the jar pieced together from fragments found at Lakeside Park near Auburn. In some cases Algonkian vessels show the influence of the Iroquois and it is highly possible that some were actually obtained from the Iroquois through trade and barter. Generally speaking, a true Algonkian pot does not have the overhanging rims and collars so characteristic of Iroquoian culture. Moreover, the decorative patterns were pressed into the clay and extend over the rim and run down into the mouth for a few inches. These patterns may have been made by dies or, as one authority states, may have resulted from placing the soft clay into a loosely woven fabric, which left its markings on the jar. Sometimes shells, reeds, fingernails and the like were used to make these impressions. Practically all Algonkian pottery was made of clay—the exceptions being of the soapstone variety found among the Archaic Algonkins.

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Remains of this type, as well as those incident to farming, hunting and fishing, indicate that life had progressed to a marked degree since Archaic Algonkins first penetrated Central New York. Both as to population and culture important strides had been made. Much of this was native to the Algonkins; some of it was borrowed from other tribes like the Iroquois. It would seem, therefore, that the Algonkins were in touch with other Indians, traded with them and were, as a result, influenced by these alien contacts. Moreover, they appear to have had considerable intercourse of one type or another with those of their own race. Through forest and valley the primitive trails made by forgotten animals became roads over which the Algonkins passed back and forth on one mission or another. Here and there the trail had been widened and marked, sometimes to aid the traveler and at other times to make a place for celebrating a tribal festival. Trees were girdled and bushes burned so as to make this spot a fitting and proper place for ceremony or dance. What religious notions the Algonkins may have had is not known; nor can much be said about their political life beyond noting they were in the tribal stage. Generally, they seem to have lived a quiet and uneventful life. Busily did they hunt for game, skim over the waters in canoes made of basswood or elm bark, and cultivate their fields of corn, beans and tobacco. No alien foes disturbed their tranquillity, nor did internal dissension mar the even tenor of their existence. They were not a warlike race; rather were they devoted to the arts of peace.

At some time during the Intermediate Period, the Algonkins seem to have been influenced by an intrusion that has defied explanation. Here and there in some stations objects have been discovered that are neither Algonkian nor Iroquoian. Semilunar knives of slate, rubbed slate double-edged knives, and arrowheads that are broad and large certainly indicate some alien infiltration or influence. Skilled archeologists recognize these remains as being similar to those found among Eskimoan peoples. No authority, however, is prepared to state that this establishes the presence of Eskimos in Central New York. Nor is any one prepared to declare who the intruders were if they were not of Eskimo stock. Possibly, it has been conjectured, some unknown people entering this area may have brought in this

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Eskimo culture or at least have copied it. If this be true then one has to explain what happened to these folk. Of course, they may have been a minority group that were destroyed, driven out or absorbed by the Algonkins. We know, for example, that the Celts in Britain following the withdrawal of the Roman Legions were defeated, driven westward and absorbed by the conquering Saxons. Even this theory, however, has its weakness as burial grounds have not as yet revealed any physical remains that are unlike those of the Algonkin or Iroquois. No one at present, therefore, seems to have a plausible explanation for the Eskimolike remains that have been found at Van Buren, Lysander, Brewerton and a few other isolated places in Central New York.

Later than the Eskimolike infiltration came the Mound-Builder. Coming from the west by the way of the Ohio these people, who were Indians and nothing but Indians, fingered their way during the Third Algonkian Period into western New York, which seems to have been their chief place of settlement. Some of them did wander by stream and portage through the Genesee Valley and Finger Lake region, and signs of their habitations have been located south of this area and along the southern shores of Lake Oneida. Relatively few remains, therefore, have been discovered in Central New York. Most certainly here and in the western part of the State they did not erect those mounds which are so characteristic of their culture in the Middle West. Some mounds were constructed, but they offer little attraction to the student as they pale into comparative insignificance in contrast to the extensive earth-works to the west. Possibly the day will come when some archeologist will devote more attention to both Mound-Builders and the Eskimolike peoples and then we shall be able to explore more deeply into these cultures which at present remain quite cloudy and uncertain in so far as Central New York is concerned.

Much the same may be said about the Red Paint Culture, a term applied to a prehistoric occupation different from the Algonkian. Evidences of this occupation are relatively common in Maine, though in New York no graves have been found. On the other hand the implements used by these people have been located near Oneida Lake and along the Oswego River. Further investigation may help to unravel this mystery.

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These various intruders, it would appear, influenced the life of the Algonkin, but not to the extent of altering to a marked degree the basic cultural traits of our first Indians. The day came, however, when a warlike race, the Iroquois, did profoundly affect the calm and peaceful life of the Algonkins. Naturally, the latter resented this intrusion and determined to make a decisive stand for their homes, villages and hunting grounds. Stockades were built and Algonkian braves struggled valiantly for their property and rights. It was all of no avail. The invader had the advantage from the first. He possessed superior weapons and was trained to battle. Slowly but most certainly the Algonkin gave ground. Defeat followed upon defeat. Whole tribes were all but destroyed or driven out, while those who remained were absorbed by the conquering invader. Central New York now became the home of the Iroquois. Algonkian supremacy was a thing of the past.

The Rise and Fall of the Iroquois—Sometime toward the close of the thirteenth century the peace and calm of the Algonkian world was seriously disturbed, Alien Indians, possessed of superior weapons appeared on the western frontier seeking new homes and hunting grounds. Surely the abodes of these intruders in mid-continental America had not been uninviting, for archeologists inform us that in this area they had developed a high degree of culture. Populous tribes, well constructed villages and towns, broad arteries of trade and prosperous agricultural activities attest the strength and resourcefulness of these hardy folk. Skilled hands fashioned various manufactured articles that were bartered or sold to neighboring tribes. The material wealth and economic power of these redmen, however, was most alluring to other peoples to the south and west—peoples whose homes had been disrupted by the inrush of those who swarmed northward following the disintegration of the once powerful Mayan Empire. The disturbance, in short, that attended the twilight of Mayan domination had its repercussions in the Mississippi Valley. Indians, who had occupied this region for thousands of years, suddenly faced invasion and, finding themselves unable to cope with the enemy, began the long trek to the northeast. As they moved onward they pushed and shoved other settled tribes ahead of them. These



FORT STANWIX ELM, ROME CLUB, ROME

(Courtesy Rome Chamber of Commerce)

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in turn forged forward until they found their way into the land of the Algonkins. Such, in brief, is one of the accepted theories that accounts for the entrance of the Iroquois Nations into New York State.

Other forces and antecedents, however, help to explain this movement. In the first place, the agricultural prosperity of the tribes in the mid-Mississippi region had promoted trade and commerce with other Indians about them. The latter, not enjoying so many material comforts, had their appetites stimulated and soon began to annoy and pester their more civilized neighbors. Friction and conflict followed and with it came movements of tribes hither and yonder. Some seeking to conquer and possess the prosperous villages and cornfields of their rivals; others hoping to escape from the periodic wars and devastations of the enemy. More or less coincidental, therefore, with alien invasions from the south came this era of internal strife and discord—causes quite ample in themselves to promote a migration northeastward. Nature also played a decisive rôle in this great undertaking. Continued seasons of little rainfall, so it is thought, laid low the cornfields, and a lack of rain was the certain predecessor of famine and death. Quite naturally disaster of this type incited a people, who had devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits, to look elsewhere for fertile lands. And so to the factors of invasion and internal dissension must be added that of drought, famine and death.

Migrations of this type are not generally conducted on any pre-conceived basis. Nor are we to suppose that some all wise and powerful central executive marshaled his people before him and gave the order to march. Celt, Roman, Saxon and Dane never penetrated Britain in this method nor did the Algonkin follow such a procedure as he journeyed across the plains into New York. On the contrary, the movement of these mid-Mississippi Indians was more or less spasmodic, occurring at different places and at different times. Once a tribe found its life endangered by neighbors and aliens, or when a relentless sun dried up streams and burned the cherished corn, it was the occasion for migration. Personal effects were gathered, the old homeland bade goodbye and the tribe struck out for new abodes. Tribe after tribe experiencing similar misfortune did likewise until,

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at length, the great majority of those who once lived happily in mid-continental America had migrated to new and strange lands.

During the course of this movement notheastward some of these peoples veered their steps toward the south. One of the groups—the Cherokees, who probably were the first of the tribes to leave their homes in the mid-Mississippi area—swarmed over the Mound-Builders of the Ohio Valley and later moved on into the Tennessee and Carolina regions. In their wake came kindred Indians who on reaching what is now Detroit crossed over into Canada. From here they journeyed on over trails that led them past the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario until finally they rested along the banks of the St. Lawrence River. These, so we are told, were the Hurons, descendants of whom became the Mohawk, Oneida and Onondaga tribes of Central New York. In the meantime other related tribes following paths and river systems that led them to the southern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario were on the march. So inviting did the prospect appear for some as they camped near Niagara that they made it their permanent home. These tribes have been called the Attiwenddaronk or Neutral Indians.

Others, however, continued to wend their restless feet forward. Some of these found the land south and southeast of Lake Erie to their liking; here they settled and became the Eries. Others spread themselves along the country drained by the Genesee River until they had carved for themselves a domain that stretched from Lake Ontario almost to the northern boundary of the present State of Pennsylvania. These were the historic Senecas, an offshoot of whom moved still farther east and became known as the Cayugas. Finally, a last group made their homes south of the Cayugas and extended their territories into Pennsylvania. These were the Andastes.

Students, therefore, recognize three main branches of the invading Indians who collectively are sometimes called the Iroquoian peoples. First, the lost tribe, the Cherokee. Second, the great Huron family, some descendants of whom pursued their way across the St. Lawrence, moved southward and formed the mighty Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks. Third, those who comprised the Neutral, Erie, Seneca, Cayuga and Andaste tribes. Those peoples who ultimately controlled the Central New York region, namely, the Senecas,

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Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks, are frequently referred to as the Iroquois proper, though this title generally is applied to any of the invading tribes.

Naturally during the course of their wanderings they often crossed one another's paths and when they did war and conflict usually followed. To illustrate, when certain Indian bands reached the Ohio Valley they encountered their kinsfolk, the Cherokee, who had migrated at an earlier date. Fierce contests followed, the latter being driven southward, but always continuing a desultory war that lasted well down into modern times. In the meantime those tribes that had moved into New York found their way blocked by the Algonkins who stubbornly resisted to the utmost of their power. Blood flowed and it was not until the fifteenth century that the Algonkin relinquished his ancestral home in Central New York. Many of the conquered Algonkins continued to live in this area, uncertain subjects of the victorious enemy. Others, however, fled to join kindred tribes like the Mohicans who dwelt to the south and southeast of the Oneidas and Mohawks.

We need not pause to trace the particular details surrounding the migration and final settlement of those peoples who ultimately became known as the Iroquois Confederation. Fascinating as is the story of the separation of the Onondaga and Mohawk units from the powerful Hurons of the St. Lawrence region, and of their wanderings through the Watertown and Adirondack Mountain areas, respectively, until they finally reached their permanent homes, we are more concerned with what happened to them once they had appropriated Central New York for their own. Here, after many years of fierce fighting, they sat down and took stock of the situation. There was no question about the desirability of the country. Swift flowing streams and mirrored lakes provided fish in great abundance and the wooded hills teemed with game and materials from which they built their homes and villages. But what of themselves? Numerically, they had suffered by migration and war. Hundreds of braves had died in battle, and women and children beyond count had succumbed to the difficulties of travel and warfare. And as they met in tribal council they heard of the dangers facing them on the frontiers. Cherokees? Yes, but far more important were the

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dreaded Hurons to the north, who skillfully were inciting the Eries, Neutrals, Andastes and the disgruntled Algonkins to join with them in exterminating the Iroquois of Central New York. What of the future?, must have been a question that hung on the lips of every person.

Now the historical heritage of these peoples most certainly extolled the arts of war. The memories of their ancestral homes in the mid-Mississippi area had been erased by the wanderings, migrations and wars that had followed. They knew only of the immediate past—a past that had made them mighty. War had defeated every enemy and war had given them a new and wonderful home. They prided themselves on these achievements. They were a race of soldiers and only by continuing to live a strenuous life could their destiny be fulfilled. That such a philosophy permeated the mind of the fifteenth century Iroquois can not be doubted. A study of the traditions of this age reveals this beyond all question. And foremost in this lore there appears the legendary figure of Adodarhoh, an Onondaga chief who was forever harping upon the glory of war and the need for battle—battle not only with the alien but even with kindred tribes. War, so he stated, was a normal thing and brought forth the best qualities of the race. Definite evidence as to the existence of Adodarhoh is lacking. One authority has suggested that Adodarhoh was but a name assigned to the condition of things, and this may be true. However, Iroquois accounts persist in referring to such a leader whose influence seems to have been quite effective.

About the same time Adodarhoh's star rose to prominence there appeared a man among the Mohawks, one Dekanawidah of Huron birth, who dreamed strange dreams for an Indian of this age. No one realized better than he the martial greatness of his people, but no one appreciated more the terrible toll war had exacted and was likely to demand if war continued to be the order of the day. The philosophy of Adodarhoh he detested and rejected. There must, he reasoned, be another way out of the impasse. His people could forge forward to greater heights but never by means of the sword. Of course, Dekanawidah was not the first to extol the evils of war and the merits of peace. Behind him lay a body of tradition and tribal law that was conducive to the reign of peace. Availing himself of

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these materials, Dekanawidah slowly evolved a concept of everlasting peace. He loved to tell his friends that the day would come when Indians of all races and tribes might live in peace. Most certainly he was listened to and probably gained many converts for otherwise it seems unlikely that the story of his life and work would have remained. He would have become just another forgotten man. On the other hand the stout fighters who heard his voice scoffed at him. Adodarhoh was their hero. What did this idle Mohawk dreamer know about the ways of man? When had he ever done more than spin fantastic yarns? And so Dekanawidah saw his cherished ideas rejected and he found himself described as one "whose mind had fled."

In the meantime there lived another Indian who thought much as did Dekanawidah. Ayonhawatha—Hiawatha as we know him—was a member of the Onondaga tribe dwelling in one of their villages not far from the site of the present town of Pompey. Here was an ideal place for meditation and thought. As far as the eye could see, gorgeous valleys, lakes and streams spread themselves before his vision. It was the home of his people—the mighty Onondagas to the west, and east of whom were kindred Iroquois tribes. And then his eyes dimmed as he thought of the wars that had been and the rumor of future contests. Sorrow and remorse struck him to the quick. On top of this stark death invaded his home. A grim pestilence swept through the land leaving its victims in every village. Or was it the witchcraft of Adodarhoh? Gossip had it that this crafty chief had terrorized his people and had brought down vengeance upon them for not heeding his thundering words of war. Hiawatha knew all this and determined to make a personal appeal. Possibly, so he reasoned, conversation might soften the heart of Adodarhoh and bring to an end the long trail of tears that had afflicted Hiawatha and his fellow Indians. But Adodarhoh's influence was too great. Hiawatha's pleas for peace were rejected and he was driven home with threats upon his life. Shortly thereafter death knocked once more at his home. It was enough. Hiawatha's cup was filled and overflowing. He would leave the hills of Pompey and visit a sister living among the Mohawks. And having done this he was ready for the future to relieve him from his sorrows.

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Legend has it that Hiawatha's deeds and songs had reached the ear of Dekanawidah. Straightway, Dekanawidah bestirred himself. Gathering a few belongings Dekanawidah went forth to meet Hiawatha and encountered him, so we are told, near Cohoes Falls. In a short time the two found themselves in complete accord and after several days of careful thought determined upon a course of action. From the Mohawk came the ideas and philosophy that the Onondaga wove into a pattern of laws which they hoped the Iroquois would adopt. These laws, which embodied principles of peace, became known as the *Gayaneshagowa*, and in due time were submitted to the Mohawk Council. The eloquent appeal of Hiawatha melted the hearts of his listeners but failed to budge their reason. Nothing could be done, so it was said, until the Neutral nation, whom tradition credited as being the Mother of the Iroquois peoples, had taken action. Disappointed, but not disheartened, Hiawatha and his friend turned their faces toward Niagara, where they succeeded in gaining the support of Jikonsaseh, an Indian woman whose influence was great among the Neutrals. Soon every village throughout the length and breadth of the Iroquois peoples heard of the doings of these three. Even the scoffers among the Onondagas turned to listen—yes, even Adodarhoh, who appears to have consented to a grand inter-tribal council to discuss matters. In all probability this meeting was held among the Onondagas. Once again the brilliant and effective Hiawatha overcame the belligerent words of his opponent. The Iroquois people were ready to accept a new order of things—an order built upon the *Gayaneshagowa*. The Iroquois Confederacy came into being.

The basic tenet underlying this political organization was peace. Each and every tribe that joined it was pledged to drop all sinister thoughts against its neighbor and to coöperate in advancing the material and spiritual well being of the Iroquoian peoples. All matters of importance were handled by an inter-tribal council of chiefs, each tribe having one vote in all deliberations. In case of a tie, the Onondagas were accorded the right to cast the deciding voice. Thus from the very first final authority to some degree was lodged in the hands of one tribe whose council-fires always became, so to speak, the capital of the Iroquois Nations. Other authority was granted

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to the Mohawks and Senecas in such a manner as quieted their fears of Onondaga supremacy, while the Cayugas and Oneidas, far smaller tribes, were won over by being given equal rights in all inter-tribal assemblies. A similar position was offered the Neutrals, Eries and Andastes, but they, doubtful of the political advantages of the Confederation and peeved at the recognition accorded the younger and newer tribes, Cayugas and Oneidas, elected to retain their own organization. As a result the Iroquois Confederation from the first did not embrace all of the Iroquois peoples, and it remained a union of five nations until the early part of the eighteenth century, when the entrance of the Tuscaroras, an offshoot of the Cherokees, made it the historic Six Nations.

Dekanawidah and Hiawatha had ample reason to be satisfied. Peace they had brought in their time to the great majority of the Iroquois and while the disgruntled Eries, Neutrals and Andastes remained aloof much had been gained. Who knew, moreover, but that these kindred tribes in time would come to see the advantages of the Confederation and join with their brothers in promoting a reign of peace that stretched from Niagara in the west to the headwaters of the mighty Hudson. It is, therefore, to Hiawatha and Dekanawidah that Iroquoian tradition credits the founding of the Six Nations. Possibly, no Indians ever bore these names, but like the mythical King Arthur of old they have been eulogized ever since by the Iroquois as the saviors of their race.

Precisely when this new order of things was effected no one knows. Surely the Confederation was in all its glory when the first white man penetrated this vast domain. Probably it would not be far wrong to ascribe these happenings to the late fifteen hundreds, for by that time all of Central New York had been closely knit into the League of the Six Nations. But peace at home did not necessarily insure peace abroad. As long as the kindred Hurons continued to nurse hatred and jealousy against the League, war still might remain the order of the day. And the Hurons were bent upon the destruction of their enemies. Skillful emissaries entered the lodges of certain Angonkin tribes, fanned anew the latter's wrath against the Iroquois and gradually succeeded in raising a formidable alliance against the Confederation. Seneca war captains then sprang into

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action and before the Council-fires pled for punitive expeditions against the foe. The Confederation realized the situation confronting them and girded their loins for combat. Fierce bands of Iroquois braves struck terror among the Hurons, who were all but ready to give up the contest, when suddenly there appeared among them the intrepid French explorer and soldier, Champlain. Availing themselves of the "white-faces" whose "thunder-poles" had cowed the Hurons, an expeditionary force thoroughly whipped an Iroquois war band near Ticonderoga in 1609. The axe, spear and arrow of the Iroquois were no match for the guns of the Frenchmen and the former fled home in fear and desperation.

Several years later the Hurons, accompanied by Champlain and a few musketeers, set forth to destroy the Onondaga peoples. Hearing of this danger the Iroquois prepared for the worst and at Nichols Pond, not far from Peterboro, New York, they met and defeated the Hurons, Champlain himself being wounded in the fray. To the Iroquois the victory was a token and sign of their invincible superiority. What if the Hurons had these strange allies, their guns had been silenced once and could be silenced again. And so the Five Nations tightened their belts and marched northward. By 1630 Huron villages along the St. Lawrence River had been attacked and destroyed in a manner that fully illustrated the fierceness and brutality of the invader. Overtures for peace were immediately accepted, for the Iroquois fought, so he said, only for peace. But peace must rest upon complete surrender and an honest recognition that Iroquois sovereignty extended over all of Huronia. This meant abject surrender and the younger Hurons would not listen to such ignoble terms. And so the war continued. By 1650, however, the Hurons were ready to accept any terms, yes, even those they had spurned a few years before.

In the meantime the Neutral Nation had watched with alarm the trend of events. Each Iroquois victory brought the war that much closer to their lodges. Moreover, their homes were crowded with refugees from Huronia, who were constantly imploring the Neutrals to enter the contest before it was too late. Neutrality, it was argued, will keep your homes intact for a brief while, but sooner or later the Iroquois will want to fatten himself upon your lands. Strike now,



LUCIFER FALLS, 115 FEET HIGH, ROBERT H. TREMAN STATE PARK
(Courtesy Finger Lakes State Parks Commission)

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the Hurons plead, while our brothers in the St. Lawrence region are fighting this dreaded foe. Neutral opinion realized the gravity of the situation, but decided to remain aloof. It was a fatal mistake, for hardly had the Hurons surrendered than a hostile note was heard from the Iroquois. Not that the latter actually feared the armed strength of the Neutrals, but rather because they believed that as protectors of refugee Hurons a dangerous condition faced them. Who knows, it was asked among the Iroquois, how soon before the Hurons will be able to convince the Neutrals of their duty to fight a war of self-preservation? And when the Neutrals come to see it this way, what will stop them from stirring up the conquered Hurons to the north, the Eries to the south and even our neighbors the Andastes? The reasoning was too sound for the Iroquois chiefs to ignore and so they proceeded to make plans accordingly. In a short time they had discovered a grievance against the Neutrals. You, it was said, have violated the neutrality that has from time immemorial been preserved during the inter-tribal Iroquois games. Such conduct on your part admits of no mercy; prepare for the worst. And so it came to pass that by 1652 the Neutral Nation passed under the yoke of alien domination.

Now it became the turn of the Eries to feel the sting of defeat. Hearing of the plans of the Iroquois, the Eries struck first, but after an initial victory soon faced the full might of the enemy. Battle after battle was fought with the Eries always on the losing side. Finally, thoroughly disheartened, they gave up the contest and admitted Iroquois supremacy. This was in 1654. For the next few years the Iroquois, while always willing to treat their defeated foes with a generosity that did credit to Hiawatha's teachings, would countenance no opposition. And when opposition reared itself swift was the terrible punishment. It seems as though the Five Nations had determined to continue their wars of conquest until all danger had been removed. Their frontiers must be made secure and as long as some neighboring tribe assumed a hostile attitude the war must be continued.

It will be recalled that during the contest with the Hurons the latter had invoked the aid of the Andastes. Against these allies the full war strength of the Mohawks and Oneidas had contended, but

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to no avail. Nor had the timely help of Cayugas and Onondagas brought victory. Then it was that the Senecas threw their forces into the fray. For over a decade the contest continued and at no time had the Andastes admitted defeat. Superiority in numbers and military skill finally brought the contest to an end, for in 1675 the Andastes surrendered. Some of them remained in their homeland, others migrated and settled with the Cayugas, while others moved on to become the Mingos and Conestogas of later times.

Practically all of Central and upper New York was now in the hands of the Five Nations. Moreover, the lands of the Eries and Hurons were subject to their control. But even then the urge for conquest was not over. Neighboring tribes in other areas soon felt the armed forces of the league. The war, in short, was carried to the west and, in 1680, we find them undertaking a most spectacular raid into the Illinois country. Although this conflict concerns that area more than Central New York, it is interesting to know that the Indians of the Five Nations traveled so far West in their wars to make the New World safe for peace. Moreover, this contest illustrates how widely recognized the league was among the Indians of the East. They had come to realize that the power of this confederation was not to be taken lightly.

The skill and bravery of the Iroquois in battle had been demonstrated by almost a century of continuous warfare. As a reward their bards could sing of hostile tribes that had been humbled and their chieftains could boast of the splendid political organization that existed in the Confederacy. To be sure these conflicts had been highly expensive, particularly in respect to loss of life. Countless Iroquois braves from Oneida Castle, Pompey, Cayuga Lake and elsewhere had died in lands far removed from their homes in Central New York. Such a toll could not go on forever and no one knew this better than those who guided the destinies of the Five Nations. Accordingly, defeated tribes were absorbed into the framework of the league and through the process of intermarriage the physical structure of the Iroquois peoples was fundamentally altered. New recruits for battle were, of course, obtained by this procedure—recruits who appear to have fought as well as their predecessors in the early sixteen hundreds. Basically, however, a new race of Iro-

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quois had come into being, a race that was composed of descendants of the original Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Mohawks and of their captive peoples. It was a hardy and efficient race that won the respect of alien tribes throughout Eastern North America.

During the course of the growth and development of Iroquoian power, the European appeared on the scene. The arrival of the white man was, of course, destined to profoundly alter the future of the Confederation. The superior organization, military equipment and economic resources of the European was too much for the bravest of the Iroquois braves. Valiantly for a time did they seek to stem the steady onrush of the invader, but the ultimate outcome was never in doubt. In due time, Frenchman, Englishman and American appropriated in turn the rich and fertile domains of the Five Nations. To what heights the Iroquois might have ascended had the European not come is a matter of pure conjecture. An analysis of his culture, the theme of the next chapter, furnishes a possible answer.

The Iroquois at Home—The Iroquois Confederacy amply illustrates the great accomplishments of these people in government and in war. Early Europeans were astonished to find such a progressive and powerful organization, and wrote long and glowing accounts of these hardy folk. Historical and archeological research has revealed much more. From these sources one can piece together the record of a proud and powerful people. Mighty as the Iroquois was in battle, skillful as he was in the arts of government and diplomacy, he still found opportunity to develop himself along many other lines. Fascinating as were his achievements in battle, modern students of history are far more concerned with his life at home. Here he emerges in his true form; here he reveals those characteristics and behaviors that fundamentally explain his preëminent success in war and government. Stout hearts and strong bodies avail little in the long run if they are not supported and enforced by adequate social, economic and spiritual traits. Internal solidarity in the life of any nation is of primary importance.

In reviewing the various factors that go so far toward explaining the progress of the Iroquois one is impressed at the outset by the religious philosophy that permeated their life and thought. Man,

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it has been repeatedly said, does not live by bread alone; but surely without bread there is no life. And it was probably not until man had satisfied his hunger impulse that he paused to wonder why this food was available and why he was what he was. Whence and why did he come into being, who was responsible for his existence, and who was it that ordered the rising and setting of the sun—these and many other moot questions must have bothered the early Iroquois precisely as they arose in the minds of other primitive and even modern peoples. Meditating about such matters the Iroquois was impressed by the inescapable fact that human life comes from women; hence there must have been some ancestral matron from whom all life had descended. With this as an assumption it became quite natural for him to think in terms of some celestial woman who, leaving her abode in the great unknown above, came to earth bringing with her the blessing of life. Here, she bore two twin children whose names, according to tribal tradition and mythology, were the Good Mind and the Evil Mind. The father of this famous couple, for all children the Iroquois knew must have a father, was said to be the Sun. In such a manner did the early Iroquois conceive of the creation of man.

Coincidental with the development of these concepts—some authorities say earlier—came the belief in a great galaxy of gods and goddesses, all of whom seem to have taken rôles in conformity with either the Good Mind or the Evil Mind. None of these deities could be seen, though their might and influence were visible in all walks of life. When the cornfields ripened and yielded bountiful harvests the Iroquois was convinced that the spirits who promoted goodness and virtue had signaled their interest in man's life. But when the rain did not descend and when the corn was dwarfed into stubble, then the forces of sin and evil had gained the ascendancy. Hence on every hand the Iroquois was daily reminded of the intense and bitter conflict that was forever being waged by the supernatural beings who directed his life. Small wonder was it, therefore, that if gods and goddesses took keen delight in conflict that man patterned his actions accordingly. Hence there arose those who championed the belligerent blood and iron philosophy of Adodarhoh while others, equally insistent, voiced emphatic approval of the patterns of thought

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taught by the sage Hiawatha. Throughout his entire life, therefore, the Iroquois was ever conscious of the contest between the forces of good and evil, and quite naturally was always on tip-toe to propitiate those deities whose blessings and curses meant so much. As might be expected, some men and women had greater success than others in their supplications and these soon came to be recognized as possessing peculiar magical powers whose intercessions were worth having. No priestly class, however, appears to have arisen among these Indians. Probably, because it was believed that every one had direct contact with the gods. But those who possessed this magic to a marked degree were nevertheless recognized for their peculiar properties.

Again, it was commonly held that all living things had the unique power of transforming themselves into other entities and that at times the spirits of good and evil might take upon themselves the form of man and dwell among men. From this it naturally followed that everything in the world had distinct personality and being, and that animals, no less than man, had that indefinable essence—the soul. Life, therefore, was not all in vain and somewhere in the heavens above there dwelt a great master who gathered the souls of his children into a life eternal. The concept of immortality was thus widely accepted by the Indian. Nor should it be forgotten that dreams played an important part in man's earthly existence, for dreams are the soul's way of imparting impulses to man. At stated times the Iroquois paid due homage to this fact in their dream festivals which, according to early Europeans, were not what they should have been. But when has one culture endorsed the behavior of another?

Among the many good and wise gods none held greater sway than he who ruled thunder. Hawenio (Majestic Voice) was his name and great reverence was paid to his supposed whims and fancies. Of almost equal importance was the Sky Holder, whom some authorities believe to have been of greater significance earlier in the history of these peoples. Other supernatural beings received special consideration, particularly those who were thought to preside over the more important phases of man's life, such as birth, marriage and death. Different names appear to have been assigned to some of these deities by the various tribes whose folklore contains many

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versions of the story of man's creation. In general, however, the form and essence of tribal faith remained more or less uniform. It should be noted that the Iroquois did not believe in the existence of a supreme god.

Further insight into the religious beliefs and practices of the Iroquois may be gleaned from their burial customs. Practically every grave that has been opened has revealed a number of different articles. Some of these were clearly a part of the dead man's wearing apparel. But why should jars, tools, pipes and the like be found? Clearly their presence indicates a belief on the part of the Indian that the dead had need of these as he made his lone journey into the future world. Often the body was interred intact which might suggest the notion of the resurrection of the body, though no scholar at present is willing to declare that the Iroquois held such a concept. By way of proof can be cited the custom followed by some tribes of wrapping the dead in blankets and placing the body high in the trees. In other instances they were buried in specially constructed funeral houses, where the body remained until time had reduced it to bones. Later the bones received a separate burial. Finally, it is of interest to note that the Iroquois, like other primitive peoples, placed the dead so that the knees were drawn toward the chin. During life this had been, as it is today, a favorite device for increasing bodily warmth; possibly, so it has been thought, the Indian followed this procedure in death, hoping thereby to protect the departed one from the cold earth.

With the advent of the European, the Iroquois was introduced to a more refined religious philosophy. Jesuit priests, as will be shown in a later chapter, entered Central New York at an early date and, although exposed to great hardships, torture and even death, succeeded in converting many to the faith of Rome. Similar results were obtained later by English and American Protestant missionaries. In many instances this conversion was purely formal, as adherence to older beliefs and practices were still observed. But the impact of Christianity could not be denied and, as we approach the close of Iroquoian supremacy, ample evidence may be found of Indians who wholeheartedly had accepted the teachings of Christ. Contact, moreover, with other aspects of European culture forced a modification of

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religion. Out of this confused pattern of thought there slowly merged a new group of principles that finally were fashioned into a religious code by the great teacher, Handsome Lake. Very wisely he elected to retain enough of the older concepts so as not to alienate those who favored such. At the same time he added much that was new. As a result a new Iroquoian faith developed that was brought directly in tune with a more modern age.

The existence of a supreme deity and creator is stressed by those who follow Handsome Lake's teachings. This deity encourages man to practice simple truths and virtues—intemperance, the cursed gift of the Christian, being strictly tabooed. Peace, the central theme of the honored Hiawatha, deep humility and moral rectitude are virtues all should aspire toward. Evil deeds and thoughts are to be avoided, but if committed will be punished and *not forgiven*. Man's relation with God is much more direct and personal than in some Christian sects. Nor is there any hierarchy of priests to pray and intercede for man who should view his Creator as a God who willingly aids his children and who does not have to be begged for gifts. Thanks, of course, should be given to God, thanks even by way of anticipation for gifts, but man need not come on bended knees to a God who knows all and understands the needs of his children. These ethical principles, it should be noted, contain little or no formal theology or dogma, and as founded by Handsome Lake early in the eighteenth century are still followed in non-Christian Iroquois homes today.

Closely related to the religious rites and beliefs of these Indians was an intricate pattern of folkways and stereotypes concerning other phases of life. Of paramount importance to the older heads of the tribes was the preservation of their traditions, faith and practices. Having no knowledge of writing, the past could only be retained by verbal processes and pictorial representations on wood, sheets of bark and wampum. As a little lad the Iroquois boy heard from his father of the simple things and virtues that had characterized the tribe's history. Day after day these facts were told him. Or he might, if old enough, gather around some fire and listen as the English boy Drake did to stories from more mature and wiser heads. On occasion, the entire village might be thrown into a great uproar

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by the arrival of some wandering minstrel whose songs of Hiawatha must have gripped both young and old. None of the detail of these events, none of the significance of what was told, could possibly be forgotten. Not only were the accounts and songs impressionistic in themselves, but they were the same ones that had been told over and over again. In like manner were the rites and ceremonies of the tribe retained. Each and every step taken by the dancers at a festival, each and every word spoken at the elevation of a chief to the headship of the tribe, as well as the rules and regulations by which the Confederation conducted its affairs were all indelibly impressed upon the alert mind of the listener. Training in citizenship was considered of prime importance. And as an aid in this respect long hours were spent under skillful tutors in acquiring the art of debate and oratory. For he who would govern and advance the greatness of the Iroquois peoples must know how to address and convince an audience. Great stress was placed upon the ability to select the proper words and to clothe them, where possible, with effective metaphors.

In the meantime willing hands taught the youngster the haunts and habits of man and animals. Noisy feet were silenced as game or man was approached, patience and long suffering in anticipation of victory was inculcated, and almost every twist and turn in a trail became a commonplace thing to the young. He came to recognize what animal had crossed a path; he came to know each and every signal nature provides for man's protection. Frequently these lessons were presented in the form of games with proper rewards going to the most efficient. For sport and good fun was always in vogue among these peoples. In a similar manner the young girl was instructed for her future rôle in life. In the fields she learned the basic lessons of husbandry, while at home she was soon helping in the care of the house and in weaving and making baskets, pots, combs, and other utensils. Nor was she left ignorant of her people's glorious past and religious beliefs. Great emphasis was also placed upon training her to assume the high position accorded women in an Iroquoian home.

Unlike American custom, the husband was not the head of the household, though his word was final in all matters affecting war



CHITTENANGO FALLS, CHITTENANGO FALLS STATE PARK
(Courtesy Finger Lakes State Parks Commission)

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and hunting. Rather was it the woman who governed the home. She held title, so to speak, to the house and together with other women owned the village community home. Moreover, in all matters relating to marriage it was she who played the dominant rôle. Usually she selected her mate and arranged for the simple but picturesque rites that consummated the marriage. Following a procedure that was quite sensible for them, most marriages were between older men and young women or between older women and young men. Such a method insured one experienced person in the home and may help to explain the retention of the family as the unit of Iroquoian society. Of course, many young couples must have followed their own impulses and married contrary to approved and tested tribal forms, but these instances only tend to prove rather than disprove the rule. Strict fidelity characterized their marriages, though on the other hand divorce was common and not difficult to obtain, the final authority in such matters resting in the hands of the older women. Illicit relations, philandering and the like must have existed, though our authorities lay greater emphasis upon the moral practices of these Indians. Finally, it should be observed that the children, upon whom such care was showered, were viewed as being descended from the mother. Birth, like death, was considered a deep mystery and seldom did a father witness the arrival of his child. During such periods the women usually retired to small buildings erected on the edge of the village.

Costuming among the Iroquois women was not an elaborate affair. The manual labor exacted of them was not conducive to the wearing of many garments and refineries. A single piece of skin, often skillfully embroidered, served as loin cloth and skirt. Over this and hanging from the shoulders was a full sleeveless dress fringed and ornamented to taste. Leggings and moccasins completed the apparel of the average woman. Leggings and moccasins were also worn by the men. In addition there was a short loin cloth, a jacket or shirt, and large robe or blanket. During severe weather extra clothing must have been worn. The hair of both men and women was usually braided. Feathers or a round hat served as a head covering for most men; women might wear a small piece of skin, but generally did not use feathers.

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Dressed in this manner it was relatively simple for the young men and women, or children for that matter, to slip off their outer garments and engage in various games and sports. One of the most favored pastimes was lacrosse. Another game that had its enthusiastic friends was that of javelin and hoop. Hoops were sent spinning along the ground, the object being to stop its flight by the throwing of a javelin at it. During the winter a form of football amused the women and, incidentally, the men, who took much delight in watching the former dashing around in the snow. In another game, snowsnake, the object seems to have been to see how far one could throw a spear over the hardened snow. Keen competition existed in all these games, sides being chosen and counts being used to determine the winner. Many of these sports were engaged in when the tribe gathered for its traditional feasts. The most important of these festivals were related to agricultural activities. The spring planting was the occasion for much celebration, as was the harvest season. In between there were other gala holidays, such as the strawberry festival. All of these feasts, particularly the general thanksgiving celebration, were accompanied by an elaborate ritual in which dancing played an important part. Frequently, local groups, clubs or secret societies staged special dances and entertainment. Some of these organizations still exist and their exhibitions are eagerly watched by tourists who visit the Indians upon their reservations.

Behind these various social, religious and political activities lay a broad economic structure that was predominantly agricultural in nature. This does not imply that the Indian did not engage in hunting, fishing and trading. The presence of skins, pelts and furs in their homes, as well as many tools, weapons and ornaments made from the bones of animals, birds and fish attest to the prominence of such undertakings. Moreover, in most Iroquoian graves various articles have been found of Algonkin and European origin. The pottery, pipes, bowls, spoons and the like also show signs of foreign and alien influence. To illustrate, the Iroquois timber reserves were not rich in birch trees; most of their canoes, therefore, were fashioned from other barks. At the same time they highly prized those of birch which were common among the Indians to the east. Birch bark, therefore, was brought to the Iroquois by traders, who either

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sold it outright or exchanged it for commodities of Iroquoian growth or production. Most of the trade was conducted by means of water transportation, though ingeniously devised packs, attached to the back of man, were commonly used. Snowshoes and sleds were generally used during the winter for trade and travel.

In spite of these vital activities, soon to be exploited by the European, an Iroquoian village was primarily an agricultural center. Surrounding the various homes and buildings were the fields which appear to have been allotted to individuals according to families and clans. Most of the labor incident to planting, cultivating and harvesting was done by the women, though the men did assist in the heavier work, such as clearing the land or braiding the corn at harvest time. Skilled overseers, usually experienced women, supervised all farming activities, which necessitated the use of a large number of tools similar to those employed by the Algonkins. Generally speaking, the tools as well as the weapons of the Algonkins were less skillfully made; nor were they as varied in nature.

Corn was the chief article grown by the Iroquois Indians and appears to have been raised quite early in their history. As a result considerable knowledge was acquired as to its different varieties. We are told that they were familiar with as many as twelve varieties, including sweet corn and pop corn. Some species were cultivated for eating while still green; others were allowed to ripen into a golden brown for use during the winter. The Indian, of course, had no refrigerator and after harvesting the corn was frequently charred and then placed in containers in the ground. Some of the corn was braided into large bundles and allowed to dry in the open air. The large poles that protruded from their homes were used to hang this corn upon. In addition to corn, beans, squash and pumpkins were raised, thus providing the Indians with other vegetables. And to augment his diet there were the wild berries, fruits, nuts and greens that were easily to be found in the neighboring woods. For drink, a tea made from roots, barks and leaves was used. Finally, the Iroquois raised tobacco.

Like the Algonkin, the Iroquois lived in houses and not tents. When he first moved into New York State the Iroquois was forced to build his home on a high hill overlooking some stream or lake.

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This was caused by the danger of attack from enemies against whom stockades and earthen works were also erected. As time went on and as the Iroquois became the master of Central New York, village sites appeared on the lowlands. By the late sixteenth century fewer villages were protected by stockades and in the following century this feature all but disappeared. The house itself was built of bark, which covered a framework made from poles and saplings. Bark also served as the roof, which was arched by bent poles securely fastened to the uprights. Entrance to the house was possible by both a front and rear doorway. Nothing has been discovered which might indicate that the Iroquois was familiar with the chimney flue; hence it is difficult to believe that any cooking or heating ovens were built within their houses. Usually an individual house was some fifteen feet in length and wide enough to accommodate a single family, which was seldom large due to infant mortality and the ravages of war. Larger homes existed, particularly the so-called long houses, which measured two hundred feet or more in length. These long houses served as communal living centers for related families; possibly as many as twelve at one time. The presence of these long houses was a source of much astonishment to the European, who had no appreciation of the varied and intensive culture he encountered. Nor was he less surprised to discover that with infinite pain and much labor the Iroquois also constructed homes for expectant mothers, platforms and drums for drying and storing foods and huge drums in which corn was also preserved.

Truly Iroquoian culture was remarkably well advanced. Those who wish additional detailed information would do well to consult the writings of Dr. A. C. Parker, from which much of this narrative has been obtained. The investigations of this eminent archeologist and others clearly illustrate that the Iroquois were a mighty, intelligent and progressive people. French Jesuits, English explorers and early American travelers have left many glowing accounts of these hardy folk. French and English diplomats and generals, realizing the economic and military strength of the Iroquois, spent many hours in trying to enlist their friendship and aid. During the course of the eighteenth century Colonial wars, the Anglo-Iroquois alliance was a factor of no mean importance. This friendship, moreover,

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was to seriously hamper the American during the War of Independence and even after 1783 caused the American no end of trouble.

Infinitely more significant than the influence of the Iroquois upon the duel for empire between France and Britain, and the foreign aspects of the infant American Republic, were the signal contributions made by these Indians to our culture. Recently the State of New York, for revenue purposes, placed a tax upon cigarettes, an assessment that could not have been levied but for the Indian. The Iroquois, of course, was not the only red man who used tobacco, but the presence of many sections in Central New York today where tobacco is grown attests to the prominence of this practice among our Indian predecessors. Around the shores of Lake Oneida large areas were given over to tobacco cultivation and practically every village throughout the Iroquoian Empire had its small plot of home-grown tobacco. The Indian, it appears, smoked only with a pipe, a practice that the European soon learned to follow and enjoy. Later, during the course of time, cigars and cigarettes were used. Today the growth and processing of tobacco has become an important activity not only in Central New York, but throughout the entire country.

Equally important was the cultivation of Indian corn, a cereal unknown to Europeans before the discovery of America. Most eagerly, and for very obvious reasons, did the first colonists seize upon this cereal to sustain life amid frontier conditions. Each and every phase of the Indian's scheme of planting, cultivation and harvesting was copied. The Indian planted corn in rows with an open space between each row; the white man proceeded to do likewise. The Indian cultivated beans, pumpkins and squash in his cornfields; the white man proceeded to do likewise and has done so ever since. Possessed of superior tools and endowed with greater intellect, the descendants of the first colonists have greatly added to the value and use of Indian corn. Breads, breakfast cereals, syrups, alcoholic beverages, confectioneries and pastries all attest to the importance of this gift by the Indian. Even the husks, cobs and plants have been used. Many a modern dance, party or entertainment utilizes these for decorations. Bridge parties, paper plates and napkins, and bunting reveal through design and color the influence of Indian corn upon our culture. Finally, it should be noted that in American Thanks-

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giving corn plays a prominent rôle even as it did among the half dozen thanksgiving festivals of the Iroquois.

The European also did not hesitate to avail himself of the Indian's knowledge of trails, paths, navigable streams and portages as well as of the haunts and habits of wild animals. Nor did he turn his back upon the Indian's method of tanning hides. From the red man the first colonists likewise gained an insight into the former's use of plants, herbs and roots for food and medicine. Many a tonic today contains ingredients that were employed by the Iroquois for soothing sores, healing wounds and correcting internal disorders. To these roots and herbs the Indian assigned magical power and many a delightful legend or story was built around the same, for the Indian loved a good story even as we do today. Although we know these to be but myths and folk tales, their charm and beauty amuse and entertain many a youngster today. And what American does not know of Longfellow's immortal poem of *Hiawatha*? Finally, Central New York abounds in place names, everlasting tributes to the Indian who for so long dominated that area.

Indian culture and empire were displaced by those of the Frenchman, Englishman and American. At the same time descendants of the Algonkins and Iroquois still remain among us. Many of them are scattered here and there throughout our villages, towns and cities. In certain localities, however, they continue to live in communities of their own. Comment as to these reservations will appear later in this history. It is sufficient to point out here that they remain among us today not as wards, aliens or conquered peoples, but rather as our equals. Nobly and effectively have they coöperated in building the Inland Empire. Our debt to them is enormous; our gratitude and respect is profound.

The Lily Banners of France—In the wake of the conquering Iroquois came the European from across the Atlantic. Now there are some scholars who would have us believe that stout-hearted Northmen were the first to reach the shores of the New World. Concerning these Vikings, whose influence upon American history was quite negligible, neither the Algonkin nor the Iroquois possessed any knowledge. Nor could these Indians have known of the voyages and

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discoveries of Columbus and the Cabots. Possibly, in some vague and round about manner, they may have heard from the coastal tribes of Newfoundland of the exploratory expedition undertaken by Verazano or of the presence of French and English fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks. Many of the latter, joined by Portuguese and Spanish sailors, frequently wintered in this region and may possibly have sailed up the St. Lawrence to discover it was a tidal stream and not an estuary. In a similar fashion word must have reached the Indian of the arrival of Cartier early in the sixteenth century and of the abortive settlements at Quebec and Sable Island. Interesting as these speculations may be they possess little significance for us as Central New York was in no wise materially influenced by these early undertakings. On the other hand there is no guess work about the travels of Samuel de Champlain, whose intrusion into the domains of the Iroquois in 1609 foreshadowed the beginning of the end for these mighty Indians.

Precisely why Champlain and his numerous successors came to America the Indian did not know; nor would he have cared had he been told. The Frenchman was an invader who became the ally of the hated Algonkin and Huron, and as such he must be driven out or conquered. Neither result happened for the very simple reason that the Frenchmen, like other Europeans, were on the march seeking new homes and empires. Europe at that time was experiencing those deep and far-reaching changes wrought by the impact and resulting effects of the Renaissance and Reformation. Heretofore, Europe had centered about the Mediterranean. Here was the center of European culture and across its waters sailed the galleys of Venice and Genoa. France, the Holy Roman Empire, and even far away England might boast of their military and political prominence, but it was among the Italian City States that culture in its broadest sense reached its greatest heights. The day came, however, when an Italian sailing under the Spanish flag discovered the New World and when another of the same race, sponsored by an English monarch, made known the existence of North America. As a result of these and other epoch making voyages, Europe turned its face from the Mediterranean and looked out upon the broad Atlantic. A new order was in the making and the young, virile and ultra-nationalistic

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Atlantic seaboard states lost no time in capitalizing upon the opportunities that had been presented.

Discovery and exploration were followed by colonization. Although the political and imperial ambitions of European rulers help to explain these great movements, the basic influences were probably economic. First there existed, especially in England, a large surplus of capital seeking opportunities for investment. Well-to-do merchants, landlords and manufacturers recognized the possibilities of Colonial expansion and eagerly provided the funds that transported thousands of men and women to the New World. Stock companies were formed, like the London and Virginia enterprises, to foster Colonial growth and trade for financial profit. Often the promoters of one company were heavy investors in other concerns. Interlocking of capital and personnel was frequent. The New World, moreover, was thought to be a land of milk and honey, with gold and silver available in large quantities. Hundreds of individuals and scores of capitalists migrated to America in the hope of getting rich quickly. Financially embarrassed feudal lords saw in America a chance to replenish their fallen fortunes, while their younger sons pictured the New World as a place for the establishment of feudal domains. Public opinion also viewed Western Europe as being overpopulated and encouraged the migration of thousands to relieve congestion at home. Actually, Europe was not overcrowded, but because of economic changes during the sixteenth century, a shifting of population had taken place from the farms to the towns. The crowded highways and congested walled cities convinced many that Europe was suffering from overpopulation. Humanitarian motives also entered into the colonization movement and many a person was shipped to America as a means of relieving his sordid condition at home. This was particularly true in the case of English migration. The absolutism of the early Stuart monarchs of England and of the French King also drove people to the asylum of a New World. Finally, many persons came to America to escape religious persecution and, closely attached, was the desire of organized religion to bring the Gospel of Christ to the heathen Indian. An honest evaluation of these various forces, however, will establish that the religious motive was far less important than economic and political considerations.



TAUGHANNOCK FALLS STATE PARK

(Courtesy Finger Lakes State Parks Commission)

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Although Cartier had penetrated the St. Lawrence area in the 1530s, the advent of political and religious quarrels in France checked any development of French power in America until the close of that century. Abortive attempts to found trading posts at Tadousac were followed by the efforts of Sieur de Monts to control the fur trade of this region. Sailing under the authority of de Monts, Champlain established a colony at Quebec in July, 1608. Champlain's adroit diplomacy soon won the favor and good will of the Algonkins, who saw in him an ally that might assist them in wrecking the warlike ambitions of their enemy, the Iroquois. Urged on by his own desire to roam and explore, and willing to promote the fortunes of his Indian friends, Champlain in 1609 sailed up the St. Lawrence until he reached the mouth of the Richelieu River. Here, accompanied by two of his own men and a large body of Algonkin warriors, Champlain turned southward and soon found himself on that beautiful lake that now is honored by his name. Shortly thereafter he reached the northern end of Lake George; he was now in territory claimed by the Iroquois. Most carefully did he finger his way about the country, but at Ticonderoga he and his allies contacted an Iroquois war band. Both sides prepared for battle. At a given signal the Iroquois launched a formidable attack, only to be thrown back by the barking guns of the French. Startled by the sound and fury of these new weapons and dismayed by the loss of their leaders the Iroquois beat a hasty retreat.

Flushed with victory, the first they had tasted in many a day, the Algonkins might have carried the war directly into the heart of the Iroquois Confederacy. Possibly, they reasoned their numbers and supplies were not sufficient for so dangerous an expedition, or perhaps Champlain thought it best to leave well enough alone. In any event, on the day following their victory, Champlain and his allies retraced their steps and went home. The significance of this petty engagement at Ticonderoga cannot be overestimated. Once and for all it cemented the alliance between the Algonkins and the French. At the same time it made the Iroquois the everlasting foes of the French. In so far as the fortunes of the latter were concerned, Champlain unwittingly had made a momentous blunder. Had he known of the superior organization and military strength of the Iroquois

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it is doubtful if he would have listened to the urgent appeals of the Algonkins for help. Nor would he have taken the fatal step had he foreseen that the Iroquois were to become not only the enemy of France, but the faithful ally of France's traditional foe, the English. For the Iroquois, soon to be set upon by the French and their allies, eagerly welcomed the arrival of English agents and soldiers in years to come. The battle at Ticonderoga, therefore, became the first in a long series of engagements that ultimately led to the great duel for empire between France and England.

Following Ticonderoga, Champlain returned to France, but in 1615 he was back again in New France. With him came a few trusted friends and a small number of Recollect Friars. It is evident, therefore, that a duality of purpose existed in this enterprise. The Indians, it seems, were to be won over to Christianity; they were also to be used as allies to advance the political ambitions of France and the economic interests of the traders. Although these two groups, representing the sword of man and the cross of Christ, coöperated to a marked degree, nothing like complete unanimity of purpose was ever achieved. And in times of great dispute, Jehovah, God of Battle, had his way over Christ, the Prince of Peace. This divergence of purpose was well revealed at a meeting held at Quebec in 1616, when Champlain elected to follow the advice of the traders and Indians rather than that offered by the friars. The latter tried in vain to persuade Champlain to utilize the resources of New France in a peaceful and productive manner. Give the Indian, so the argument ran, the benefits of Christianity, tutor him in the simple ways of life, and France will have reared foundations for a strong and lasting empire. On the other hand the traders stressed the imperative need of promoting the fur trade and indicated that this activity would yield handsome profits to all. At the same time the Indians pled for a crushing defeat of the Iroquois. Remove this scourge first, they contended, and government, trade and religion will flourish, but not before. After all was said and done, the friars saw their counsels rejected and there was nothing for them to do but to return to their struggling missions. But Champlain, ever a rover and adventurer, set out for the Iroquois country.

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Leaving Quebec, Champlain skirted the northern coast of Lake Ontario to a point opposite the modern city of Oswego. Here, he crossed the lake and proceeded overland to a point not far from Peterboro, New York. Anticipating a determined resistance by the Iroquois, Champlain had sent one of his trusted friends, Étienne Brulé, to the Carantouans, a tribe unfriendly to the Iroquois, living near the headwaters of the Susquehanna. Brulé's persuasive words, supplemented in all probability by gifts and fair promises, won the help of this tribe, whose war bands were soon on the march. In the meantime Champlain had encountered an Iroquois fortified camp at Nichols Pond and had his Indian allies followed his advice the engagement that took place might have been a second Ticonderoga. As it was the Indians could and would not fight à la European and, as might be expected, were mowed down by the precise marksmanship of Iroquoian archers. Although defeated and forced to retire toward Oneida Lake, Champlain hovered around daily waiting for the arrival of Brulé. But Brulé was nowhere in sight. Fearing the latter had failed in his mission, Champlain quietly withdrew to Oswego. In due time Brulé made his appearance, but finding Champlain gone, returned to the Carantouan country, and with that the grand expedition came to an end. Later, Champlain returned to France and, though in 1635 he came back as commander of New France, little was accomplished. Behind walled forts, mounted with guns, the French were able to withstand the repeated assaults of the Iroquois, who by now had carried the war into Canada. Isolated villages of Algonkin and Huron Indians, and foraging bands of French troops, however, proved an easy prey. The task was too great for the stout heart of Champlain and on Christmas, 1635, he died at Quebec.

The combined efforts of Champlain, Brulé and the Recollect Friars, however, had succeeded in planting the French standards in the New World. Additional gains were registered by the colonization schemes introduced as early as 1627 by the French government and by the missionary efforts of the friars. The latter, recognizing their own limitations and conscious of the superior skill of the Jesuits, finally approached this society for aid and assistance. Gaining the approval of the French King, a number of Jesuit Fathers visited America and supplanted the Recollect Friars, who quite willingly

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returned to France, leaving the field to their friends. Thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits and able leadership at Quebec, the Iroquois were temporarily checked and the work of evangelizing the Algonkins and Hurons went forward with success.

In the meantime attempts were made to extend the influence of the church and French authorities in the Iroquois country. Various missionaries were sent to the Mohawks, such as that headed by Father Isaac Jogues, in 1642, but little actual gain was made. The continued warfare between the Iroquois and the Algonkin-Huron-French alliance checked these noble efforts. A few years later, however, the Iroquois gave signs of wishing to end the contest and, in 1654, representatives of the Onondagas appeared at Quebec, where they signed a treaty of peace. One of the clauses of this treaty called for the establishment of a mission among the Onondagas, who it seems had taken an interest in Christianity as a result of having had a group of captured Huron Christians among them. Accordingly, in July of the same year, Father Simon le Moyne journeyed to the Onondaga country to investigate conditions and report upon the probable success of a mission. Encouraged by the friendly reception he received, le Moyne returned to Quebec and convinced the authorities that a mission should be established in spite of the recent ravages by the Mohawks.

Fathers Dablon and Chaumont, therefore, were sent to the Onondagas for further investigation. The Indians welcomed them with open arms and for a time all went well. Gifts were showered upon the Indian chiefs, brave speeches were made, and ample religious instruction was afforded. But what of the mission itself, asked the Onondagas; when will it be built? Have patience, came the reply, and for a time the Indians waited. Finally, the latter abruptly informed their visitors that unless a mission was established right soon the treaty would be null and void. The Jesuit Fathers were aroused to action and Dablon hastened to Quebec. The French were so impressed by his representations that in spite of the fear of an Indian war a group of soldiers and priests were ordered to depart for the Onondaga country.

Led by Zachary du Puys and Father le Mercier, the little company left Quebec and, in 1656, erected a combined fort and mission



TAUGHANNOCK FALLS, TAUGHANNOCK FALLS STATE PARK,
HIGHEST FALLS EAST OF ROCKIES

(Courtesy Finger Lakes State Parks Commission)

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on the eastern shore of Onondaga Lake, not far from the present town of Liverpool. Under the sheltering protection of the military, traders and missionaries journeyed far and wide in search of furs and lost souls. Soon the gospel was spread among the Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas, and a mission was actually founded near what is now Union Springs. Traders likewise reaped a golden harvest—all of which gladdened the hearts of the authorities at Quebec, but not among those directing the fortunes of New Amsterdam. The Dutch, it will be recalled, had established themselves in what is now New York City and had, by the time the French had penetrated the Iroquois country, extended their influence far up the Hudson. Here they entered into an extensive fur trade with the Indians and had visions of expanding westward along the Mohawk River. The presence of the French on Onondaga Lake, however, was a situation not to be taken lightly. Let the French entrench themselves in this area and soon they will be knocking at our backdoor, endangering our hinterland and diverting the rich fur trade north through New France. To forestall this encroachment the Dutch began to agitate the Mohawks, whose hatred of the French needed little fanning. Soon seeds of discontent were sown among the younger Onondagas, whose recent espousal of Christianity was too thin to resist the appeal of their friends, the Mohawks.

Rumor of what was taking place soon reached the ears of du Puys who, it must be supposed, doubled his guards and took other precautionary measures. The situation, however, grew more critical and upon being informed that an attack was imminent, du Puys broke camp and fled to Montreal. The mission of Sainte Marie, for so the settlement on Onondaga Lake had been named, thus came to an end in 1658. The memory of the mission continued to linger on and only a few years ago the original fort and mission were restored. Interesting as this effort to establish French influence in Central New York may appear, its actual influence upon history was almost nothing. At best it stands as an episode of no great importance in the annals of Central New York.

Du Puys' sudden arrival in Montreal brought consternation to the French authorities, who envisaged an Indian war of large proportions. Touched to the quick by the rapid thrust of roving

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Mohawks and Oneidas and believing the future of New France to be at stake, hurried appeals were sent to Paris. Finally, after much delay, several companies of the regular French Army were sent to the New World and under their commander, Marquis de Tracy, peace was restored in 1666. Bolstered by this success, traders and missionaries rapidly returned to the Iroquois country. A mission was established near Munnsville, that at Union Springs was restored, and a new post was founded among the Onondagas.

For over a decade French missionaries and traders worked with a zeal that brought definite rewards. Supported by the friendship of Garakontie, an Onondaga chieftain, the progress of French penetration went on unhalting. But once again the air was filled with strange and alarming reports. Thanks to the daring and skill of James, Duke of York, New Amsterdam was captured by the English in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665. Immediately the English in New York proceeded to spread anti-French sentiment among the Five Nations. The prospect was altogether too alluring and in a short time the Senecas and Cayugas were raiding French traders and endangering the connections with the French posts in the Illinois region. Upon hearing of these depredations, the Canadian Governor, La Barre, at once marched a thousand soldiers against the Seneca Nation. News of this reached Governor Dongan, of New York, who hastened to Albany to confer with the representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy. Had Garakontie been living, it is doubtful if Dongan would have met with much success. As it was he persuaded the Confederacy to remain hostile to the French and promised to aid them if attacked.

Meanwhile, La Barre had reached Fort Frontenac, where he was forced to suspend operations because of the ravages of malarial fever among his troops. After the fever had run its course, La Barre took stock of the situation and discovered he was not strong enough to undertake an offensive against the Senecas. Breaking camp he turned his decimated ranks to the Salmon River, where he tried to win by argument what he had lost through disease. The Onondaga chiefs listened most attentively but their eyes saw what La Barre had tried to conceal. The French were few in number and by no means imposing. Accordingly the chieftains waved aside the brave words

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of La Barre and began to dictate terms of their own. In the end La Barre was forced to promise he would not attack the Senecas, but what was more disquieting was the Indian announcement that depredations would continue as before. Great was the joy in New York when news of these events had reached that city, but in Montreal and Quebec there was nothing but despair. And as for La Barre, the French government promptly recalled him to Paris and a new governor, Denonville, was sent to Quebec with definite instructions to crush the Iroquois.

Denonville did a thorough job, smashing the Senecas in one pitched battle. The defeat of this Nation, however, did not discourage the other members of the Confederacy. Actually, it only served to infuriate them the more. Willingly did they harken to the overtures made by Dongan who, acting upon instructions from London, succeeded in gaining a treaty of alliance with the Five Nations. Although Dongan was relieved of his post by Edmond Andros, and Denonville by Count Frontenac, the fruits of Dongan's diplomacy soon became evident. For some ten years and more the French settlements and missions in New York and Canada experienced one assault after another, while Iroquois villages and braves withered before the muskets of French troops. Finally, in 1689, Montreal was captured by the Iroquois; its inhabitants being submitted to a most dreadful massacre. The future of French power hung in the balance.

Fortunately for the French, Count Frontenac sensed the seriousness of the situation in a brave and determined manner. Girding himself for a supreme effort he ordered a series of sudden attacks against the enemy. Success crowned these undertakings. Though defeated, the Iroquois kept at the task, but finally retired to their own country, never again to undertake an attack against Canada, though their power in Central New York was still to be reckoned with. At the same time they heard that the French and English had made peace at Ryswick in 1697. News of this treaty forced them to settle their differences with the French. Accordingly, in 1701, the Five Nations agreed to bury the hatchet and promised to leave French traders and neighboring Indian tribes alone. On the other hand the Confederacy strengthened itself by ceding to the British all the

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territory over which they claimed dominion. The earlier treaty of alliance, made by Dongan, gave way to a new arrangement whereby the Five Nations became wards, so to speak, of the English Crown. The Iroquois were thus assured of continued protection against the French and the Algonkins. At the same time it afforded the English an opportunity of extending their influence and power into the very heart of French zones of influence in Central New York. All in all the stage was set for a life and death struggle between France and England for domination in the New World.

From the above narrative it can readily be seen that French penetration into Central New York was being seriously restricted by the rival activities of the English and their Iroquois allies. It would be quite wrong, however, to assume that the contest between these two European states was merely a local frontier disturbance. Actually it was but a phase, though a most important one, of the tremendous conflict that was being waged by these powers for European and world supremacy. One has only to read the despatches of the French and English officials in America to realize that they generally acted in accordance with military and political plans laid down at Paris and London. In these capitals the colonial problem was viewed from a European and imperial point of view; the colonist being but one pawn on a world-wide chess board. At the same time it must be remembered that the colonial officials recognized that the colonial problem had its own peculiar angles and frequently tried to impress this fact upon the Mother Countries. The tragedy of seventeenth and eighteenth century colonial administration was that London and Paris largely ignored this patent and important fact.

Central New York was indeed a rich domain well worth capturing and retaining. Looking at its position on the map in respect to the Hudson River and Lake Erie one perceives that it stands as a nexus connecting the East and the West. From a military point of view this is of decided significance. With the exception of certain passes in the South and the Mississippi River, it is the only avenue by means of which an enemy might penetrate the heart of America. This fact was clear to those who directed operations during the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars, and the General Staff of the United States Army today undoubtedly has its plans for the defense of this



PINNACLE ROCK, 40 FEET HIGH, BUTTERMILK FALLS STATE PARK
(Courtesy Finger Lakes State Parks Commission)



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thoroughfare, which at present is infinitely more strategic than two centuries ago. Even at that remote time a broad stream of trade and commerce flowed along this channel. Moreover, it was an area that possessed valuable fur reserves more than sufficient to whet the appetites of French and English traders and merchants.

The vital point of this asset was not lost upon the early French settlers. Indeed, the early French companies which were authorized by the Crown to colonize this area, as well as the St. Lawrence region, devoted much time and attention to the fur trade; so much so that their original purpose was all but forgotten. Although Cardinal Richelieu sought to correct this in 1627, when he founded the Hundred Associates, the economic importance of the fur trade could not be denied. This is shown by the recorded travels of a Dutch surgeon, Van dem Bogaert who, in 1635, journeyed along the Mohawk Valley as far as Munnsville. Van dem Bogaert was astonished to hear from the Indians that the French were reaping great rewards from an active fur trade, and to see the many gifts of clothing, beads and manufactured articles given the natives by the French.

Later, thanks to the daring and skill of men like La Salle and Tonty, who had penetrated the Illinois territory, a valuable trade developed between that region and Canada. Part of this trade flowed through or close to the Seneca country. And it was because the Senecas raided this trade that Denonville undertook his expedition against them in the 1680s. Actually, the basic factor that led these Indians to interfere with French trading activities was not one merely of booty or hostility to the French; rather was it a desire, common among the Five Nations, to dominate the trade from the Illinois country. What they wished, especially after their alliance with the English, was to groove this trade so it might pass through their hands on its way to the East. In short, they were to be entrepreneurs. And when the English assumed the protection of the Iroquois people, the two immediately sought to direct the fur trade to New York City, thus robbing Montreal and Quebec of its former advantages.

One has no desire to deprecate the valuable contributions made by the Jesuit Fathers who, in their zeal to extend the blessings of Christianity, had the frequent and loyal support of authorities at

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Quebec and Paris. Repeatedly did the instructions from Paris stress the importance of missionary activities. Moreover, much of the success experienced by the French in extending dominion and power should be credited to these humble clerics who risked all in their noble work. At the same time the Jesuits were not blind to the advantages that came to them through the prosperity and success of the traders. It made their work easier, precisely as their victories over heathen religious practices promoted business and political development. In evaluating the three forces, religion, trade and politics, however, one is forced to conclude that the latter two were uppermost in the minds of those who directed the fortunes of New France. This was also true of the Dutch and English. Had there been no opportunity for imperial growth and economic gain in the New World it is difficult to believe the European rulers would have spent life and treasure merely to advance the cause of Christianity. The sword, the dollar and the cross have ever been important factors in European and American expansion. Generally speaking, however, economic and political considerations have been more decisive in power politics than religion and humanity.

The Duel for Empire—The vital significance of Central New York's position in New World politics was well revealed by events that immediately followed the peace of 1701. While it is true that the dramatic happenings of the future were to focus around Oswego, Crown Point, Niagara and Albany, this did not lessen the importance of Central New York. Over its many trails and along its streams and lakes traveled many an English trader in search of the rich furs and pelts the Iroquois collected at home or purchased from tribes to the Far West. Central New York represented a vast hinterland for settlement and economic expansion. Moreover, it was a region that seriously threatened the French lines of communication between Canada and the Mississippi Valley. None of these advantages, possessed by the British, were overlooked in Montreal and Quebec. Nor were they ignored in Albany and New York City. But in far away London and Paris there was much ignorance and apathy. Probably the latter may be pardoned for viewing the European theatre as more important. At the same time both governments missed many a golden

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opportunity to advance their interests in this region. As a result Colonial authorities largely determined the trend of events until 1756, when both England and France suddenly awoke to the realities of the situation. Let the English continue their onward march toward Niagara and into the Ohio country and the Lily Banners of France would soon disappear in North America. Or let the English falter and accord victory to their ancient enemy and New York would become a small island of English influence completely surrounded by the French. The duel for empire was on.

In the meantime, the consummation of peace in 1701 had startled the traders and officials at Montreal. Both on the battle fields and in the counting houses the French had witnessed the constant success of their opponents. The day of French supremacy in the fur trade was over. On the other hand, the volume of this trade that continued to pass through Montreal was very large and profitable. To retain this now became the avowed objective of the merchants at Montreal. Accordingly, they stopped all hostile talk and demonstration. Instead, they extended a hand of friendship toward their rivals, who lost no time in grasping the same, for Albany realized that far greater gains could be made through peace than war. War, they knew, constantly disrupted normal trading activities not only with the Indians themselves but with the French as well. Thanks to a more carefully planned and executed economy, the English were able to provide the French with the supplies the latter needed for the fur trade cheaper than could be bought in French markets; hence, the growth of a profitable trade between Albany and Montreal. Besides dislocating these activities, war led to discord among the Iroquois. In order to carry on military operations successfully, the English had been forced to establish garrison-posts here and there throughout the Indian country and around these fortifications small settlements had appeared. All of which was highly distasteful to the Iroquois, who wished to remain complete masters of their own domain. And a disgruntled Iroquois Confederacy might lead to a serious interruption in the fur trade, without which Albany's importance would wane. Finally, the establishment of settlements might tend to create centers which would engage in trading activities of their own. Good and sufficient reasons, therefore, existed both in Albany and Montreal

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for a cessation of those factors that hampered the continued development of the fur trade.

The first definite indication of a change in policy arose out of the trade between these two towns. Commercial relations led in turn to correspondence and in a short time a spirit of cordiality and friendship had grown up between the two. An international as opposed to a national attitude appears to have directed policy. Mutual economic interests overshadowed political differences. In the meantime dark shadows of another European war gathered on the horizon. Concerning the antecedents of this conflict, known in European history as the War of the Spanish Succession, and in America as Queen Anne's War, no detailed discussion is necessary. Suffice it to say that the prospect of a French prince becoming the joint sovereign of both the French and Spanish empires forced England to resist the same by force. Although the conflict arose out of European conditions, it soon spread itself to India and the New World. Immediately sharp resentment was manifested in Albany and Montreal. Let Europe fight its own wars, so it was openly stated. Why should we risk life and treasure over alien questions? If Englishmen want to die over the prostrate bodies of fallen Frenchmen, that is no concern of ours. These and many other comments were heard in New York and Canada as Europe girded itself for battle, and similar remarks have been heard every time a major European conflict has threatened to involve America. In this respect the eighteenth century was no different from the nineteenth or twentieth.

At the same time opinion in America knew that the European war might entail the colonies unless some working arrangement might be effected at home. Accordingly, a group of Albany traders were invited to visit Montreal to discuss the situation. Here, after the usual preliminaries of wine, good food and courtesy talk was over, the representatives of both towns sat down to the council table. Little time was wasted and when the English were ready to leave it had been agreed that in so far as New York and Canada were concerned there would be no war. Nothing in the nature of a formal written statement was made; rather was it a general understanding between gentlemen that when war broke forth there would be no hostilities on the New York frontier.

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Back in Albany the merchants hastened to present their views before the Council and Assembly of New York. Hard-headed business men in New York City were quick to realize the advantages to be gained from a policy of neutrality, and members of the Assembly readily appreciated that neutrality would relieve them from taxation and the recruiting of soldiers. And so it came about that throughout Queen Anne's War peace was generally maintained on the New York-Canadian frontier. Elsewhere in the Colony, especially in New York City, the war took its toll. Nor were the officials of the Colony reluctant to provide the New England colonies, who actively engaged in the conflict, with valuable information as to the movements of French troops. Later, as the war continued, the government of New York went so far as to vote supplies and to raise a small force to coöperate with the British command for an attack upon Quebec. This was hardly neutrality in the strict sense of the word, but when has New York or America, for that matter, been one hundred per cent. neutral in any major continental war? And yet in spite of these and other disturbing influences there was little warfare in upper New York. Now and then a marauding band of Indians might undertake some hostile demonstration, but in the main the understanding forged at Montreal remained unbroken. As a result, peace in this locality was maintained right up to the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which marked the close of Queen Anne's War. Central New York had escaped the ravages of the conflict.

The situation in the New World, however, had been profoundly altered by the consequences of the war. France, crippled on the high seas and far more interested for the time being in European problems, had given far less attention to her North American empire than was good for her. To be sure, when the curtain fell upon the terrible ordeal France had the questionable satisfaction of having won a few border fortresses on the Dutch frontier and had placed a Frenchman upon the Spanish throne, though at no time, so it was agreed, was he to rule over both France and Spain. The cost of the war far outweighed these paltry gains. Newfoundland, Acadia and the Hudson's Bay regions were ceded to England and the English control over the Iroquois Confederacy was recognized. Not only had New France been reduced in size and power, but its position was

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rendered less tenable in so far as Canada was concerned. Englishmen were now on her northern, eastern and southern boundaries. Still, when one considers the vast French possessions in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys one is forced to admit that French power in the New World was of the first magnitude and would have to be reckoned with in any future conflict.

Following the Treaty of Utrecht, England and France remained at peace for nearly thirty years. During this interval both London and Paris largely ignored Colonial problems, considering them of less importance than those at home. This decision may have been justified from an European point of view, but from a Colonial, it was far from being wise or sound. Left to themselves British and French officials in the New World not only formulated policy for themselves, but did much to promote a local attitude of mind that was not conducive to the best interests of the home governments. In the case of the British it had much to do with the development of a philosophy of independence and certainly helped to pave the way that ultimately led to Yorktown in 1781. In view of this policy of neglect, local officials embarked upon a program that was bound to create friction and endanger the peaceful economic understanding between Albany and Montreal.

The French, for example, spread out their military along a frontier that extended from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. Louisburg was converted into a mighty fortress; a new fort at Niagara threatened the Iroquois; Montreal was guarded by Fort Chambly; and Fort Frederic at Crown Point reminded New York of the near approach of the enemy. Sharp protests from English Colonial officers, however, hardly created a ripple in London. At the same time Montreal viewed with alarm the erection of an English fort at Oswego. These various activities, moreover, served to arouse the suspicions of the Indians. English settlements in the Mohawk Valley disgusted the Iroquois, who seemed to sense what would happen to them once the English became numerous in their domains. Smarting under this sting inflicted upon them by their allies, the English, the Seneca Nation not only listened to the well-oiled tongues of French agents but actually assumed a position that was distinctly favorable to France. In the

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meantime the economic relations between Albany and Montreal continued to flourish, while the previous opposition in Albany to the ever advancing fringe of settlements westward gradually declined. Surely the local stage was well set for trouble when England and Spain drifted into an economic and imperial war known as the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739.

Five years later this contest broadened itself into a major continental conflict, commonly known as King George's War or the War of the Austrian Succession, in which England found herself arrayed once more against her old rival, France. Basically this conflict was European in origin and most of the engagements were fought abroad. As a result, the Colonial possessions of these two states were left largely to their own resources. Mercantile relations between Albany and Montreal plus the reluctance of the Iroquois to participate in the war negated the ambitions of those officials who were determined to make a frontal attack upon Canada. It is true that the capture of Saratoga by the French in 1746 and the presence of the French at Crown Point stimulated efforts for an expedition against Canada. Money was voted by the New York Assembly for this undertaking, the Iroquois were won over by the influence of William Johnson, and some sixteen hundred men were gathered at Albany. It looked as though New York was about to emulate the achievements of New England, which had captured Louisburg. British defeats in Europe and the timely arrival of a French fleet in the St. Lawrence, however, forced an abandonment of the expedition. On top of this came reverses at home. The Iroquois showed signs of restlessness and were all but ready to desert their allies. French penetration north of Albany, moreover, became most alarming. Had the war continued, severe fighting might have supplanted the policy of neutrality. As it was, England and France made peace at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and with that the possibility of war along the New York frontier disappeared.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle proved to be more of a truce than a peace so far as Europe was concerned. Both sides were quite exhausted in 1748 and clearly needed a breathing spell to prepare for a final and decisive conflict. In the meantime the local French officials in America, encouraged by authorities in Paris, continued to

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promote their military and economic activities in the Mississippi Valley. This necessitated a strengthening of their lines of communications through the New York and Ohio regions. Missions, trading posts and a few forts were erected here and there. Skilled agents, moreover, well supplied with gifts and fair promises, toured throughout the Iroquois domain seeking to detach these Indians from the British alliance. Since the Iroquois were already disgruntled over the trade connections between Albany and Montreal and viewed with alarm the westward march of English settlers, the French encountered distinct signs of cordiality.

None of these activities was lost sight of in Albany, where William Johnson exerted himself to the utmost in an attempt to arouse the Colonial officers to the dangers confronting New York. Much to his disgust his pleas and exhortations largely fell upon deaf ears. In one sense the New York authorities may be pardoned for their apathy. Time after time during the course of the past quarter of a century they had implored London to take a more serious view of the Colonial problem. By way of reply they had received plenty of poor advice, but little actual assistance. But in 1753 a different attitude was shown in London. Thanks to the efforts of men like Lord Halifax, the British government was made to see the imperative necessity of combating French designs in the New World. As a result there met in Albany in that year the first of the great Inter-Colonial congresses. Here an earnest attempt was made to unite the Colonies, all of whom feared the French and Indian. Many brave and important speeches were delivered and considerable time was spent in discussing the proposals for governmental unity presented by Benjamin Franklin. Actually, little was accomplished and the delegates went home with nothing concrete to show for their efforts. As for the Iroquois, who were represented at this gathering, they retired to their villages considerably dismayed over the evident inability of the English to do anything but talk. "Look at the French," one Mohawk chieftain said at the conference, "they are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But you are all like women, bare and open, without fortifications." Ultimately the Albany Congress had important results. For the first time the various Colonies had met in joint session to discuss a common problem. And the lesson taught at this meeting as

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well as the contacts made by individuals themselves had much to do with promoting a feeling of unity which stood the Colonies in good stead when their own quarrels with the Mother Country came to a head in the 1770s.

During the course of the Albany Congress, and immediately thereafter, Colonial opinion was aroused over the report of fighting in the Ohio Valley. Emboldened by their successes the French and Indians raised the battle cry in upper New York. Well-to-do merchants at Albany realized that neutrality was rapidly becoming a thing of the past. It seemed evident that the French were bent upon provoking a war so as to make New York a French province. Nor did the enemy lose sight of the possibility of capturing New York City, thus securing for themselves a port that was not ice-locked in winter as was the St. Lawrence. Royal officials in New York as well as in the other Colonies bestirred themselves for action and urgently plead that London should do likewise.

In the meantime Frederick the Great of Prussia had become engaged in a diplomatic encounter with Marie Therese of Austria over Silesia. Realizing the gravity of the European situation and being informed that France was solidly behind Austria, Britain began to build its own fences. An understanding was arrived at with Prussia, so that when the European war broke forth in 1756 British gold and supplies were despatched to Berlin. Before actual hostilities took place, however, the British government had taken charge of the Colonial situation. In the future the question of Colonial defense would be handled in London.

Definite signs of this new policy were seen when, in 1755, two regiments of the line under command of General Edward Braddock were sent to America. News of the decision to despatch these troops reached America before Braddock sailed and immediately there was great activity in the Colonies. Acting in accordance with orders from London many of the Colonies, notably Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, voted large sums to defray the expense of raising troops and conducting expeditions against the French in the Ohio and St. Lawrence regions. According to the Colonial scheme, military operations were to center upon the French at Niagara, though a serious attempt would be made to drive the French out of Ohio, Acadia and

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Crown Point. With the French out of Niagara the British would be able to stop supplies going to the French in Ohio and ultimately force the latter to surrender.

British strategy, as outlined by Braddock at a conference of Colonial governors in Virginia, called for a frontal attack upon the Ohio country. In some ways this was in agreement with the desire of these officials, though they stressed the military advantages to be gained by the expedition to Niagara. In the end Braddock's plan was accepted, though the operations in New York and Acadia were to be pushed by Colonial forces. And so Braddock, accompanied by George Washington and a contingent of Virginian troops, marched on the ill-fated expedition against the French at Fort Duquesne. Left to themselves, the New York authorities gathered men and supplies at Albany for an attack upon Niagara and Crown Point. Before these operations could be undertaken, however, news reached Albany of Braddock's defeat and death. This necessitated a change in command and a realignment of forces.

In the meantime, the French having smashed Braddock, hastened to improve their positions at Niagara and Crown Point. Thus it came about when William Johnson moved against the latter he found it much better protected than expected. Local victories and even the building of an English fort in this region could not budge the French out of Crown Point or force them to retire to Canada. Actually, little was accomplished in this sector, nor was a better result obtained by the troops in the Niagara zone. The only bright light in the picture was that the English hung on to their post at Oswego. Needless to say, English defeat had convinced many of the Indians that the future lay with the French. Band after band, therefore, accepted service under the French and were soon ravaging the New York frontier.

It should be noted that the military operations of 1755 were conducted at a time when England and France were at peace. In the next year, however, Frederick the Great moved his armies into Silesia and the Seven Years' War began. England immediately joined its ally, Prussia, and France took its place beside Austria. In America the French, reinforced by fresh troops from home, immediately assumed the offensive. Aided by their Indian allies, they



BUTTERMILK FALLS, BUTTERMILK FALLS STATE PARK

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invested Oswego with lightning rapidity and routed the English defenders of Fort Bull in the Oneida country. Later, Oswego surrendered and the English front line was withdrawn to the German Flats. And then, in the spring of 1757, while the British command was concentrating forces for an attack upon Louisburg, which had been returned to France at Aix-la-Chapelle, the French suddenly swung southward and captured Fort William Henry, just to the north of Albany. Had the French followed up this success by marching on Albany that town most certainly would have fallen. As it was, they delayed their operations and this delay permitted troops and supplies from lower New York to reach the endangered town. Checked by this turn of events the French then poured down into the German Flats, where they destroyed life and property almost at will. These repeated successes all but succeeded in detaching the Iroquois from the British. As it was all of the tribes, with the exception of the Mohawks, assumed a neutral position and daily intimated they might join the French.

In 1758, however, the tide flowed in favor of the English. Thanks to the driving energy and brilliant ability of William Pitt the resources of England were thrown into the contest as never before. English loans to Frederick the Great permitted extensive military operations on the continent and forced the French to lessen their efforts in the New World. On the sea, the British fleet cut off Canada and convoyed fresh regular troops to the scene of action. Now it came the turn of the Frenchmen to taste defeat. Louisburg was captured as was Fort Frontenac. As a result the French hastily evacuated Fort Duquesne. Later, Oswego was retaken by the English. In the following year the British won a brilliant victory at Quebec and drove the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The French were clearly on the run and in September, 1760, with large English forces converging upon Montreal, the French Governor threw up the sponge. Not only did he admit defeat, but he proceeded to surrender all of Canada to the English.

No hostilities of any importance were fought during the remainder of the war, and the British were given a glorious opportunity of cementing their alliance with the Iroquois. Understandings were also reached with Indian tribes in Ohio and Michigan. The New York

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frontier was at last secure. In 1763 the war in Europe was brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris. According to this treaty, France handed over to her rival almost all of the great domain she once had been master of. Canada, western New York, Ohio and territory east of the Mississippi became English. The French had lost an empire. With the close of the war the periodic Indian disputes came to an end. English settlers and traders hastened into the Iroquois country and Montreal became an English center of the fur trade.

His Mother's Kindred

BY ADA HARRIET BALDWIN, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

IN FOUR PARTS—PART IV

THE SEVENTH DAUGHTER

"What will we come to
With all this pride of ancestry, we Yankees?"
—ROBERT FROST.

I



ANTUCKET! Take out your map and look at it. See what a real corner of the world it occupies; how it stands there, away offshore, more lonely than the Eddystone Lighthouse. Look at it—a mere hillock and elbow of sand. . . . What wonder that the Nantucketers, born on a beach, should take to the sea for a livelihood! They first caught crabs and quahogs in the sands; grown bolder, they waded out with nets for mackerel; more experienced, they pushed off in boats and captured cod; and at last, launching a navy of great ships on the sea, explored this watery world; and in all seasons and all oceans, declared everlasting war with the whale." (*Moby Dick*.)

The famous whaling days of Nantucket—days when the name of the Far-away Isle was proudly carried to every corner of the globe—belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During those rousing years there was always a Captain Folger or two sailing the Seven Seas on the lookout for sperm whales. But when the first Folgers settled on Nantucket, whale-catching was carried on only from the shore, and the young men of the island gained their livelihood at home—farming, fishing and working at their various trades. The circle of young people was naturally limited, encompassed as it was by the sea, so that the arrival of Peter and Mary with their large family was an event of great interest. The three fair Folger daughters, Joanna, Bethiah and Dorcas, caused quite a stir among the

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

junior proprietors, and Eleazer was plenty old enough to exchange smiles with the girls of the younger set. Bathsheba stood on the threshold of her teens, with Patience close at her heels. John was five and Experience was still the baby of the family.

Intermarriage was common among the isolated island families, and after two or three generations, all Nantucketers were cousins. Folger children and grandchildren married into practically all of the families of the original proprietors. Their descendants are exceedingly proud of their heritage—as well they may be. For the names of many valiant men and women shine out from the stirring pages of Nantucket history.

The following notice appears in the Town Records of March the First, 1664/5:

Peter Folger is excepted as a Tradesman namely as a Surveyer Interpreter and Millar and his son a Shoomaker, his House Lott is laid out by Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy at a place commonly called and known by Rogers Field, Laying on the North side of the Swamp that leads from Wesco to Waquittaquage and Measuring forty five rods one way and forty the other way, him selfe also being present.

From this time on, there are but few pages of the Records that do not mention the name of Folger.

The island's first gristmill was built at Wesquo Pond in 1666, "under the high Clift at the mouth of the Harbour." Peter Folger was appointed miller—"to Keep the mill for the owners and Inhabitant on the terms hereafter mentioned: to have two quarts out of a Bushel for the Labour in grinding and to Keep the Running geer in Order to beat the Stones." At that time, Wesquo Pond, later known as Lily Pond, was a tide-water inlet of three acres or more, with an opening to the Sound of sufficient size to allow small vessels to enter. Near the mill was a landing place where ships were moored. As town miller, Peter was in the very thick of affairs, for the mill was the social center of Colonial life. Especially was this true of Nantucket, where during the early years of settlement there was no meetinghouse, no school building, no town hall. It was at the mill that the townsmen gathered, to hear the latest news and to find an audience for their thoughts. It was in the mill that ideas and theories

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were passed around, "stringing themselves like ropes of onions," as Benjamin Franklin later remarked, and political opinions tossed back and forth until they were ground into practical plans for the welfare of the Colony.

Peter Folger was essentially an artisan. "There was little in the way of handicrafts to which he could not turn his skill," writes Dr. Douglas-Lithgow. To his already long list of pursuits were added those of joiner, blacksmith and weaver. But more important than all his other activities, was his job of interpreter and his influence among the Indians. For Peter Folger was the strong man of the island when it came to managing the natives. And he was no more than settled in his new home, than an incident occurred that required all his tact, understanding and linguistic ability.

II

In the fall of 1665 the settlers of Nantucket were one day startled to see approaching their island a fleet of Indian dug-outs filled with savages in full fighting regalia. It was King Philip and his warriors, bent on vengeance. For it had come to the ears of the Wampanoag chieftain that a Nantucket Indian had dared speak the name of the mighty Massasoit, Philip's departed father. Among the Algonquins, it was absolutely taboo to mention the name of any one who had died. To do so was deserving of death, and the offender might be hunted down and killed by the family of the outraged spirit. At the approach of King Philip, the guilty Assassmoogh took to his nimble heels and fled to the farthestmost corner of the island, where he hid in the dense thickets. Philip and his men marched into the defenceless little English town and demanded that the colonists deliver the fugitive up to them. The settlers, however, refused to take any part in the search, though they well knew the danger of opposing their haughty visitor. It was equally dangerous to anger the Nantucket natives, with whom they had always been on friendly terms, but who outnumbered them fifty to one. They took refuge in neutrality. But the wretched Assassmoogh was finally discovered and dragged from his hiding place, and when his judges began to make gloating preparations for his execution, the English intervened in his behalf and offered to ransom him. King Philip named a large

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sum and a short stay of execution. Hastily collecting all the available cash on the island, which amounted to some eleven pounds, the whites presented Philip with the money, and angered by his action in taking possession of some of their homes, demanded in no uncertain terms that he leave the island, threatening otherwise to take up arms against him. Impressed by their bold front and evidently ignorant of their defenceless state, Philip and his braves soon after took their departure. The prisoner, whose English name was John Gibbs, was promptly set at liberty. His rescue by the colonists greatly strengthened the bond between red men and white on Nantucket. The affair spread over many days of powwowing, and it seems fair to assume that the brunt of negotiations between the Pokanauket chief and the English settlers was borne by Peter Folger, official interpreter of the island.

King Philip was already planning his great war of extermination against the whites, and took advantage of his visit to Nantucket to sound out the island Indians and to demand their future allegiance. But the Nantucket natives had no intention of fighting against the white settlers. Chief Attaychat, or Autapscot, as he was sometimes called, even went so far as to signify that "himself with all the Tomokommoth Indians subject to the English government in Nantucket acknowledge subjection to King Charles II." This was done at a town meeting held in October, 1665, "in the presence of Metacomet, *alias* Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope." Ten years later, when Philip's war broke out, the Indians of both Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket refused to take any part in the uprising. "Thus while the war was raging on the neighboring continent, these islands enjoyed a perfect calm of peace, and the people lived secure and quiet."

The Nantucket Indians were divided into two main groups—those of the western end of the island, supposed to have come from Martha's Vineyard, and those of the eastern part, who had made their way there from Cape Cod. They were further divided into several tribes, each with its own sachem and land. According to tradition, a savage war had taken place between two of the tribes some years before the coming of the whites, probably just about the time that John Winthrop's followers were setting up housekeeping in Shawmut. The warring sachems were Wauwinet and Autapscot.

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Peace was finally declared when the young chief, Autapscot, arranged to marry Wonoma, lovely daughter of Wauwinet. Autapscot was a great warrior and "got his land by the bow," but after his marriage to Wonoma, he established permanent peace throughout the island. When the English arrived, Wauwinet was old and feeble and his son Nickanoose acted for him. Nickanoose and Wannochemmack, or Wanamamack, were the principal sachems of the island at the time of the first white settlement. Wanamamack was a great chief, loved by his people and admired by the English, to whom he was a loyal friend. The aged Wauwinet and his bold son-in-law, Autapscot, were also much respected—but Nickanoose had a bad reputation.

There was no tendency on the part of the original purchasers of Nantucket to take advantage of the natives and deprive them of their rights. The Indians were given the prices they asked for their land, which were fair enough for those times. The old sachems, whose names appear on the original deeds, made no complaints. For many years the Indians greatly outnumbered the whites and could easily have destroyed them, had they so desired. But the little English community handled its affairs wisely and well, and for the first few decades of colonization, the two races lived side by side with remarkably little friction. Later there was considerable controversy and the Indians complained bitterly—with good reason perhaps—of injustice in the English courts. After the passing of the old sachems, the young chiefs, beginning to realize what the white occupation of their island would eventually mean to their people, tried to regain their lands. But it was too late.

Nantucket records are filled with accounts of land transactions and other matters concerning the Indians, which show clearly that the first white settlers tried to be fair in their dealings with the natives. The laws against trespassing, for example, protected the Indian quite as much as they restricted him. "John Swain, Nat Starbuck and Eleazer Folger was chosen by the Towne to go among the Indians and see what stroy there is don in their Corne by the English Cattle and to agree with them in point of Sattisfaction if they can." Another item stipulated that there should be sufficient fences built "to keep our greate Cattle from going over the pond to destroy the Indians Corne." The Indians sometimes worked with the whites

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on public projects, as when the inhabitants "agreed to dig a trench to drean the Long Pond forthwith with regard to a weare for taking Fish and Also for making of Meadow—The worke to be Carr'd on thus, the one halfe of the worke to be don by the Indians, the other halfe by the English Inhabitants or owners, the Indians to have halfe the Fish so long as they attend to the weare cearefully and honestly."

The settlers had a great deal of trouble with the savage half-starved Indian dogs, especially in the spring, when they killed many young lambs. A warning was issued, but the natives gave it scant attention. Several years later it became imperative that the dogs be destroyed or the owners fined for damages. Here, again, red men and white worked together, two Indians and two Englishmen being appointed to see that the order was carried out.

Whipping was a mode of punishment readily understood by the natives, but the English system of imposing fines was incomprehensible to them. According to their way of thinking, the seizure of a man's horse or other personal property as compensation for a crime committed, was a strange and unnatural procedure. That the same sort of sentence was meted out to the English made no difference to the Indians—they never ceased to complain of injustice along these lines.

In Nantucket, as elsewhere, rum was the cause of endless trouble. "The natives early acquired a propensity to strong drink," writes Obed Macy. "Some of the whites were wicked enough to furnish them with rum, so long as they could pay for it, although it was done in direct violation of the law and against the wishes and endeavors of the sober part of the inhabitants. Intemperance prevailed amongst them, and soon reduced them to a station far below what they would otherwise have held, if they had abstained from ardent spirits. Although this was the character of many, it was not of all. Some were sober, steady people, and endeavored to cultivate religious principles among their brethren; when this disposition was manifest, it was encouraged by the whites. Some of them patterned after the English in many respects; they built neat frame houses, kept cows, horses, and other domestic animals, and lived comfortably."

Oddly enough, it was not the white settlers who brought Christianity to the Nantucket Indians, but native teachers from the May-

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hew Mission in Martha's Vineyard. "One of the brethren of the Church at Martins Vineyard is called by the Nantucket Indians to teach them," writes the Apostle Eliot in 1664. The same year the Commissioners voted "ten pounds more to Mr. Mayhew to dispose to Samuel sent to Nantucket." At another time the Governor sent "four understanding Indians thither whose goeing was very useful." It was the Mayhew Mission that sent John Gibbs to Harvard and educated the three praying Indians who became his assistants in Nantucket. Long before an English church was gathered in Nantucket, or an English meetinghouse built, the Indians had three churches on the island, two Congregational and one Baptist. John Gibbs was pastor of the first Indian church for twenty-five years. The meeting place was at Oggawame, near the little lake now known as Gibbs Pond. As many as 300 savages at a time used to gather there for Christian worship.

Several of the native teachers sent over from the Vineyard were old acquaintances of Peter Folger, who was naturally very much interested in the conversion of the Nantucket Indians. He preached to them from time to time in their own language and helped them to found the Baptist Church. Some of the white Baptist settlers tried at one time to hinder the Indians of the Congregational faith from administering the rites of baptism to their papooses. But after receiving an earnest request from the Vineyard missionaries to "meddle not," they remained true to their belief in toleration and refrained from further interference.

Peter Folger preached not only to the Indians, but upon several occasions exhorted the English on Lord's Day. He is known to have baptized at least two persons in Waipitequage Pond, being at the time a member of the First Baptist Church of Newport, Rhode Island. One of his converts was Mary Coffin Starbuck.

In most, if not all, of the Nantucket homes, there was daily family worship, and often on the Sabbath the people gathered together to listen to the words of any one who felt called upon to preach. But it was nearly fifty years after the settlement of the island before the colonists organized a church and built a meetinghouse. The original purchasers were all men of deep religious convictions, and after their experiences in Massachusetts they resolved to preserve

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liberty of conscience in their new settlement, letting each man worship according to the light within. When at the close of the century the first vanguard of Quakers arrived on the scene, the people turned to them and to their belief in the inner light, as naturally as plants turn toward the sun.

There were approximately fifteen hundred Indians on Nantucket when the first English settlers arrived. Less than two centuries later, not one remained. Rum and disease had taken their toll.

It is strange to contemplate that wherever civilization has gone [writes Edward Godfrey], especially as regards the North American continent, no matter how amicable the relations between settlers and original owners of the soil may have been, the aborigines have slowly but surely disappeared before the encroachments of civilization, like dew under the rays of the morning sun. The relations that existed between the settlers of Nantucket and the Indians were unusually amicable; the land which the whites bought was honestly paid for; they entered into each other's councils; the Indians were educated and taught the ways of civilized life. So far as Christianizing them was concerned, probably greater success was attained here than in any other locality on the continent. But the race was doomed. One by one they departed to the Happy Hunting Grounds, until in 1822 the last Indian wrapped his blanket around him and slept with his fathers.

Evidently Mr. Godfrey was not interested in the squaws—the last full-blooded Nantucket Indian was Dorcas Honorable, who died in 1855 in her eightieth year.

III

The first of the junior Nantucketers to marry were Nathaniel Starbuck and Mary Coffin. They were married in 1662, when Mary was just seventeen. A year later, Baby Mary arrived, the first white child born on the island. Nathaniel and Mary were a famous couple, and are the ancestors of all the American Starbucks.

The first recorded death in Nantucket is that of Jane Godfrey Swain, wife of Richard Swain and widow of George Bunker. She died in the fall of 1662. Her grandson, born in September, 1664, was, according to popular belief, the first white boy born in Nantucket. According to the original Nantucket records, however, "John

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ye son of John Rolfe was born ye 5 March 1663/4—John ye son of John Swaine born ye 1 September 1664.” The first marriage to be filed in the Town Records took place in the spring of 1665, when William Worth, mariner, married Sarah Macy, daughter of the pioneering Thomas and Sarah. The following year, as nearly as can be ascertained, came the marriage of Joanna Folger, daughter of Peter and Mary, to John Coleman, son of Thomas.

The Colemans and the Folgers had been acquainted since the earliest days of the settlement. Thomas Coleman, of Newbury, was one of the original proprietors. His son John had visited the island in 1659, when he was fifteen years old, and had signed as a witness to one of the early Indian deeds. At the time of his marriage to Joanna Folger, John was twenty-two, and already had land of his own, given him by his father. Both Thomas and John were yeomen, and were skilled in the handling of sheep and cattle. Sheep raising was an important industry in Nantucket, and as time went on, the annual round-up, washing, and shearing became the great social event of the year. Young John Coleman “had a way with sheep” and was frequently directed by the town to attend to matters relating to the care and pasturage of the island flocks. His house lot of ten acres, near the head of Hummock Pond, was situated a little west of the present Elihu Coleman house, and extended southwest to the land of Robert Barnard. On this farm, not far from the Peter Folger homestead, John and Joanna lived for close to fifty years. John died in 1715, at the age of seventy-one, and Joanna in the summer of 1719. They had eight children, six sons and two daughters, and all of the Nantucket Colemans are descended from them. Elihu Coleman, Walter Folger, Junior, and Maria Mitchell belong to this line.

The first-born of John and Joanna was a son, John Coleman, Junior, born in August, 1667. Peter and Mary were overjoyed at the arrival of their first grandchild. Peter was then in his fiftieth year, and was looked up to as a man of importance. Mary did not have long to help with her new little grandson, for when he was just two weeks old, the last of her own children was born. On the fifteenth of August, 1667, the seventh Folger daughter arrived—the only one of the children to be born in Nantucket. This little girl, destined to become the mother of Benjamin Franklin, was christened Abiah.

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When Abiah was still an infant, her sister Bethiah married John Barnard, son of Robert and Joan. Not long afterwards, tragedy ended the hopes and the joys of the young couple, and brought sorrow to the families of Barnard, Folger, Coleman and an unnamed Indian. According to an unpublished manuscript of Nathaniel Barney:

On the sixth of June, 1669, John and Bethiah were returning from the Vineyard where they had been in pursuit of furniture, in company with Eleazer Folger, Isaac Coleman, son of Thomas, and an Indian, when the canoe upset and all perished except Eleazer. He clung to the boat till in crossing a shoal where he could touch bottom he succeeded in uprighting it. With a plowshare which was fastened to it, he managed to free it from water. His sufferings and fatigue had been such that sleep now overcame him, and on waking he found the canoe had drifted on to Norris Island. It was then that he realized how great had been his preservation, and that he alone was left to tell the story of the sufferings through which he and his unfortunate companions had passed.

Eleazer was then twenty-one years old.

The sorrow of Peter and Mary over the death of Bethiah was somewhat softened by thankfulness that Eleazer had been saved. But Robert and Joan Barnard had no such comfort—they had lost their only son.

Eleazer's family were not the only ones who rejoiced at his deliverance. Over on Sunset Hill, the young daughter of Richard Gardner breathed a prayer of thanks that he had been saved. The Gardner homestead was near Wesquo Pond, on an irregular parcel of land known as the Crooked Record. "It was not so far from the Folger home as to prevent Eleazer Folger from visiting at Richard's oftener than seemed necessary to the neighbors. But Eleazer kept his thoughts to himself, though no one was much surprised when the banns of matrimony were published between Sarah Gardner and Eleazer Folger."

Eleazer inherited much of his father's ability, and followed closely in his footsteps. He was well versed in the Indian tongue and was frequently appointed to treat with the natives on behalf of the town. There are preserved several documents written in his hand in the Indian language. He had a good practical education and made himself useful to the authorities in more ways than one,

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filling a number of important town offices. To his trade of shoemaker he added that of blacksmith. The year before his marriage he was accepted as a tradesman and given a half share of land:

On the 24th of the 6th mo. 1670, the grant made to Eleazer Folger of halfe a share of accommodation on condition that he learn the trade of a Smith and follow that occupation on the island, was confirmed to him, he having fulfilled the conditions. (Nantucket Records.)

The Gardners were from Salem. Richard and his brother John were fishermen, sons of Thomas Gardner, planter of Naumkeag. Richard went to Nantucket about 1666 and John a few years later. They were given grants of land and both became prominent in the political history of the island. They were honest rough men, with but little education. Richard's wife, Sarah Shattuck Gardner, was a woman of decided opinions and fearless disposition. Brought before the court in Salem for absenting herself from meeting on Lord's Day, she refused to reform and added to her misdeeds by openly sympathizing with the persecuted Quakers. For this she was excommunicated. Thereafter, Richard and Sarah moved to Nantucket, where they could think as they pleased and where the only meetinghouses were those of the savages. But even in Nantucket Sarah's love of fair play got her into trouble—she was called before the court and reproached for speaking her mind concerning what she considered an injustice done to Peter Folger. Both Richard and John had large families, and most of their sons and daughters married into the first families of Nantucket. There are very few Nantucketers who cannot claim descent from the hearty old planter of Salem, Thomas Gardner.

Eleazer Folger and Sarah Gardner were married in 1671. Their homestead was on Sunset Hill, not far from the Gardner home, and about a stone's throw from the present "Oldest House." There were seven children—five sons and two daughters, but two of the little boys died young. Kezia Coffin, Lucretia Mott, Captain Peleg Folger, Captain Mayhew Folger, Walter Folger, Junior, Benjamin Franklin Folger and Captain Timothy Folger are descendants of Eleazer and Sarah. Eleazer died at the age of sixty-eight, in 1716.

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Death came to him in Boston, where he had gone as a representative of Nantucket at the General Court. Sarah died in Nantucket in 1729.

The first child born to Eleazer and Sarah was Eleazer, Junior, who arrived in the summer of 1672. He was the first Folger grandson to bear the family name. While Baby Eleazer was still in his cradle, the Folger clan became embroiled in the bitter political controversy known as the Nantucket Insurrection—and Grandfather Peter Folger spent his sixtieth birthday in the town jail.

IV

Early in the reign of Charles II, England chose to press her claims to all the territory between Virginia and New England. This included the Province of New Netherlands, settled and occupied by the Dutch. King Charles granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, all that country extending from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay, including the whole of Long Island. He also confirmed his brother's title, purchased the previous year from the Fourth Lord Stirling, to the Province of Pemi-quid (Maine) and to "all those sevreall Islands called or known by the names Martins Vineyard and the Nantukes otherwise Nantucket." The fact that the islands belonged to another by royal patent, mattered not at all to Charles and James. Late in the summer of 1664, the Dutch city of New Amsterdam, yielding to the superior forces of the English, was handed over to the Duke's envoys without the firing of a single shot—and the Province of New Netherlands became the Province of New York. Richard Nicholls was appointed Governor.

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were now under the nominal control of New York, but it was several years before the people were much affected by the change. In the course of time, Governor Nicholls was replaced by Governor Lovelace. Colonel Francis Lovelace, says the Vineyard historian, "was a type of the cavalier to be seen about the festive court of the Merrie Monarch, the direct antithesis of the colonists whom he was sent over to govern, but as it turned out he administered the affairs of the province with moderation and to the satisfaction of all classes." He sent a cordial invita-

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tion to Governor Mayhew to meet him in New York at his convenience, requesting that he bring with him his patents and papers and Indian deeds, "so that by Consultations together, I may receive such Intelligence of the Affaires there as I may the better take order for the future good settlement of those islands." He also invited such persons as had an interest in the islands to appear to prove their claims.

The conference took place at Fort James in the summer of 1671. Martha's Vineyard was represented by Thomas Mayhew and his grandson Matthew, Nantucket by Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy. Lovelace proved to be a gracious host and an amiable ruler, and the island delegates spent a pleasant fortnight in New York Towne.

The results of the conference were very satisfactory to Governor Mayhew and his associates. He was granted a new charter for the islands and was made governor of the Vineyard for life. He was also appointed Chief Justice of the courts of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Lord of the Manor of Tisbury, and Governor over the Indians. The towns seated upon the Vineyard received official confirmation and new names. Great Harbour was named Edgartown, in honor of the infant son of the Duke of York, and Middletown was called Tisbury after the little Wiltshire hamlet where Thomas Mayhew was born. Many details of government were discussed and settled. A new patent was issued to Nantucket, the consideration being "four barrels of merchantable codfish to be delivered in New Yorke annually." Tristram Coffin was appointed Chief Magistrate for the ensuing year. The proposals submitted by Mr. Coffin and Mr. Macy on behalf of the inhabitants concerning the government of Nantucket and Tuckernuck, were accepted essentially as tendered. It was further agreed that a chief magistrate be appointed each year by the New York Governor, selected from two nominees chosen by the people of Nantucket. The people were empowered to elect their own assistant magistrates, constables, military and other town officials. The handling of Indian affairs was left largely to their own discretion. The town upon the island was incorporated, but not given a name until two years later. In 1673, it received the name of Sherborne—in honor, it would seem, of the ancestral home of the Gardner family in Dorset. It was known as Sherborne until 1795, when the name was changed to Nantucket.

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The first election of Magistrates was held in April, 1673. Edward Starbuck and Richard Gardner were nominated and their names submitted to Governor Lovelace. The Governor "having conceived a good Opinion of the Fitness and Capacity of Mr. Richard Gardner to Manage Affayres," selected him as chief magistrate. At the same time his brother John was appointed chief military officer, and the people of Nantucket chose Peter Folger as town clerk and court recorder.

Captain John Gardner had been invited to settle in Nantucket "to set up the trade of fishing with sufficient vessel fit for the taking of codfish." He had been granted half a share of land and given leave "to set a house upon the highway to be laid out so much the broder by Thomas Macy and Peter Folger." Before Captain Gardner's arrival, Tristram Coffin had been the leading spirit of Nantucket, and little had been undertaken by the settlers without his sanction. But with the rise of the Gardner brothers into prominence, there was launched the long political struggle known as the Nantucket Insurrection or the Revolt of the Half-share Men. To quote from Henry Worth:

Tristram Coffin exhibited great enterprise in gathering together the company of settlers, and his family of five sons and two daughters, with their husbands and wives, formed a considerable part of the first twenty purchasers. He was naturally a leader, and during the first ten years of the island's history was prominent in affairs. It cannot be said that he was popular. He governed by force rather than by persuasion. About the year 1672 he showed irritability of temper by objecting to the voice of the majority and dissenting therefrom, and not satisfied with this dissent, he required that it be entered on the record, "Mr. Coffin enters his decent." He preferred to rule rather than serve, and when Captain John Gardner was gaining in popularity it was a source of consternation to the old Puritan, and in his efforts to regain control of the government he resorted to extreme and revengeful measures. . . . Captain John had evidently not received much school education, but he seems to have been a man of physical courage and rugged honesty that gained for him public confidence.

Shoulder to shoulder with John and Richard Gardner, throughout all the years of political struggle, stood Peter Folger.

The natural abilities of the Gardner brothers and of Peter Folger [continues Worth] and their acquirements enabled them to become

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persons of great importance. It was true they were tradesmen and possessed only one half as great a share of land as the first twenty purchasers, yet there was great demand for the service which they could render. In managing the Indians Peter Folger seems to have been without an equal. John Gardner also was held in high esteem among them, and as long as he and Folger were able to advise the Englishmen there was no conflict. Richard Gardner, though his signature was that of an unskilled person, was many times Chief Magistrate and Assistant. The Gardner brothers and Folger had qualities that made them popular, and seemed to affiliate naturally, being of democratic views, while Tristram Coffin was inclined to be despotic. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that men of strong personality like Tristram Coffin and John Gardner should ultimately come in conflict.

John Gardner and his supporters asserted that all the land-owners of Nantucket should be considered politically equal—that the vote of the so-called half-share man should be equal to that of the whole-share man. This was in direct opposition to the view held by the Coffin party. Tristram and his adherents claimed that the vote depended upon the amount of ownership—that the owner of a whole share should have two votes and the owner of a half share but one. The wealth and tone of the island were with the Coffin faction. The Gardner party represented the poorer working classes, composed mainly of craftsmen and mechanics. It was the age-old conflict of the landed gentry against the workers. Thomas Mayhew, who was having similar troubles on the Vineyard, and who still retained large interests in Nantucket, supported Mr. Coffin and the land-owning aristocracy. Some few of the whole-share men sided with the Gardner party, among them Edward Starbuck, Thomas Coleman and, for a time, Thomas Macy.

It is a mistake to say that the half-share men were simply demanding their rights and their just dues. They had been pleased enough to accept from the original proprietors their half shares of land and accommodations, and were content with the plan to occupy secondary positions in the government of the island. There was at that time no thought of questioning the authority of the first purchasers. It is interesting to note that when the attempt was made to overthrow this authority, it was led by the youngest of the half-share men in

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point of residence. John Gardner was a born leader, a bold agitator and an opportunist. Scarcely was he settled on the land freely granted him by the town, than he began demanding political equality for the half-share men. The fact that Governor Lovelace had issued a new patent for Nantucket, declaring all the old patents null and void, was all the leverage Gardner needed as a starter for stirring up the island tradesmen.

In July, 1676, New York was retaken by the Dutch and once more became New Amsterdam. The Duke of York's Islands were thrown into a state of political indecision and watchful waiting, and the Nantucket "rebels" took advantage of the confusion to strengthen their claims. In the fall of the following year, the Dutch flag was finally lowered in Manhattan, and the English marched into the city and changed it back to New York. Sir Edmund Andros was made Governor.

A discussion of all the intricate details of the Nantucket Insurrection would fill several volumes. It is amazing that so small a community could stir up such a hornet's nest of conflicting ideas. The little handful of Nantucket landowners, divided almost evenly into two camps, opposed each other with all the venom of deadly enemies. The island savages looked on in astonishment. First one side and then the other had the upper hand, and the New York Governor was fairly bombarded with complaints, appeals, charges and counter-charges. By 1675, the political war was in full swing.

In March of that year, "the Towne did vote that Peter ffoulger should go to new-Yorke with Captain Gardner to assist him in any business that he is sent about by the Towne to the Governor." To this and to all similar votes, Tristram Coffin and most of his colleagues entered their dissent. Gardner and Folger arrived in New York the end of April and found Tristram Coffin and Matthew Mayhew there before them. Thereupon a four-day conference with Governor Andros was held, in which each of the "silvery-tongued" island orators had his say.

New York—At a Councill Apr. 28, 1675.

The matter under consideration was the Business of Nantucket, about which Mr. Tristram Coffin and Mr. Matthew Mayhew on ye one Part and Cap. Jno Gardner and Mr. Peter Ffoulger on the other, were here (New York Colonial Papers.)

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On the last day of the parley, a "draught of what was graunted, allowed of, and consented unto by all Partyes" was drawn up. A number of changes in government were made, but the conference did little to settle the basic differences between the Coffin and the Gardner parties. The delegates returned home and resumed their quarrel.

In June, 1675, King Philip's War broke out. There were anxious days in Nantucket, but the island Indians made no attempt to rise against the settlers. On Martha's Vineyard, the natives sided with the whites, and an Indian militia, organized by Governor Mayhew, patrolled the coast, guarding against a possible surprise attack by their countrymen from the mainland. The people of Nantucket disapproved of Mayhew's arming of the savages, but they were careful to exhibit no signs of distrust toward their own natives. There were at the time only about thirty white men on the island capable of bearing arms, as against five or six hundred Indian braves. Thomas Macy, who was chief magistrate that year, wrote to Governor Andros regarding Indian affairs:

I doubt not we may enjoy Peace (if our sins hinder not) so long as we can keep strong Liquor from them . . . 'tis that hath kept them from Civility, they have been by the drunken Trade kept all the while like wild Beares and Wolves in the Wildernesse.

Macy suggested to Governor Andros that he prohibit the sale of liquor by masters of visiting vessels, and that the island justices be given authority to regulate the sale of strong drink "for the moderate use of the English here or for Indians in case of distresse." At one time, Magistrate Macy ordered the confiscation of all the liquor on the island. It is said that John Gardner was among those who actively resented the carrying out of this precaution. In spite of laws and regulations, certain of the inhabitants of Nantucket persisted in buying rum from traders and selling it to the Indians, who were willing to pay almost any price in their power for it. Stephen Hussey was found guilty of smuggling it, and Nathaniel Barnard and Stephen Pease of selling it.

The Indian War ended officially in August, 1676, with the death of King Philip at Mount Hope. The famous son of Massasoit was shot by a resentful Indian while attempting to escape from the victorious soldiers of Benjamin Church.

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V

For several years the control of affairs in Nantucket was in the hands of the radical Gardner party. But in February, 1676, a curious change took place. Thomas Macy and his son-in-law, William Worth, suddenly abandoned the cause of the half-share men which they had hitherto championed, and went over to the Coffin side. This gave the Conservatives a working majority, and they proceeded to remove their enemies from office as rapidly as possible. Political victory, however, failed to satisfy Tristram Coffin—he thirsted for personal revenge—and very soon Peter Folger felt the keen knife of his displeasure.

After the “facing about” of Mr. Macy, the Gardner party refused to recognize him as chief magistrate, claiming that his term of office had expired. A study of the instructions of former Governor Lovelace on this point shows the weakness of their argument. However, it served the half-share men as a reason for resisting the authority of the party in power. Peter Folger became so angered at what he considered the high-handed way his political enemies took over the government, that he retired into one of his famous stubborn streaks—refusing to record court proceedings, refusing to yield the court books, refusing to appear when summoned, and when finally removed forcibly from John Gardner's house and arrested, refusing to furnish bail, which he undoubtedly could have managed had he so desired. Altogether he annoyed the opposition in every possible way. The local court demanded that he be held for trial at the next Court of Assize, and since he refused to allow his friends to cover his bond, there seemed no choice but to keep him a prisoner.

The town jail was but little used in those days. It was occasionally resorted to for the safe-keeping of a drunken Indian on the rampage, but according to Peter, he was the first Englishman to be confined there. It had lately sheltered the neighbors' hogs. Unclean, unheated, and wholly lacking in the most elementary conveniences, it was a dismal place to tarry. That a man like Peter Folger, already in his sixtieth year, should have, for political reasons, actually been locked in the jail in the middle of winter, and treated as a common criminal, shows how high feeling was running in Nantucket, and how

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low Tristram Coffin was willing to stoop to satisfy his desire for revenge.

Peter was first arrested in February, 1676. The indictment was as follows:

Peter Ffoulger Inditted for Contempt of his Majis Athority, in not appearing before the Court according to sumons served on him and being aprehended by Specall Warrant being braeft to the Court to Answer for his Contemtious Charge, And being demanded why he did so act gave no Answer; Tho the Court waited on hem a While and urged him to speak.

Because of his continued silence and his steady refusal to produce the court books, Peter remained a prisoner for the better part of a year and a half. Fortunately for him, the keeper allowed him to spend part of that time at home. His family and friends were angry and indignant at his imprisonment—and out of patience with him for not allowing them to pay his fine. Eleazer Folger, Sarah his wife, her mother and father, and Tobias Coleman, Joanna's young brother-in-law, were all arrested for taking his part and for speaking "in derogation of the sentence of the Court." Sarah Gardner, wife of Richard, was convicted of "speaking very opprobiously and uttering many slanderous words concerning the imprisonment of Peter Folger, who was imprisoned by order of the Court." She was admonished to "have a care for the future of evil words tending to defaming His Majestys Court." Eleazer Folger, being convicted of speaking to the defamation of the court, acknowledged that he said "it was his judgement it was cruelty to put his father in prison." He was adjudged "to pay fine of five pounds, or twenty shillings and a public acknowledgement to the satisfaction of this Court, the fine to be paid in money or equivalent."

In March, 1677, Peter Folger wrote his famous letter to Governor Andros, telling the whole story from his point of view. This letter has been preserved among the Colonial Documents of New York. The following copy is taken from Hough's Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket:

TO THE RIGH HON: MAJOR ANDROS, GOVERNOUR AT NEW YORK

The humble Petition of Peter ffoulger now Prisoner at Shearburn upon the Island of Nantuckett, upon the real Account of his Royal Highness Interest, (at least in his Judgement) is as followeth:

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May it please your Honor to understand, that the Occasion of this my Petition is to acquaint your Honor with that new Trouble that my selfe and others meete now withall in this Place, for indeed I cannot well informe your Hon'r how it is in my own Case, unles I speake something of the generall Case. So it was that when the Date of Mr. Tho. Macys Commission was out, he called the Town together, and being met he told them that his Commission was out, yet he did assert it, and desired to know of the Town who would stand by him in it. Som of us said it was not the Towns Busines to speake of his Commission, but we did conceive that your Hon. had left a safe and plain Way for the carying on of Government til further Order. Others sayd that his Commission was in Force til further Order, though not exprest and argued it out from former Instructions, and began to be very fierce. We thought their End to be bad and therefore sayd littel or nothing more, (they being the greater Part) but were resoulved to be quiet, looking upon it as an Evil Time. After this there came hither from Puscattaway Mr. Peter Coffin and some others, to stay here this Winter for fear of the Indians. Then another Meeting was called to chuse new Assistants to Mr. Macy. We knowing that we should be out voted, sat still and voted not. The first Man that was chosen was Peter Coffin; Stephen Hussey was the Man that Carried on the Designe in such a rude Manner as this:—Com Sirs, lets chuse Peter Coffin, he will be here but a Month or two, and then we shall have tenn Pound Fine of him. A Man that is in Commission in Bay and is gone thither agayn. A Man that brought hither an evil Report of your Hon. from the Bay, which som of us did publicquely protest against, and how he hath carried it since chosen I shall leave at present. But if your Hon. did know the Man as well as God know him, or but halfe so well as some of us know him, I do verily believe that your Hon. would dislike his Ruling here as much as any of us. In the like uncivil Manner, they chose two young Men more, Stephen Hussey calling upon them to corne such a Man, because he had Cattle at theire Houses to Winter, and if they did not chuse them he was afraid they would not winter them wel. The sayd Stephen bringing his Corn which betoken choice open in his Hand, and called upon others to Corn this Man and that Man: Such a Meeting as I never was at for such a Work. And being Clarke and thereby to se to the Votes, I cald upon them to be Civil and not to make a Maygame of chusing Men for such Employment, and som other spoke after the same Maner, but as they began so they ended.

Now that you'r Hon. may understand how they cam to be the greater p't it was by Mr. Macy his facing about and his Family, a

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Man who was as much for the Duke's Interest when we were with yo'r Hon. at New York as any of us, But now for divers Ends it is otherwise. I am sorry to trouble yo'r Hon'r to Read so much of this durty Stuff, but that my own Busines depends so much upon it as that you'r Hon. wil not understand it, without som Intimation of it. December 26 was our Quarter Court, and I being Clarke was at a Strait what to do, because I did question as Things were, whether they would keepe a Legal Court or no, though I sayd nothing but was Resolved to be quiet, and to that End, went to the Court, and carried the Court Booke with me, thinking thereby to while away Time with as much Peace as could be til either you'r Hon. came to us or som further order; but being there presently saw that I was in for it if I did not Write what they would, Peter Coffin told me they would presently chuse a new Clarke. I saw that the Booke was that which they aymed at, I did as wel as I could at that Time, and did think that I would consider better of my next . . . since that they have kept many private Courts that they gave me no Notice of: feeb. 10 cam the Constable to demand the Booke and al other Records of that Nature as you'r Hon'r may see by this inclosed Paper which is Mr. Macy's own Hand, Reading the Paper and considering that they did not want me but the Booke, I returned them this Answer in Writing. that the Booke was put into my Hands by the Generall Court, and til the same Power, or a higher, did cal for it from me I should Indeavour to keepe it, but if they would have any Coppys out of it they might at any Time have them. Immediately the Constable cam with a Summons, and having no Time to consider futher of it I gave him no Answer, but went to Capt. Gardner's House where presently he cam with a Speciall Warrant. The Sayd Constable by the Help of other Men, haled and draged me out of the Cap't House and caried me to the Place where they were met. I spake not a Word to the Constable, nor resisted him in the least. When I cam at the House I saw none of the Court, but the Constable told me that the Court was adjourbed til Wednesday next and that I was committed into his Hands and must give Bond to appeare then.

Feb. 19 I cam before them and carried myselfe every way as civilly as I could, only I spake never a Word, for I was fully persuaded that if I spake anything at al, they would turn it against me. I remembered also the old Saying that of nothing comes nothing.

But it seems my Silence did helpe bring forth this Sentence, of which your Hon. hath here a Coppy.

After my Sentence, the Constable called for twenty Pound Bond, or to Prison I must go presently, when they al know that I am a poore old Man, and not able to maintayne my Family. All my Estate, if

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my Debts were payd, will not amount to halfe so much, and as for making use of Friends, they al know that I have more need of any Helpe that way for the Supply of my Family. For want of a Bond away the Constable carried me to Prison, a Place where never any English-man was put, and where the Neighbors Hogs had layd but the Night before, and in a bitter cold Frost and deepe Snow. They had onely thrown out most of the Durt, Hogs Dung and Snow. The Rest the Constable told me I might ly upon if I would, that is upon the Boards in that Case, and without Victuals or Fire. Indeed I perswaded him to fetch a little Hay, and he did so, and some Friend did presently bring Beding and Victuals.

But as for Mr. Macy and the Rest of our new young Magistrates, you'r Hon. may see how far theire Pitty did extend to a poore old Man, aged 60 Yeares. At the Present I have some Leave from my Keeper to be sometimes at my own House, but how long that will hold, I know not. I have informed your Hon. truely what my Condition is, and my humble Petition is, that your Hon. would be pleased so to consider of it, as to shew some Favour toward your unworthy Petitioner, and in your Wisdom to finde out some Way for my Freedom, as also to stop the Rage and Fury of these Men, Least others better than myself be brought suddenly to the same Condition. . . . And in Truth I was not the Man that they most aymed at. Others should have bin in Prison at the same Time, but that they found more hevier Work of it then they thought of, for it began presently to set a fire to the whole island, for I having lived 30 Yeares upon this Island and the Vineyard, was so wel known and so wel Beloved of English and Indians, (whether deserved or not) that the Indians inquired what the Cause was of my Imprisonment. . . . I have bin Interpreter here from the Beginning of the Plantation, when no Englishman but myselfe could speake scarce a Word of Indian, at which Time I am sure some of these Men that deal thus with me now, had felt Arrows in their Sides for reall Wrong that they did them, had I not stept in between them and made Peace. And I have ever bin able by the Helpe of some antient Men, to keep Peace upon the Island, but now I am not able to answer them . . . and they are always in doubt whether they have Justice or no.

We have had Peace hitherto when our Neighbors but Just over the Water have lost so many of ther dear Relations in bloody Wars, I hope your Hon. wil in your Wisdome finde out som Way for us that we may be able to Answer these Queris of the Indians, that Peace may continue stil between us as heretofore. I most humbly intreat your Hon. to pardon my Bouldness in Writing so much upon this Subject, for I have so much to doe with the Indians for so many

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Yeares that I cannot forbear Writing. Though I cannot Write but with Tears, considering the Misery that they and we are like to come to. If your Hon. put not a Stop to these violent Motions, I verily believe it were better for us and the Indians also, that we had no Liberty at al (at least til we could use it better) then thus to abuse it.

I hear now that our new Court intend to desyer leave of you'r Hon. that my Cause may be tried at the General Court. But I humbly intreat you'r Hon. to prevent it. I shall sit down fully satisfied by your Honours Sentence, or by the Sentence of the Dukes reall Friend whom your Hon. shall appoint. . . . What kind of a Court they are like to keepe, and what Justice I am like to have from them (as Things go now) your Hon. I doubt not wil easily conceive: and now Right Honorable, if I and my Friends might injoy so much Happiness as to se but a Line or two of your Honour's Pleasure, it would assuredly bring much Joy to your unworthy Petitioners; Yea, it would certainly revive our Spirits in this Time of Trouble, til som of us might have that happy Opertunity to appear before your Hon. againe. And thus humbly beseeching your Hon. that in your Wisdom you would be pleased so to consider of my Age and Inability, as to pass by my rude Manner of Writing, I humbly leave this my Petition with your Hon. and rest.

You'r humble Petitioner, and unworthy Servant, who always account it his Duty to pray for your Honour's Welfare here, and eternal Happiness hereafter.

Dated March 27th, 1676/7.

PETER FFOULGER.

The petition bears the endorsement of Richard Gardner, Edward Starbuck and Thomas Coleman.

VI

The unrest among the Indians threatened for a time to become really serious. The landowners of Nantucket, having safely weathered the dangers of King Philip's War, came close to causing a native uprising by their own quarrels. To the savages, the "Insurrection" was a bewildering affair, and tended to destroy much of their confidence in, and respect for, their English protectors. They could in no wise understand why Peter Folger, their friend, interpreter and teacher, whom they had trusted and whose advice they had followed ever since the English first landed on their island, should be cast into prison by his own countrymen. Nor why the brave and dashing Cap-

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tain Gardner, whom they greatly admired and who was not averse to letting them have their share of rum, should have all authority taken from him. As Gardner wrote to Governor Andros:

Amongst the Indians, there had been Great Disturbance of late, by Reson of several Lawes, mad and Published amongst them by our new Magistrates, and it rose so highe that one of the Indian Sachems tould me they could not forbear but must fight if these Lawes wear prosicuted on them.

The natives never actually came to blows with the whites, but from this time on, there were constant quarrels and complaints. John Gardner wrote several times to Governor Andros, informing him of the state of affairs on the island. His letters, with their fantastic spelling and jumbled expressions, indicate his very limited education. Concerning the Indians, the Coffin party also wrote to the New York Governor, claiming that because of Peter Folger's refusal to produce the Court Book of Records they were greatly handicapped in their efforts to settle native complaints.

Meanwhile, Peter Folger remained in jail. The following extracts are from Worth's copy of the court records of June, 1677:

Peter Folger being brought before the Court, refusing absolutely to bring the small book of records and writings relating to the Court, as appeared by his refusing to speak, by the Court instructed and urged thereto with telling him the great danger might insue for want of said records, it being the Court's present concern to settle the spirits of the enraged heathen. Said Peter persisting in his stubbornness, the Court adjudged him to be committed close prisoner until further order.

The Court having used all means for procuring of the book in the hands of Peter Folger the said Peter remained obstinate. The Court have resolved and do order that a fine of five pounds be levied on the estate of Peter Folger, and that he remain close prisoner without bail, until he deliver the said book with writings relating to the Court officers, or cause the delivery thereof unto this Court or the authority of Nantucket, and do likewise disfranchise the said Peter Folger.

The Book of Records was not produced. Indeed, so thoroughly did Peter Folger hide it away, that it has never come to light from that day to this.

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Finding it impossible to force Peter Folger to yield, Tristram Coffin turned and vented his wrath upon the head of Captain Gardner. He ordered his arrest for a more or less perfunctory charge of burning a deed of sale. Gardner refused to appear when summoned to court. "The Marshall afterwards fetching him by force, when he came to Court demeaned himself most irreverently, sitting down with his hat on, taking no notice of the Court; behaving himself so both in words and gesture as declared his great contempt of authority of this Court." He was fined ten pounds and disfranchised. A few days later another warrant was issued for his arrest. This time the charge was "obstructing the proceedings of this Court by joining himself to Peter Folger in keeping back withholding and concealing the public records and writings relating to this Court." The marshal was ordered to appear with him at court, taking "sufficient assistance, and if need require you may draw latch, break open doors, and all things else remove that may obstruct your lawful proceedings herein."

John Gardner refused to pay his fine, and the constable took from his premises "haluef a Barrell of Rom." "For what Reson," writes the captain, "I profes I know not, but because it was myne . . . and disposed of after ther Plesuer." At another time, "eight cattle and a fat sheep" were forfeited.

The sentence of disfranchisement meted out to John Gardner proved to be a boomerang to Mr. Coffin. Gardner appealed the case directly to Governor Andros, alleging that the court that tried him was not a legal tribunal. In September came the anxiously awaited decision of the New York Governor—to the effect that the local court had exceeded its powers and that "Capt. Gardner's fine and disfranchisement is void and null according to the Governor's orders and Peter foulger's also."

Thomas Mayhew and Tristram Coffin were furious and resolved to fight the decision. But in the eyes and the minds of the people of Nantucket, John Gardner and Peter Folger were victorious. They were at once restored to favor. Peter emerged triumphantly from jail, somewhat the worse for wear physically, but strengthened and sustained in mind and in spirit. The following January the town made formal apology for its actions by voting that all former orders prohibiting John Gardner and Peter Folger from attending town

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meetings and acting therein as townsmen, were utterly null and void, and by ordering restored to the two citizens all the property that had been seized as fines. Tristram Coffin continued vigorously to dissent, but his day was fast waning, and he presently found himself involved in difficulties with the authorities in New York. Captain Gardner, content with the victory of his party, felt no personal animosity toward Mr. Coffin, and proceeded to return good for evil—thus earning the reluctant gratitude of the disgruntled old Puritan aristocrat.

It was in June, 1680 [says Henry Worth], that Tristram Coffin dissented for the last time. The reason is as follows:

The wreck of a French ship loaded with hides took place at the east end of Nantucket in September, 1678; Tristram Coffin, who was then Chief Magistrate, took charge of the wreck and his agent sold the property. The proceeds amounted to 477 pounds. Coffin made no report of the case, and Governor Andros sent Commissioners to Nantucket to investigate. After allowing Coffin for charges they ordered that he should pay the Governor 343 pounds and they decided that he had acted contrary to law. Coffin applied to the Governor for an abatement on the ground that he had not gained anything from the proceeds, but had paid out most in expenses. The Governor finally reduced the claim to 150 pounds. In this affair John Gardner, who was agent of the Governor, greatly befriended Coffin, and it was through his influence that the abatement was allowed.

Mr. Coffin, it seems, had been directed by Governor Andros to go to New York and give an account of the affair. When he did not appear, the commissioners were sent to Nantucket to look into the matter. Tristram wrote to the Governor as follows:

Your honers humbell servant am Willing to give a Trew Account of my not cominge to Appeare Before your hon'r in fort James in March or April last past, in verite the month of March with us was very windye & cold Raw wether and I was more weacker than formerly; But in April I went to the Vineyard in a cannoe for to hire Mr. Dagget & his sloop to goe to Yorke cittie. But when I came there I mett with a letter y't was sent to the Worshipful Tho. Mayhew Esquire which his son in law sent him in which he wrote y't the Deppetie Governor of the Mathathusets tould him y't Marthas Vineyard and Nantucket weare boath under or should shortly be ynder the Mathathusets government: So upon consideration of it Mr. May-

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hew and myselfe thought it most nessesarye not to goe Abroad from home but forbare a few months and if they did not send to us wee would forthwith call a general court, and then to signify to them y't wee would not doe any Things of Yt kind without order from your hon'r and hon'rabell Counsell.

The malcontents of Martha's Vineyard had sought annexation with Massachusetts as early as 1673. It was not, however, until 1690, that the plan was carried out, and Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket became part of the Bay Colony.

Tristram Coffin's letter to Governor Andros contains an interesting account of the salvaging of the French vessel. Among the men who worked on the wreck was young John Folger, son of Peter and Mary. He was nineteen years old. Interested chiefly in farming, it was he who kept the home fires burning and the home furrows plowed during the long months that his father spent in prison. He was capable of taking his turn as miller, too, having often helped his father, as a boy, in the old gristmill at Wesquo. Later on, John Folger ran a mill of his own.

In November, 1680, Captain John Gardner was appointed chief magistrate of Nantucket, and the "Insurrection" came to an official close. Six years later, the houses of Coffin and Gardner were united in marriage. In 1686, Jethro Coffin, son of Peter Coffin and grandson of Tristram, married Mary Gardner, daughter of Captain John Gardner. A grand house was built for the young couple on Sunset Hill, between the homesteads of Richard Gardner and Eleazer Folger. The land was given as a wedding gift by Captain John, and the lumber for the house came from the New Hampshire sawmills of Peter Coffin. This old home is still standing and proudly bears the name of Nantucket's "Oldest House." There is a story that goes with it—the oft-told tale (with variations) of Mary and the Indian. It happened one morning before dawn, when Jethro had gone whale-catching, leaving his wife and two small children asleep in the house. According to the account of Catherine Folger, a granddaughter of Mary Coffin, a marauding Indian broke into the house and Mary awakened to see him standing by her bed whetting his knife.

She was so terrified that, but for her children she would have yielded herself in despair, but when he pronounced that the edge

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would do, she sprang from her bed and ran to the door, out of which she flew, but not without feeling the attempted grasp of the Indian upon her arm, and in a moment she presented herself at Eleazer Folger's door for admittance, and calling for "Help, help! Indian, Indian!" she fell insensible on the floor. The family caught enough, instantly, to repair to the house, where the Indian was caught, whose basket was beside the outer door, containing among other matters, a bottle of rum. He was put in prison from which he afterwards escaped.

Tristram Coffin did not live to see the alliance between the Coffin and the Gardner families. He died in November, 1681, at the age of seventy-seven. A stone monument marks the place where his house stood at "Northam," south of Cappaum Harbor. Five months after his death, Thomas Mayhew died in Edgartown. With the passing of these two island patriarchs, the history of the settlement of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket came to the close of a chapter.

VII

During Peter Folger's long months of imprisonment, his active mind craved employment—and found it in a task that he might never have undertaken, had he not had idle hours forced upon him. He turned poet, setting down in very bad verse his interpretation of the times and his plea for religious tolerance.

The builders of New England, living in a great wilderness, their hours filled with physical labor and organization, with actions and aspirations stranger than fiction, had neither the time nor the urge for creative writing. Such scanty literature as we have from the early Colonial days consists chiefly of historical records, religious tracts, personal diaries, logs and letters, and Indian translations. Such poetry as appeared "was as utilitarian and matter-of-fact as any prose, and was versified merely for the sake of the jingle." Much of it was reflections on the times and on religious subjects, and was patterned after the prevailing style of verse in Old England.

The first book issued in the American Colonies was the Bay Psalm Book, printed in Cambridge in 1640. The first American poet was Anne Bradstreet, daughter of Thomas Dudley, whose book of poems was printed in London in 1650. She is perhaps the only one of the

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period whose work may be classed as poetry. She was followed a century later by Ben Franklin's talented young friend, Thomas Godfrey, who unfortunately died before he was thirty. Between these two early American poets there lived and wrote such outstanding rhymesters as Michael Wigglesworth, Daniel Russell, Benjamin Tompson, Urian Oakes, Edward Taylor, Roger Wolcott and Mather Byles.

In the spring of 1676 [writes Moses Tyler], while New England was absorbed in the fright and wrath of its great conflict with the Indians, there came out from the sea-mists hanging over the island of Nantucket, a clear strong voice. Peter Folger, an able and godly man, felt it in him, in that hour of stress, to bear some rhymed testimony to a great principle, which then had much need of being uttered both in prose and rhyme—the principle of religious toleration.

Benjamin Franklin, in his "Autobiography," speaks of the verses of his maternal grandfather:

I have heard that he wrote sundry small occasional pieces, but only one of them was printed, which I saw now many years since. It was written in 1675, in the home-spun verse of that time and people, and addressed to those then concerned in the government there. It was in favor of liberty of conscience, and in behalf of the Baptists, Quakers, and other sectaries that had been under persecution, ascribing the Indian wars, and other distresses that had befallen the country, to that persecution, as so many judgments of God to punish so heinous an offence, and exhorting a repeal of those uncharitable laws. The whole appeared to me as written with a good deal of decent plainness and manly freedom.

The "valiant doggerel" of Peter Folger, although totally lacking in charm and poetic inspiration, is not without a gleam of humor, and is a good example of the versifying of his day. Thoroughly sincere, it gives us an insight into his character, and into the thought of the times, for, as he says, he "is not alone herein, there's many hundreds more." He was happy in the making of it, but speaks modestly enough of its "uncomely dress," and asks that we read with forbearance. "I tell thee true, I never thought, that it would pass the press." It was published in Cambridge. There are altogether a hundred and sixteen verses, of which the following will serve as a generous sample (revised spelling):

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A LOOKING GLASS FOR THE TIMES

OR THE FORMER SPIRIT OF NEW ENGLAND
REVIVED IN THIS GENERATION

Let all that read these verses know,
That I intend something to show
About our war, how it hath been
And also what is the chief sin,
That God doth so with us contend
And when these wars are like to end.
Read then in love, do not despise
What here is set before thine eyes.

New England for these many years
hath had both rest and peace,
But now the case is otherwise;
our troubles doth increase.

The plague of war is now begun
in some great colonies,
And many towns are desolate
we may see with our eyes.

The loss of many goodly men
we may lament also,
Who in the war hath lost their lives,
and fallen by our foe.

Our women also they have took
and children very small,
Great cruelty they have used
to some, though not to all.

The enemy that hath done this,
are very foolish men,
Yet God doth make of them a rod
to punish us for sin.

Let us them search, what is the sin
that God doth punish for;
And when found out, cast it away
and ever it abhor.

Sure 'tis not chiefly for those sins,
that magistrates do name,
And make good laws for to suppress,
and execute the same.

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But 'tis for that same crying sin,
that rulers will not own,
And that whereby much cruelty
to brethren hath been shown.

The sin of persecution
such laws established,
By which laws they have gone so far
as blood hath touched blood.

It is now forty years ago,
since some of them were made,
Which was the ground and rise of all
the persecuting trade.

And since then, many goodly men
have been to prison sent,
They have been fined, and whipped also,
and suffered banishment.

The cause of this their suffering
was not for any sin,
But for the witness that they bare
against babe sprinkling.

Now to the sufferings of these men
I have but gave a hint;
Because that in George Bishop's book
you may see all in print.

Let Magistrates and ministers
consider what they do:
Let them repeal those evil laws
and break those bands in two,

Which hath been made as traps and snares
to catch the innocents,
And whereby it has gone so far
to acts of violence.

I see you write yourselves in print,
the Psalm of Gilead;
Then do not act as if you were
like men that are half mad.

If you can heal the land, what is,
the cause things are so sad?
I think instead of that, you make
the hearts of people sad.

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

Now, loving friends and countrymen,
I wish we may be wise,
'Tis now a time for every man
to see with his own eyes.

'Tis easy to provoke the Lord
to send among us war,
'Tis easy to do violence,
to envy, and to jar.

To show a spirit that is high,
to scorn and domineer;
To pride it out, as if there were
no God to make us fear.

To covet what is not our own,
to cheat and to oppress,
To live a life that might free us
from acts of Righteousness;

To swear and lie, and to be drunk,
to backbite one another;
To carry tales that may do hurt
and mischief to our brother.

To live in such hypocrisy,
as men may think us good,
Although our hearts within are full
of evil and of blood.

All these and many evils more
are easy for to do:

But to repent, and to reform,
we have no strength unto.

Let us then seek for help from God,
and turn to him that smite:

Let us take heed that at no time
we sin against our light.

Let's bear our testimony plain
against sin in high and low;
And see that we no cowards be,
to hide the light we know.

When Jonathan is called to court,
shall we as standers by,
Be still and have no word to speak
but suffer him to die?

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

Be vigilant then for to see
the movings of your heart,
And you will know right well the time
when you shall act your part.

I would not have you for to think,
tho' I have wrote so much,
That I hereby do throw a stone
at magistrates, as such.

The rulers in the country, I
do own them in the Lord;
And such as are for government,
with them I do accord.

But that which I intend hereby,
is, that they would keep bounds,
And meddle not with God's worship,
for which they have no grounds.

Indeed I count it very low,
for people in these days,
To ask the rules for their leave
to serve God in his ways.

I count it worse in magistrates
to use the iron sword,
To do that work which Christ alone
will do by his own word.

Though you do many prayers make,
and add fasting thereto,
Yet if your hands be full of blood,
all this will never do.

If that the peace of God did rule,
with power in our heart,
Then outward war would flee away,
and rest would be our part.

If we do love our brethren,
and do to them, I say,
As we would they should do to us,
we should be quiet straightway.

Let's have our faith and hope in God,
and trust in him alone,
And then no doubt this storm of war
it quickly will be gone.

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

Thus, reader, I, in love to all,
leave these few lines with thee,
Hoping that in the substance we
shall very well agree.

If that you do mistake the verse
for its uncomely dress,
I tell thee true, I never thought
that it would pass the press.

I am for peace, and not for war,
and that's the reason why
I write more plain than some men do,
that use to daub and lie.

From Sherborn town, where now I dwell,
my name I do put here,
Without offence your real friend,
it is Peter Folger.

April 23, 1676

VIII

The physical hardships of prison life and the mental strain of the insurrection took heavy toll of Peter Folger's health. At sixty-one he considered himself an old man. His sight was failing and he was "ill in other ways." Feeling that he had not much longer to live, he turned from active life to contemplation, and became more and more engrossed in religious thought. In the spring of 1678, he wrote to his son-in-law Joseph Pratt, husband of Dorcas, a letter which gives a clear insight into his state of mind.

Loving Son in Law Joseph Prat My Dearest Love Remembered to Your Selfe as also to my Daughter Your Wife together with Your Good Father and Mother and all the Rest of our Loving friends with You and having so Good an Opertunity I thought Good to write a few Lines to You although writing is Now very Tedious to me for my Sight fails me much and I am ill in other ways I am now past the 60th year of my age and know not the Day of my Death but this I know that When ever it be it will be a joyful time to Me for I Can Say with Paul I know in whom I have Believed and that Christ is to me Life and therefore Death will be to me advantage and my Earnest Desire and Prayer to God for you both is that Each of You Two may be able to say as much Really and truly for Your selves the world can willingly part with us and 'tis high time for us to be more

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

willing to Part with it the more Troubles we meet with here the more Occasion we have to think of Going home it is But a very Little and the Longest and the Greatest Trouble will have an End Yea the time is Short and very Short that the World will afford any Comfort to those She Loves most the Grave will make all alike as to outward Comfort but that True and Real Spiritual and Eternal Comfort that God gives to believers in Christ will last to all Eternity God is called The God of all Comfort therefore make sure an interest in him and then You Can never be miserable Live on him by faith make Use of him as a man Doth of his friend Daily and at all times in the way of his Promises for this Life and for the Life to Come and then your wants will be as no wants Remember You Live in an evil world therefor walk Circumspectly give no Occasion of offense neither by word Nor by action use all Good meanse for Groth in Grace yet ever Remember to be true to your Light in matters of Conscience be sure to Obey God Rather than man and to mind what the Scripture Saith that whosoever is not of faith is Sin therefor do nothing Doubtingly but Ever Seek unto God who is the God of all Grace for Clear Light to walk by and in So Doing he that is the father of light will not Leave you in Darkness Study to be quiet Live in Peace and Love and the God of Love and Peace will be with you I have wrote the Larger to You because I know not but it may be the Last Lines that ever You May have from Me therefor take them as they are writin in Love to your Souls but I shall cease and Leave You to him that is able to build yours in grace and to Give You inheritance among them that are Sanctified hoping that You will be careful so to live in this Present world as that we may Live together in that world that never shall have an end where Sin nor Satan shall never Trouble us more and Where is fullness of joy and Pleasure for Ever more Farewell Dear Children and the God of all mercy Grace and Consolation be with your souls to all Eternity which is the Great Desire of us your loving father and Mother

PETER FOLGER and
MARY FOLGER

NANTUCKET, March the 6th 1677/8

Your Brothers and Sisters are all well and Desire to have their Loves Remembered to You

Do not lay these lines where you may Never see them more for You May have Occasion to Look on them when I may be far Enough from You.
P. F.

Nursed back to health by Mary's skill and loving care, Peter lived for another twelve years—each year blessed by the arrival of at least one grandchild.

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

IX

Dorcas Folger, third daughter of Peter and Mary, did not marry until the winter of 1675, when she was "an ancient spinster" of nearly thirty. Her husband was Joseph Pratt, son of Phineas and Mary Priest Pratt, of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Their daughter Mary was born the following September. Because of the trouble with the Indians on the mainland, Dorcas remained in Nantucket until some time after the birth of her baby. When King Philip's War came to an end, she left the island and went to live in her husband's home in Charlestown. Dorcas lost no time in making up for the wasted years of her spinsterhood. During the first twelve years of her marriage, she had nine children, four sons and five daughters. Maria Mitchell is descended from this line on her father's side.

Bathsheba Folger also married an off-islander, removing from Nantucket not long after Dorcas left. She married Joseph Pope, a yeoman of Salem. Joseph took his bride to live with his widowed mother Gertrude, in the old Pope homestead on Cow House River in Salem Village (Danvers). The village was not a pleasant community. The people were contentious and superstitious, and were filled with fears of one sort or another—fear of the Indians, fear of the Lord, fear of evil spirits and fear of the opinion of their neighbors. Horseshoes were hung over doorways to drive away devils; hunters carried silver bullets as a protection against witches; splinters from the gallows were placed on the meetinghouse doorsill to prevent Satan from entering. The Indian War was looked upon as Jehovah's vengeance for the sins of the people, and stern steps were taken to enforce stricter discipline. The frivolity of the young people, especially, was singled out as deserving the attention of the elders. After the free religious atmosphere of Nantucket, Bathsheba Folger must have found it difficult to conform to the gloomy Puritan ways of her husband's home. She lacked the strength of character so typical of the Folger women, and became "much afflicted in the witchcraft days." Samuel Parris was pastor of the village church, and the Thomas Putnams were the Popes' near neighbors.

Joseph and Bathsheba had eight children, six boys and two girls. The death of the second son and the discovery that the elder daugh-

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ter was mentally deficient, added to Bathsheba's unsettled state of mind. Influenced by the prevailing thought of the village, she became convinced that her little girl, also named Bathsheba, was bewitched. The child was nine years old at the time of the outbreak of the witchcraft scare—the same age as Elizabeth Parris, and three years younger than Ann Putnam. Elizabeth and Ann were two of the famous "afflicted children," who, after dabbling in the magic rites of Tibuta, the West Indian servant of the Parris household, started the hysteria that ended only after nineteen persons were hanged as witches and over a hundred cast into prison. The afflicted children—there were ten in all—were encouraged and abetted by three women, Mrs. Ann Putnam, Mrs. Bathsheba Pope and Goody Bibber. According to the account of Charles Upham:

Mrs. Joseph Pope was the wife of Joseph Pope, living with his mother, the widow Gertrude, on the farm shown on the map. She had followed up the meetings of the afflicted children, and attended all the public examinations, until her nervous system was excited beyond restraint, and for a while she fell into fits and her imagination was bewildered. On some occasions, her conduct was wild and extravagant in the highest degree. At the examination of Martha Corey, she was conspicuous for the violence of her actions. In the midst of the proceedings and in the presence of the Magistrates and hundreds of people, she threw her muff at the prisoner, and that missing, pulled off her shoe, and hit her square on the head. Hers seems, however, to have been a case of mere delusion, amounting to temporary insanity. When rescued from hallucination, she was, with her husband, among the first to deplore and denounce the whole affair.

Joseph Pope died in 1712. Bathsheba was still living in the village fourteen years later. Her name appears as "Bathshua" in most of the early town records. It was in the old Pope homestead that Israel Putnam courted lovely Hannah Pope, granddaughter of Joseph and Bathsheba. The young couple were married in 1739, when Hannah was eighteen and Israel twenty-one, and went to live on the Putnam farm in a new house young Putnam had built with his own hands. The following year, when their little son was but a few months old, they removed to the wilds of Connecticut.

Four of the seven Folger daughters married off-islanders. Nantucket was not as isolated in those days as might be expected. Strang-

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ers and visitors were common sights in the town, for the island was a favorite stopping place for mariners, traders and kinsfolk from the mainland.

Patience Folger married Ebenzer Harker, thought to have hailed from North Carolina. The name of Harker appears in a Nantucket business transaction in 1682, but little seems to be known of the family. Of the marriage of Ebenezer and Patience, only two children are recorded—Hepzibah, born in 1694, when Patience was well along in her thirties, and Ebenezer, Junior. After the death of her husband, Patience returned to Nantucket with her two children. Hepzibah married Jonathan Coffin, the youngest of the fourteen children of James Coffin and Mary Severance. Their descendants are legion. Patience took as a second husband James Gardner, son of Richard and Sarah. There were no children by this marriage. James married four times, Patience being his third wife. She died in 1717.

The junior proprietors of Nantucket had no wish to carry on the feud of the first landowners, and marriages were frequent between conservative and democratic families. The political bars that had been set up between the Folger homestead and the adjoining farm of Nathaniel Barnard did not prevent John Folger from jumping the fence and courting Nathaniel's daughter Mary. And young John Swain from Hummock Pond Cove did not hesitate to skirt the swamp and knock at the door of his father's old enemy, Peter Folger, in order to lay siege to the heart of Peter's daughter, Experience.

John Swain, Junior, and Experience Folger were married, it is thought, in 1687. About a year later, John Folger, already nine and twenty, married his young neighbor, Mary Barnard. These two couples had adjoining farms at Polpis.

Polpis, originally known as Poatpes or Portpace, from the Indian name meaning "a branching harbor," was several miles west of the main settlement, about halfway between the town and Wauwinet, on a divided inlet of the upper harbor. The neck of land called by the Indians Nashua-tuck—the land between two tidal streams—became known to the settlers as Swain's Neck. John Swain, Senior, son of Richard, had obtained from the Indians a deed of purchase at Poatpes, and after confirmation of the title by the New York Governor

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in 1684, the Nantucket proprietors built "sundry houses thereon." The soil was fertile and favorable for farming, and the settlers "improved the land peaceably for about sixty years." This was part of the tract that the younger sachems sought in vain to regain for their people.

After Richard Swain died, John presently sold the Swain lands on the plains and removed to Polpis. The old Swain house, part of which was built before 1700, was still standing in 1902, when it was destroyed by lightning. A one-story lean-to, facing south, with a brick chimney at one end providing fireplace and oven for the main room, it was typical of the early island homes. The lumber used was mostly oak and pine. The bricks were irregular in size and imperfectly finished, varying in color from light red to dark blue. The mortar was made of lime obtained from sea shells.

John Swain, Junior, was a successful farmer. He also took a keen interest in whale-catching, and his ability along that line was passed on to his sons and his grandsons. John and Experience had five sons and four daughters. John died in 1738, at the age of seventy-four. Experience, who was several years older than her husband, survived him one year, and was well along toward eighty when she died, having outlived all her sisters and brothers with the exception of Abiah. The Swains of Nantucket are all descended from the elder John Swain.

The wills of the first three John Swains make an interesting record. The entries of the Probate Office in Nantucket begin in 1706, at which time Eleazer Folger, Junior, was appointed Register of Probate. The first John Swain, original proprietor of Nantucket, died in 1715. His estate, left to his children, was valued at 310 pounds, and included "a silver tankard, Bible, chiney platter and a fashionable table." John Folger was a witness.

The will of John Swain, Junior: "His house and furniture to wife Experience for life and after her the furniture to his daughters and the real estate to his sons." His personal effects were appraised at 222 pounds, and included "a silver tankard, cup and spoons."

The probated will of the third John Swain, mariner, son of John and Experience:

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Income to wife Mary, and the estate to children. Estate 1007 pounds, including 2 large silver porringers and 2 small, a silver spout cup, 1 large tankard, 1 clock, 1 large looking glass, 11 silver buttons, book by George Fox and Sacred History and life of David, $\frac{1}{2}$ share Old Wharf and $\frac{1}{3}$ sloop Humbird.

The Swains were among the first Nantucketers to join the Society of Friends. John and Mary Folger were also Quakers, though they probably did not become "convinced" until after the turn of the century.

John Folger was a miller and prosperous farmer. His Polpis homestead was on Fulling Mill Brook. A record dated 1708, states that "the town doth grant Benjamin Swain the liberty of that stream of watter which runs by John folgers house to dam it up and sett up a fulling mill on the Condition he shall Injoy the same so Long as he shall resionably comply with ye fulling of their cloath they paying for the same." Benjamin was a younger brother of John Swain.

John and Mary Folger had nine children, quite the accepted number on the island. There were six boys and three girls. Two of the sons married Vineyarders; the other four chose Nantucket brides, Jonathan marrying no less than three times. From these six sons and one of the daughters, who married a Folger cousin, are descended innumerable Folgers, to be found in all parts of the country. Kezia Coffin, Maria Mitchell and Captain John Folger, who carried the dispatches for Benjamin Franklin, belong to this line. John died in Nantucket, in 1743, and Mary five years later.

X

Abiah Folger, seventh daughter of Peter and Mary, was married when she was twenty-two, just a few months before her father's death. On the twenty-fifth of November, 1689, according to Nantucket records, she became the bride of a young widower from Boston, a tallow-chandler by the name of Josiah Franklin.

I think you may like to know something of his person and character [writes his son Benjamin in his "Autobiography"]. He had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set up, and very strong; he was ingenious, could draw prettily, was skilled

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a little in music, and had a clear, pleasing voice, so that when he played psalm tunes on his violin and sung withal, it was extremely agreeable to hear.

Josiah was a non-Conformist from Banbury, England. The Franklin family was "early in the Reformation, and continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery." They belonged to the Church of England until toward the end of the reign of Charles II, when Josiah and his brother Benjamin joined the Dissenters. The conventicles were forbidden by law and were frequently disturbed by the apparitors, and Josiah finally resolved to go to New England, where he could "enjoy his mode of religion with freedom." He had married very young, and carried with him to the American Colonies his wife and three children. They settled in Boston in 1683. Josiah gave up his trade of dyer and established himself as a candle-maker and soap boiler. In the narrow three-story house which he rented on Milk Street, directly opposite the Old South Church, four more children were born to the Franklins. But with the last two came sorrow. A son, named Joseph, died before he was a month old. Another boy, also named Joseph, was born sixteen months later, in June, 1689, only to lose his mother when he was nine days old. Anne Franklin died and the new baby languished. A few days more and he was buried by the side of his mother.

How Josiah became acquainted with the Folgers no one seems to know. Perhaps business interests had taken him to Nantucket or perhaps Abiah had met him while visiting her sister Dorcas in Charlestown. At any rate, less than five months after Anne's death, Josiah offered his hand in marriage to the fair young daughter of the Folger household—the youngest and the last of the children in the old Nantucket homestead.

Abiah Folger inherited her mother's comeliness and her father's force of character. "Defective perhaps in the graces of cultured intelligence, she was, nevertheless, apparently of that class of women frequently typified by the early colonial mothers of New England, which was characterized by distinctive qualities of head and heart, pervasive whole-souled excellence, and strong common sense, forti-

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fied by a strong sense of duty and a never-failing trust in Providence.” (Douglas-Lithgow.)

Abiah knew her own heart. Attracted by Mr. Franklin's pleasing personality and sympathizing with him in his trouble, she accepted his offer and became the new mistress of his home and chandlery shop—at the Sign of the Blue Ball—undertaking gladly the task of mothering Anne's lonesome little brood. Her own baby was born the following December, the first of ten husky children. He was named John. The next two children were Peter and Mary; then came James, Sarah, Ebenezer, Thomas and Benjamin; and, after Benjamin, two little girls, Lydia and Jane. Jane was the baby of the family, the prettiest of all and a general favorite.

When Abiah first went to Boston to live, the Massachusetts capital was a bustling seaport of some six thousand inhabitants. Sixty years had passed since Winthrop's forlorn followers had accepted Mr. Blackstone's invitation to settle on the trimountain peninsula, and a certain impetuous little Puritan maid had been the first to hop ashore on the empty sands of Shawmut. Since that day Anne Pollard had seen the wild ragged shores tamed and groomed by her countrymen, and harnessed with long wooden wharves. She had watched mile after mile of desolate marshes disappear and streets of wooden houses take their place. She had seen the Indian all but vanish with the wild fowl. As mistress of Horse Shoe Tavern, she had witnessed the losing battle of the Puritan clergy against the Devil—herself rather inclined to favor the Devil. The Mathers continued to thunder of Jehovah's wrath, and again and again fire and pestilence visited the city. But the ways of the ungodly know no bounds. Since the English King had changed the charter, church membership was no longer the basis for the granting of the franchise, and riches had taken the place of piety. Heretics flourished—insolent Romanists crossed themselves under the very noses of good Calvinists, and contrary-minded Quakers persisted in following their Inner Light. Into the port of Boston came all manner of outlandish people—tipsy sailors went carousing through the sacred streets—young people stole out under cover of the night, to meet and sin in secret places. Into her hospitable tavern, Dame Pollard welcomed the gay young students of John Harvard's College—that devout institution of learning

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dedicated to "the education of the English and Indian youth in knowledge and godlyness"—and they drank and laughed and sang and philandered far into the night, and even on the Sabbath day. The faithful shook their heads and wondered what was to become of the world.

Anne Pollard was an old woman of ninety and Benjamin Franklin a little boy of five, when one of the most disastrous of Boston's great fires broke out. It started in a backyard on Corn Hill—"the occasion of which is said to have been the careless sottishness of a poor woman who suffered a flame which took the oakum, the pulling of which was her business, to gain too far before it could be mastered." The First Church and the Town House were destroyed; "also all the houses on both sides of Corn Hill from School Street to Dock Square, and on the upper part of King Street and the greater part of Pudding Lane between Water Street and Spring Lane." In all, nearly two hundred houses were destroyed, "of which the rubbish taken from the ruins was used to fill up Long Wharf." The home of the Franklins was not harmed.

For the first twenty years of her married life, Abiah lived in the Milk Street house. She was a good mother to her five step-children and to her own little sons and daughters. "She was a discreet and virtuous woman," writes her youngest son, Benjamin, "had an excellent constitution and suckled all her ten children." The small house swarmed with healthy happy boys and girls, with new little Franklins arriving regularly every two years. Abiah managed to care for them all, and even found time to work in the shop, where she and the older children helped to fill the molds and dip the meshes. Josiah was a member of the South Meeting, "as not more than one man out of four or five then was." His home was within twenty yards of the church door. As befitted a dutiful wife, Abiah forsook the Baptist convictions of her father and joined her husband's congregation.

On the morning of the sixth of January, 1706—a fair mild Sabbath following a spell of bitter winter weather—the Franklins attended meeting as usual. At noon on that day, baby Benjamin was born. And in the afternoon Josiah carried his new little son across the snowy street to the church, to be baptized by the pastor, Samuel

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Willard. The child was christened Benjamin, in honor of Josiah's favorite brother in England. A Sunday baby was sure to be lucky, said the neighbors. Josiah was a pious man and his household was prosperous and cheerful—little Ben's star shone out clear and bright.

It has been suggested that the earliest English Franklins were religious refugees from Picardy, and that the American Benjamin inherited his French traits of character from these remote ancestors. It has also been suggested that Benjamin's maternal grandmother was from Ireland, and that it was she who was responsible for his Celtic wit. "Gayety of mind and brilliancy of utterance are not English qualities," says James Parton. "Somewhere in the pedigree of the Englishman who has them, may generally be found a French or Irish ancestor." It may well be that the little indentured maid who won the heart of young Peter Folger aboard the *Abigail*, bequeathed her Irish sparkle to her grandson. Certain it is that Benjamin Franklin derived from his mother "the fashion of his body and the cast of his countenance." There are several Folger scions who strikingly resemble him in these particulars. The portrait of Walter Folger, the famous clockmaker, that hangs in the Nantucket Athenæum, has excited much comment because of its resemblance to Benjamin Franklin. The Nantucketers declare that Benjamin was a true Folger, if ever there was one. Certainly the "many-sided Franklin," as he has so aptly been called, inherited the vision, versatility, mechanical genius and inventive turn of mind of his Nantucket grandfather.

When Benjamin was six years old, his father bought a house on the corner of Hanover and Union streets, "a small but decent and comfortable dwelling of wood," costing 320 pounds. This was Abiah's home for forty years. Baby Jane was born soon after the family moved into their new quarters.

"It was indeed a lowly dwelling we were brought up in," wrote Jane in later years, "but we were fed plentifully, made comfortable with fire and clothing, had seldom any contention among us; but all was harmony, especially among the heads, and they were universally respected." The family was often visited by persons of note, says the Franklin "Autobiography," who came to consult Josiah, "for his opinion in affairs of the town or the church he belonged to, and

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showed a great deal of respect for his judgment and advice. At his table, he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table." There are many passages in Benjamin Franklin's letters testifying to the cheerfulness and freedom that prevailed in the home of his childhood. The parents were in accord one with the other; the children were received with welcome and reared with "cheery fondness."

But there were some somber chords in the simple harmony of their lives. Three years before Benjamin was born, "Ebenezer Franklin of the South Church, a male-Infant of 16 months old, was drowned in a Tub of Suds." This stark statement in Sewall's "Diary" is all that is known of the tragedy. We can only guess at Abiah's frantic anguish when the fatal tub was discovered. And we can only wonder whether or not she could find any drops of comfort in the Puritan point of view that the accident was according to God's will.

A few years later, when Benjamin was a baby, his stepbrother, Josiah, Junior, ran away to sea. This was a bitter disappointment to his father. As the years went by with no tidings of the lad, disappointment turned to anxiety and sorrow. After nine years away, with never a word of his whereabouts, young Josiah casually reappeared in Boston, to the unbounded joy of his family. But in the end the sea claimed him for her own.

Benjamin shook off parental protection at seventeen, when he left his brother James' printing press in Boston and made his own way to Philadelphia. Although always an affectionate son, he saw his father only three times after that, and his mother but seldom after Josiah's death. He visited them first in the spring of 1724, after an absence of seven months.

About the end of April [he writes] a little vessel offer'd for Boston. I took leave of Keimer as going to see my friends. The governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia as a thing that must make my fortune. We struck

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on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were oblig'd to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arriv'd safe, however, at Boston, in about a fortnight. My unexpected appearance surpriz'd the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother. I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dress'd than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lin'd with near five pounds sterling in silver. He receiv'd me not very frankly, look'd me all over, and turn'd to his work again. . . . This visit of mine offended him extremely; for, when my mother some time after spoke to him of a reconciliation, and of her wishes to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers, he said I had insulted him in such a manner before his people that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken. My father received the governor's letter with some apparent surprise, but said little of it to me for some days.

Josiah did not approve of "setting a boy up in business who wanted yet three years of being at man's estate," and finally gave a flat denial to the project.

My father, tho' he did not approve Sir William's proposition, was yet pleas'd that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of such note where I had resided, and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore, seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advis'd me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavour to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libeling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and a prudent parsimony I might save enough by the time I was one-and-twenty to set me up; and that, if I came near the matter, he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embark'd again for New York, now with their approbation and their blessing. The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always lov'd me.

The "Autobiography" speaks briefly of his next visit home:

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations,

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which I could not sooner well afford. In returning, I call'd at Newport to see my brother, then settled there with his printing-house. Our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate.

This reconciliation between Benjamin and James was very pleasing to their mother.

Another ten years passed before Franklin was again in Boston. He visited his parents in 1743, the year before Josiah died, when he saw his father for the last time. Meanwhile, he had suffered his greatest personal loss—his little son, Francis Folger Franklin, a beautiful and singularly appealing child, had died of smallpox at the age of four.

The notice of Josiah's death appeared in the Boston "News-Letter" of January 17, 1744:

Last night died Mr. Josiah Franklin, tallow chandler and soap maker. By the force of a steady temperance he had made a constitution, none of the strongest, last with comfort to the age of eighty-seven years; and by an entire dependence on his Redeemer, and a constance course of the strictest piety and virtue, he was enabled to die, as he had lived, with cheerfulness, leaving a numerous posterity the honor of being descended from a person who, thro' a long life, supported the character of an honest man.

After his father's death, Benjamin kept in close touch with his mother, and gave freely of his advice, influence and finances to help various members of his family. To his "dearest sister Jennie," who had a troubled life, he was a constant ally. His numerous letters to her are filled with kindly and affectionate thoughts. To Abiah he wrote many tender words, and took time to relate small intimate details of his life that he knew would interest her. He tells her of her grandchildren—how Will has grown to be a proper youth, and Sally a fine girl, extremely industrious with her needle. He inquires frequently of her health, and tells her of his welfare—"For my own part, at present, I pass my time agreeably enough. I enjoy, through mercy, a tolerable share of health, I read a great deal, ride a little, do a little business for myself, now and then for others, retire when I can, and go into company when I please; so the years roll round,

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and the last will come, when I would rather have it said, He lived usefully, than, He died rich."

In October, 1749, he writes:

HONORED MOTHER,

This has been a busy day with your daughter, and she is gone to bed much fatigued and cannot write.

I send you enclosed one of our new Almanacs. We print them early, because we send them to many places far distant. I send you also a moidore enclosed, which please to accept towards chaise hire, that you may ride warm to meetings this winter. Pray tell what kind of a sickness you have had in Boston this summer. Besides the measles and flux, which have carried off many children, we have lost some grown persons, by what we call the Yellow Fever; though that is almost if not quite over, thanks to God, who has preserved all our family in perfect health.

Here are cousins Coleman, and two Folgers, all well. Your granddaughter is the greatest lover of her book and school, of any child I ever knew, and is very dutiful to her mistress as well as to us.

I doubt not but brother Mecom will send the collar as soon as he can conveniently. My love to him, to sister, and all the children.

I am your dutiful son,

B. FRANKLIN.

(From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters of Benjamin Franklin.")

Unlike her elder sisters, Abiah had had some schooling. She wrote a fair hand and her spelling was no worse than that of many Nantucketers of higher estate. "We read your Writing very easily," Benjamin wrote her when she was eighty-three. "I have never met with a Word in your Letters but what I could readily understand; for, though the Hand is not always the best, the Sense makes everything plain."

The following letter from Abiah to Benjamin and Deborah, is taken from Richardson's "Letters to Franklin from his Family and Friends," in which spelling and punctuation have been modernized. It was written by Abiah in October, 1751, a few months before her death.

LOVING SON AND DAUGHTER:

I did not write to you last post, but it was because I was taken with the stomach-ache so bad all day that I could not sit up to write

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on any account. My cousin Kesiah Coffin was here last week, and she was sorry that the works and letter was not yet printed. She bid me tell you that she should be glad to know how soon you could do them, for she wants to have a few of them very much. My cousin Henry Coffin is gone to your place. I am afraid he will get the small-pox there. I desire you would advise him not to go anywhere you know or think it has been; and if you have any business with him, send him away as fast as you can. I am glad to hear you are so well respected in your town for them to choose you an Alderman, altho' I don't know what it means, or what the better you will be of it besides the honour of it. I hope you will look up to God, and thank him for all his good providences toward you. He has granted you much in that place, and I am very thankful for it. I hope that you will carry well, so that you may be liked in all your posts. I am very weak and short-breathed, so that I can't sit up to write much, altho' I sleep well a-nights and my cough is better, and I have a pretty good stomach to my victuals. Pray excuse my bad writing and inditing, for all tell me I am too old to write letters. I can hardly see, and am grown so deaf that I can hardly hear any thing that is said in the house. Love and service to all friends, from your loving mother,
ABIAH FRANKLIN.

P. S. Mother says she an't able, and so I must tell you myself that I rejoice with you in all your prosperity, and doubt not but you will be greater blessing to the world as he bestows upon you greater honours.
JANE MECOM.

Seven months later, in May, 1752, "the good old lady slept the sleep that knows no waking." She was eighty-five years old. When Benjamin heard the news of his mother's death, he wrote to Jane: "I received yours with the affecting news of our dear good mother's death. I thank you for your long continued care of her in her old age and sickness. Our distance made it impracticable for us to attend her, but you have supplied all. She has lived a good life, as well as a long one, and is happy." She was laid to rest beside Josiah in the Granary Burial in Boston. Some years later Benjamin placed a marble over their graves, with this inscription:

JOSIAH FRANKLIN
and
ABIAH his wife
lie here interred.

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They lived lovingly together in wedlock
fifty-five years.
Without an estate, or any gainful employment,
By constant labor and industry,
with God's blessing,
They maintained a large family
comfortably,
and brought up thirteen children
reputably.
From this instance, reader,
Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
And distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man;
She, a discreet and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
In filial regard to their memory,
Places this stone.
J.F. born 1655, died 1744, AEtat 89.
A.F. born 1667, died 1752, ——— 85.

XI

It is said that Abiah Franklin made frequent trips to Nantucket, even in her old age, to visit her relatives there. According to Alexander Starbuck:

During one of her visits particularly she was desirous of a bunch of mint from the garden of her deceased father. The young man whom she enlisted for the service was Thomas Arthur, (grandson of Eleazer Folger), and on receiving the parcel from his hands she said to the youth—"I saw that mint placed by my father in that garden three score years ago."

The relationship between Benjamin Franklin and the Folgers was always pleasant enough, but Abiah's kindred made no attempt to cultivate the acquaintance of her distinguished son. During the last year of his life, he wrote to Jane:

By the way, is our relationship in Nantucket quite worn out? I have met with none from thence of late years who were disposed to be acquainted with me, except Captain Timothy Folger. They are wonderfully shy. But I admire their honest plainness of speech. About a year ago I invited two of them to dine with me. Their answer was that they would if they could not do better. I suppose

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they did better, for I never saw them afterwards, and so had no opportunity of showing my miff, if I had one.

To which Jane replied (revised spelling):

I believe there are a few of our Nantucket relations who have still an affection for us, but the war time, which made such havoc everywhere, divided and scattered them about. Those I was most intimate with were Abishai Foulger, his brother and sons, Timothy one, the Jenkinse, and Kezia Coffin, who was many years like a sister to me and a great friend to my children. She sent me two very affectionate letters when the town was shut up, inviting me to come to her and she would sustain me—that was her word; and had I received them before I left the town, I should certainly have gone, but a wise and good Providence ordered it otherwise. She took to the wrong side, and exerted herself by every method she could devise, right or wrong, to accomplish her designs and favour the Britons; went into large trade with them and for them, and by mismanagement and not succeeding in her endeavors, has sunk every farthing they were ever possessed of, and have been in jail, both her husband at Nantucket and herself at Halifax. She was always thought to be an artful woman, but there are such extraordinary stories told of her as is hard to believe. The two Jenkinse, Seth and Thomas, stood in the same relation to us, and always very affectionate to me. They were in Philadelphia when I was there. You spoke something for them at Congress. They were men of considerable property, and had a great quantity of oil in their stores, when a vessel belonging to the Tories went down and robbed them of all. It was proved that Kezia pointed it out to them; the owners prosecuted her, and she was brought up to Boston to stand trial, but I think there was no final condemnation at court. She says they could not find evidence; they say that the evidence was so strong that had they suffered it to come into court it would have hanged her, and so they suppressed it, not being willing it should proceed so far. They settled at Providence a few years, whose families I used to stop at when I went backwards and forwards, and they were very kind to me; sent their sons to carry me from there to my grandson's, thirteen miles, in their (word lost) and every other obliging thing in their power; but afterwards they settled a township on North River—I forget the name—there is a city, and Thomas Jenkins is the mayor. I have not seen either of them since. I don't know if they come to Boston; if they do, they do not know where to find me; and though the Follgers, some of them, sail out of this place, I believe it is the same case with them, for I have not seen a Nantucket person since I lived

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here. I have a nextdoor neighbor who lived there once, and I now and then hear something of them by him.

I know I have wrote and spelt this worse than I do sometimes, but I hope you will find it out. Remember my love to your children and grandchildren. Tell my niece Betsy that I sent her pocket-book to Mrs. Coffin's daughter, and I don't doubt she had it, but she was in Halifax.

I am your affectionate and grateful sister,

JANE MECOM.

Abishai Folger, to whom Jane refers, was a grandson of Eleazer. His first wife was Sarah Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard, great-granddaughter of Thomas Mayhew the younger. After her death, Abishai married Dinah Coffin Starbuck in Hudson, New York—the town whose name Jane could not recollect. Abishai's sister Judith married Thomas Jenkins (who "died suddenly at shearing pen"). They are the Jenkinses of Jane's letter, and the parents of Seth and Tom Jenkins, founders of Hudson—then called Claverick Landing. With the Jenkinses went Macys and Coffins, Bunkers and Folgers, sailing up Hudson's River in their stout whalers, and carrying with them the framework of new Nantucket houses, to be set on the shores of the river, far from ocean gales and British meddling.

Captain Timothy Folger, spoken of in Benjamin Franklin's letter to Jane, was a son of Abishai. He was the Captain Folger who first charted the Gulf Stream, sending to Franklin information concerning the dimensions, course and swiftness of the stream. "The Nantucket whalemen being extremely well acquainted with the Gulph Stream," writes Franklin, "its course, strength and extent, by their constant practice of whaling along the edges of it from their island to the Bahamas, this draft of that stream was obtained by one of them, Captain Timothy Folger, and caused to be engraved on the old chart for the benefit of navigators by B. Franklin." Copies of this old chart of the Atlantic, with Captain Folger's drawings, were given to all the masters of the Falmouth packets.

Another Nantucket cousin connected with Franklin's activities was Captain John Folger, grandson of John and Mary. He was chosen by Franklin, in 1777, to be the bearer of important papers from the American envoys in Paris to the American Congress over-

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seas. The precious packet was carried from Paris to Havre by Joseph Hynson, Maryland mariner, and as was later discovered, British spy. After substituting blank papers for the dispatches—the originals being sent straight to London to the ministers of King George III—Hynson handed the pouch over to Captain Folger, who immediately set sail on his mission. Successfully dodging the war-time dangers of the sea, the Nantucket captain delivered, with his own hands, the anxiously awaited packet to Congress, then sitting at York. Dismay, consternation and bewilderment followed. Everyone connected with the affair was suspected and blamed in turn, even Franklin himself, and honest John Folger spent several very miserable weeks in jail. In due time, however, the duplicity of Hynson was discovered, and Captain Folger exonerated.

Folger was a famous name on the high seas in Benjamin Franklin's day, and many scattered tales, logs and journals are to be found concerning these whaling sea-rovers. One of them, Captain Peleg Folger, grandson of Eleazer, followed in his great-grandfather's rhyming footsteps, and in the seventeen fifties kept a curious log book in verse. It also contained prose, Latin sentences and mathematical problems. He was an elder in the Society of Friends. Another young whaleman, Peter Folger, one of the many namesakes of the first Peter, kept a spicy journal crowded with Nantucket names, which eventually found its way into print. A great-grandson of Eleazer, Captain Frederick Folger, was a shipmaster of Baltimore. "During the war," writes William Coleman Folger, "he commanded a privateer and took many prizes, which was very distasteful to his mother, who was a Quakeress. After the Revolution he was appointed American Consul at Aux Cayes (Santo Domingo), where he died."

Captain Mayhew Folger, grandson of Abishai Folger and Sarah Mayhew, born when Franklin was nearing seventy, has lately sailed afresh into our ken, conveyed by the pages of Nordhoff's and Hall's "Pitcairn's Island." Captain Folger was the Yankee skipper, in command of the ship *Topaz*, who discovered the lost mutineers of the *Bounty* in 1809. His "Journal" tells the whole amazing story.

According to an old rhyming whale list, there were seventy-five whaling captains sailing from Nantucket in 1765, thirteen of whom were Folgers.

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Kezia Folger Coffin, spoken of in affectionate terms in letters of Benjamin Franklin, Abiah Franklin and Jane Mecom, "achieved her niche in general as well as local history." A woman of more than average courage, ability and independence, she was one of the important merchants and ship owners of Nantucket. "She had her ships in every sea, and was a great smuggler in her day." She was a Tory, as were several of the Folger tribe, and there is little doubt that she aided the British during the Revolutionary War. As Jane so aptly expressed it, "she took to the wrong side." Born in Nantucket in 1723, Kezia had plenty of Folger blood in her veins. She was the daughter of Daniel Folger, grandson of Eleazer, and his cousin, Abigail Folger, daughter of John. At seventeen, she married a whaling captain fifteen years her senior. Her husband was John Coffin, grandson of Tristram. A letter written by Franklin to Jonathan Folger, in 1756, tells of sending a box to cousin Kezia with affectionate greetings. Needless to say, Franklin's affections did not follow her when she engaged in her Tory activities. Judging from Jane's letter, she had a narrow escape from hanging. Family pride saved her neck that time. But some years later, when she was sixty-six, her proud neck was broken by a fall down stairs, and her bold life ended. Kezia lost her father and two brothers at sea. Another brother, Daniel Folger, Junior, was one of the early settlers of Easton, New York. John Coffin and Kezia were Quakers—but Kezia was set aside, not because of her smuggling or sharp commercial practices, but "for keeping a spinnet in her house and permitting her daughter to play thereon."

Most of Franklin's Nantucket relatives were Quakers. One of them, Elihu Coleman, a grandson of Joanna Folger, has an important place in the records as the author of one of the first pamphlets on anti-slavery. The Nantucket Friends early went on record as opposed to slavery. In 1716, when human bondage was quite the accepted rule, the Monthly Meeting recorded its opinion that it was "not agreeable to Truth for friends to purchase slaves & keep them Term of life." This was an entering wedge. In 1729, Elihu Coleman "offer'd a smal piece of Manuscript to this Meeting which was read & approv'd in & by this meeting & ordered to be carried to ye Quarterly Meeting at Rhode island, which was a testimony against

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making slaves of men." Mr. Coleman was "not unthoughtful of the ferment his discourse might make," but he could not do otherwise than voice his concern. His appeal was convincing and had far-reaching results.

Elihu Coleman and Benjamin Franklin were contemporaries. Elihu was born seven years before Franklin, and died the year before Franklin's death. He was the son of John Coleman, Junior, and Priscilla Starbuck. He married Jemima Barnard, daughter of John and Sarah, and two years later built the house which is still standing. It tops a little rise of ground on Hawthorn Lane, out Madaket way. To quote from Henry Worth:

Elihu Coleman was a carpenter, and in 1722 built his homestead where he lived for over sixty years. It is located a short distance east of Hummock Pond. The house closely resembles the Josiah Coffin and Richard Gardner houses, and is an interesting example of that period. How well the young mechanic built can be judged by the firm and sturdy appearance of the structure, not a line or timber of which seems to have yielded to the influence of two centuries.

Built three years after grandmother Joanna's death, it is not unlikely that some of the original furnishings, which are still there, once belonged to her.

Elihu's sister, Phebe Coleman, married her cousin, Barzillai Folger, a brother of Abishai, and strong Folger traits were passed on to their brilliant grandson, Walter Folger, Junior, whose fame as a scientist gleams only a little less brightly than that of his Boston cousin. Reflecting on his life and achievements, we can hardly fail to see the shade of old Peter Folger standing at his elbow. The Hon. Walter Folger was born in Nantucket in 1765.

His school education was very limited [writes Edward Godfrey], he never attended a high school, academy or college, was almost wholly self-taught, but was surpassed by few collegians. He was a natural genius. He acted as surveyor of land, repaired watches, clocks and chronometers, made compasses, engraved on copper and other metals, made several chemical and other scientific discoveries, calculated eclipses, understood and could speak the French language, and was one of the best astronomers, mathematicians and mechanics of his day. He also made a great many thermometers and several

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telescopes, the last of which showed very plainly the mountains in the moon, the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, etc. Mr. Folger studied medicine and afterwards law, and was successively chief justice of the Court of Sessions, a counsellor at law, a member of both branches of the State Legislature, and represented this district of Massachusetts for four years in the Congress of the United States. Once when going as a representative to Congress, Mr. Folger and his sons carded, spun, and wove his cotton and woollen cloth, cut out and made his whole suit, and he went to Congress dressed—clear of hat and shoes—entirely in home-made clothing.

The Nantucket whalemens profited by Walter Folger's astronomical genius when he worked out a new method of navigation by lunar observation. But the piece of work by which he is commonly remembered is his famous astronomical clock, in which sun, moon, and Nantucket tides, days, years, and centuries, go their appointed rounds. Set in motion in 1790—the year that Benjamin Franklin died—it never failed in its complicated movements until the days of its creator's death in 1849. Daniel Webster once remarked that Walter Folger was "worthy to be ranked among the great discoverers of science."

Walter Folger was still in his twenties, when another astronomer and mathematician of Folger lineage was born in Nantucket. William Mitchell, a descendant of Dorcas Folger, was the son of Peleg Mitchell and Lydia Cartwright. A man of ability and accomplishments, he is now remembered chiefly as the father and teacher of Maria Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell's hobby was star-gazing, and he passed on to his talented daughter his passion for "sweeping the heavens." Maria was born in Nantucket in 1818. Her mother, "a woman of rare talent and charm," was Lydia Coleman, great-great-granddaughter of Joanna Folger Coleman. Maria Mitchell could count three of the children of Peter Folger among her ancestors—Dorcas on her father's side, and both Joanna and John on her mother's side, her maternal grandparents being cousins. As a little girl, Maria was intensely interested in her father's study of astronomical mathematics, and by the time she was twelve, William found in her an able assistant. For many years she helped him prepare his "Nautical Almanac" and worked with him in correcting the navigation instruments of the Nantucket whaling captains. In the fall of

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1847, while making observations from the roof of the Nantucket Bank with a small telescope of her father's Maria Mitchell discovered the comet which bears her name. This feat quickly brought her international fame. She was the first woman to be made a fellow in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and is one of seven women who have taken their places in the national Hall of Fame. She died in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1889, after rounding out twenty-three years as Professor of Astronomy at Vassar. Her work in Nantucket is still carried on in the observatory that was built as a memorial to her.

Maria Mitchell had all of the proverbial Folger independence of mind and manners, and devoted Nantucketers delight in telling stories about her. The little gray house on Vestal Street, where she was born, and the house directly across the way, where her father taught, shelter not only the famous telescope and an unusual library of historical and scientific interest, but they seem to hold something of the brilliant personality and charm of this truly great woman.

The greatest of all Nantucket-born women is Lucretia Mott. She has even been called "the greatest American woman." She was twenty-five years old when Maria Mitchell was born, and had already moved to Philadelphia, so that these two outstanding feminists were not island neighbors. Lucretia, however, watched Maria's progress with interest, and in her celebrated "Discourse on Woman" cites Miss Mitchell's discovery as an example of the achievements of women of her day. Lucretia Coffin Mott was born in 1793, three years after Benjamin Franklin's death. She was the daughter of Thomas Coffin and Anna Folger. Anna was one of the six daughters of "Tory Bill Folger," who considered himself something of an aristocrat because of his Mayhew blood—(he was the son of Abishai Folger and Sarah Mayhew). "Anna Folger was a woman conspicuous throughout her life for great energy, keen wit, and unfailing good sense," writes her great-granddaughter, Anna Davis Hollowell. "A portrait, painted some ten years after her marriage, represents a stately woman, with large penetrating eyes, dark hair, broad forehead, and firm mouth." Her daughter, Lucretia, favored her in these respects. She had the glowing Folger eyes, firm though kind mouth and dominant chin of her mother and her mother's people.

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At seventeen, Anna married her neighbor and playmate, Thomas Coffin, great-great-grandson of the first Tristram. Tom was twenty-two at the time of his marriage and had just obtained command of his first ship. Anna and Thomas were Quakers, as were both their families before them.

When Lucretia was twelve, they moved to Boston, and thence to Philadelphia. When she was eighteen, she married James Mott, Junior, who for fifty-seven years was her good companion and sympathetic co-worker. James and Lucretia had six children. They lived in Philadelphia until 1857, when they moved to "Roadside," eight miles out of town on the Old York Road. She died in 1880.

During all the turmoil, controversy and jostle of Lucretia Mott's public work, she never lost her Quaker simplicity and integrity, her quiet dignity, her beautiful manner of speaking and her womanly charm.

Her face shone with the inner life of peace and the serenity of truth. Her words were heard wherever an unpopular truth needed defense, wherever a popular evil needed to be testified against, wherever a wronged man or woman needed a champion. She espoused the anti-slavery cause when to do so was a reproach and a peril, and to the last bore her unflinching testimony against all bondage and in behalf of true liberty in every form. She espoused the cause of the right of women to speak in public and to vote, when both these were under the rule of ridicule and prejudice, and she manifested in herself the proof that women could take part in public affairs, without the least dereliction of womanly dignity or modesty. In behalf of freedom of inquiry in religion she was in the front against ecclesiastical authority. Against the inhuman practice of settling national disputes by war, and in behalf of peace on earth, she spoke as if the angels of Bethlehem had come again.

Lucretia Mott is one of the shining lights of the Society of Friends.

There were many lesser Folger descendants who made their mark in the building of this country—pioneers, inventors, social workers and statesmen. All along the line, from the first Peter to the late Henry Clay Folger, are men and women who tower above the crowd. Peter Folger and Mary Morrell were people of importance.

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Henry C. Folger's Shakespeare Library in Washington takes us back to Elizabethan days in England, straight back to the childhood days of the first New England Folger—John, of Norwich.

XII

During Lucretia Mott's childhood in Nantucket, Quakerism was at the summit of its strength on the island. It was there that she was first taught to follow unswervingly the blazing light of truth. It was there that she first learned to accept Truth for Authority. In Lucretia Mott's day the Society of Friends ruled Nantucket. But in spite of the popular belief that the first settlers were Quakers, back in Peter Folger's time, there were very few Quakers on the island. The Richard Gardners and the John Swains were Friends, and it is said that Stephen Hussey became "convinced" during a sojourn in the Barbados. But it was not until the turn of the century that the sun of Quakerism rose for most of the people of Nantucket.

"It is believed," says Lydia Hinchman, "that when an old man, Peter Folger embraced the views of Friends." This may well be, as it was but a step from Anabaptism to Quakerism. Peter died, however, before there was any organization of Friends in Nantucket.

"The real creation of the Quaker Society in Nantucket," says Rufus Jones, "was due to the ministry of three noted men—Thomas Chalkley, John Richardson and Thomas Story—between the years 1698 and 1704." It was during these years, a decade after Peter Folger's death, that the seed was sown "which was to take root and grow into a mighty tree of Faith, until in time it became the predominant religious influence of the community, holding sway over a large part of the population of the island for a century and a half or more." (Macy.)

Thomas Chalkley first visited Nantucket in 1698, when about two hundred souls gathered to hear his message. He made a profound impression on his listeners. Soon afterwards, John Richardson arrived. "He came by sloop with Peleg Slocum from Newport, and the Nantucket settlers crowded to the shore, possessed with great fear that the sloop was French, loaded with arms and men, come to take their island, for war was raging between England and France. They were greatly relieved to hear that their visitors came in the

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love of God to hold meetings with them." The inspired John Richardson made many converts. He was followed by Thomas Story, who organized a Society of Friends on the island during the summer of 1704. Nathaniel and Mary Starbuck were the leaders of the new meeting.

There were Folger children and grandchildren at these first Quaker meetings in Nantucket. Perhaps grandmother Mary was there, too, a little while before she died, carrying the light with her as she stepped across the threshold to meet Peter in the country beyond the farthest horizon. The second and third generations of Folders in Nantucket were nearly all Quakers.

The entrance of the Folger family into the Society of Friends marked for them the end of a long chapter in the struggle for religious liberty. The earliest known Foulgiers of Flanders had been forced to flee before the militant Catholicism of Spain. John Foulger, of Norwich, had left his home and his looms to escape the dictates of the Anglican Church. Peter Folger, of Martha's Vineyard, had sold his house and lands in order to follow in the wake of Roger Williams' glowing torch of freedom.

XIII

Peter Folger died in Nantucket in 1690, at the age of seventy-three, leaving eight children and twenty-eight grandchildren. Mary lived for another fourteen years—long enough to hold in her arms her third great-grandchild, Elihu Coleman. She was about eighty-five when she died, in 1704, two years before the birth of her world renowned grandson. Benjamin Franklin never knew the luxury of grandparents. But when he himself was a grandfather, and Deborah a doting grandmother, he delighted in telling the story of the two little boys in the street:

One was crying bitterly; the other came to him to ask what was the matter; "I have been," said he, "for a pennyworth of vinegar, and I have broke the glass and spilled the vinegar, and my mother will whip me." "No, she won't whip you," says the other. "Indeed she will," says he. "What," says the other, "have you then ne'er a grandmother?"

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Peter and Mary were buried in the old cemetery on the little hill near Maxcy's Pond, where most of the first settlers were laid to rest. During the decade following the death of Tristram Coffin in 1681, one by one the members of Nantucket's Old Guard had passed away—including Thomas Macy, Richard Swain, Thomas Coleman, Richard Gardner, Peter Folger and Edward Starbuck. They left behind them a goodly company of young men and women to carry on their work.

During the final years of Peter Folger's life, he laid aside his well-worn mantle of activity and drew about him the quiet robes of contemplation, looking to the Inner Light to guide him along the last lengthening miles of the road. The message he once wrote to his children comes shining down the years to us to help lighten the darkness of a world of troubled thought:

Ever remember to be true to your Light in matters of Conscience, obeying God rather than Man—Ever seek unto God for clear Light to walk by, and He that is the Father of Light will not leave you in darkness—Study to be quiet—Live in Peace and Love and the God of Love and Peace will be with you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Now that I have finished these "Annals of the Folgers," I should like to thank all those who have helped me.

First I turn to my husband—a descendant of Thomas Mayhew—whose genial personality never failed to unlock the hearts and loosen the tongue of town clerks and oldest inhabitants and who cheerfully crawled through thickets of catbrier and poison ivy to uncover crumbling gravestones and wrestle with the all but vanished inscriptions.

Next I turn to Grace and Florence—descendants of Peter Folger—who know and love all the old traditions. They hunted through endless miles of tangled trails to bag for me the ancestral names and dates lurking in the dusty shadows.

Then I turn to the host of librarians and to the personnel of a long list of historical societies, who—just for the asking—put the wealth of their bookshelves into my hands. To these I must add accommodating clerks in town halls and courthouses, especially in the little villages we visited—the smaller the town, it seemed, the friendlier the people.

I am grateful to all the authors of the books that I have studied, to the writers of the manuscripts that I have read, and to the men

HIS MOTHER'S KINDRED

and women that I have met who took an interest in the Folgers. Especially, I wish to mention Emma Mayhew Whiting of Tisbury, Marshall Shepard of Edgartown, Margaret Harwood of Nantucket and Clinton I. Winslow of Baltimore.

Last of all, I turn to two ardent couriers who flashed the islands' lights on for me. Sarah Packard, of Chilmark, took me by the hand and led me away from the fair harbors and busy wharves of Martha's Vineyard, to the quiet backwaters of the island, to those secret places that casual summer visitors never see. Together we climbed through rocky pastures to Peaked Hill, gathering great handfuls of sun-warmed whortleberries on the way. Together we stood on the top and lingered long to gaze about us—looking off to the shadow on the horizon that was Nantucket, looking down on the startling beauty of Menemsha Creek, and wondering if we were indeed standing on the "little hill near the river entrance" of the old Norse Sagas. We walked through sunny meadows and dusky woods, always within sound of the sea, Sarah flinging open private gates as we went—and closing them carefully behind us. She showed me where the pinkest mallows grow beside the bluest ponds, where colonies of croaking black-crowned night herons hide from the noonday light, where long stretches of solitary sand are disturbed only by wind and wave and the nimble feet of little shorebirds. She showed me the soul of the Vineyard—peaceful, brooding, unconcerned, through all the passing years.

My pilot in Nantucket was Edwina Babcock, musician and poet, author of strange haunting stories and poems, and of a homely little book of verse called "Nantucket Windows." At my query, she opened wide those windows and bid me peer within. At her call, doors that had refused to yield to my knock, unlatched and swung on creaking hinges. Garden gates on Main Street opened at her touch, and the gardens were filled with memories. At every turn in town, we encountered the old names—Coffin and Macy, Starbuck and Folger, and the rest. We met the shade of Joanna Folger Coleman wandering in Hawthorn Lane. We hunted for *Prunus Maritima* on the commons and shining *Sagittaria* in the bogs. We walked on the moorlands in October "knee-deep in color," gathering wild grapes and scarcely able to believe our senses, there was so much beauty all about us. We saw deer at twilight, and gazed straight into their eyes for a breathless second before they vanished into the little wood as softly as island fog. From the house on Brant Point, we watched storms come and go, and saw the flattened field flowers across the way straighten again after the fury had passed. But for Edwina, I might never have found the secret entrances to the coveted byways of Nantucket.

A. H. B.

Ernst and Allied Families

By THOMAS H. BATEMAN, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA



FOR years active in the industrial life of the Philadelphia district, Dr. Charles A. Ernst was the founder of the the American Viscose Corporation, manufacturers of rayon. He made his home at Ridley Park, where his civic and social activities supplemented his labors as a manufacturer and business man. In his personal relationships he was always kind, generous and considerate of others, and his fairness and devotion to worth-while principles were qualities for which he was known and loved.

I. Johann Christoph Ernst, first recorded member of this family, was a member of the Lutheran Church, and is described as "Housvogt." He married, at Oldenstadt, Germany, February 19, 1762, Catherine Elizabeth Remmers, who was born at Dannenberg, Hanover, November 30, 1734. They were the parents of August Wilhelm, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. August Wilhelm Ernst, son of Johann Christoph and Catherine Elizabeth (Remmers) Ernst, was born at Oldenstadt, Germany, April 11, 1764, and died at Gifhorn, Hanover, January 28, 1811. He was a Lutheran minister. He married, April 6, 1801, at Ulzen, Hanover, Adolfine Mannes, who was born at Ulzen, September 25, 1780, and died at Gifhorn, September 6, 1849. She was the daughter of Friederich Wilhelm Mannes, a Lutheran pastor, who was born at Uslar, Hanover, January 16, 1728, and died at Roschl, November 30, 1801. Friederich Wilhelm Mannes married, April 18, 1758, Catherine Charlotte Soltenborn, who was born at Neustadt, Germany, April 18, 1737, and died at Gifhorn, Hanover, in March, 1806.

(*Ibid.*)



Karl Knapp



August F. Ernst.

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

August Wilhelm and Adolfine (Mannes) Ernst were the parents of three sons and one daughter. A son was Karl, of whom further.

III. Rev. Karl Ernst, son of August Wilhelm and Adolfine (Mannes) Ernst, was born at Gifhorn, Hanover, March 10, 1806, and died at Celle, Hanover, May 25, 1898. He was pastor of the Lutheran Church at Eddesee.

Rev. Karl Ernst married, May 17, 1838, Agnes Sophie Brakenbusch, who was born February 2, 1814, and died at Celle, May 4, 1886. She was the daughter of Johann Ludwig Brakenbusch, who is described as "superintendent and consistorial assessor." He was born at Bochenem, Hanover, January 12, 1768, and died at Gross Golssen, Hanover, April 27, 1835. He married, at Gross Golssen, April 27, 1802, Agnes Birken, who was born May 3, 1778. Agnes Sophie (Brakenbusch) Ernst was one of thirteen children of this marriage.

Rev. Karl and Agnes Sophia (Brakenbusch) Ernst were the parents of four daughters and seven sons, one of whom was Augustus Frederick, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Rev. Augustus Frederick Ernst, son of Rev. Karl and Agnes Sophie (Brakenbusch) Ernst, was born in the Kingdom of Hanover, Germany, June 25, 1841, and died at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 29, 1924. He was graduated from the gymnasium at Celle, Hanover, in 1859, and then entered the University of Göttingen, from which he was graduated in 1862. Coming to the United States in 1863, he prepared for the Lutheran ministry and was ordained at Pottstown, Pennsylvania, in 1864. He had charge of the Lutheran Church at Middle Village, New York, until 1868, and was pastor of the First Lutheran Church at Albany, New York, in 1868-69. In 1869 he was called to become a member of the faculty of Northwestern College at Watertown, Jefferson County, Wisconsin. He first took the chair of Latin in the college, and the following year was elected president, serving as such until his death.

In 1892, Rev. Ernst was elected president of the Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, and was reelected

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

to that important office in 1895, 1897, and 1899. He was one of the most influential figures in the councils of his church in the West, and an acknowledged leader in educational circles. In politics he was a Democrat and kept himself well-informed on all economic and political issues.

Rev. Augustus Frederick Ernst married, in New York City, January 7, 1868, Agnes Hartwig, who died in 1909. Children: 1. Dr. George R., born at Watertown, Wisconsin, October 15, 1869; is a leading physician at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 2. Charles A., of whom further. 3. Dr. Adolphina B., a professor and Doctor of Philosophy in Wisconsin. 4. Elizabeth D., a teacher of music, residing at Ridley Park, Pennsylvania. 5. Marie A., married John Phillips, of Linden, Virginia. 6. Frederick H., deceased. 7. Rev. August Gerard, of St. Paul, Minnesota. 8. Otto H. 9. Dr. Rudolph H., a professor at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

(Records in possession of the family.)

V. Dr. Charles A. Ernst, son of Rev. Augustus Frederick and Agnes (Hartwig) Ernst, was born at Watertown, Jefferson County, Wisconsin, in 1871, and died at his home, No. 100 Swarthmore Avenue, Ridley Park, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1939. He spent his early life and received his formal education at Watertown. Early in his career he became interested in the work that was being done in the production of synthetic fabrics, and he was truly a pioneer in the rayon industry. He was doing research work in a General Electric laboratory at Schenectady, New York, when a Philadelphia lawyer, Silas Pettit, who owned an early viscose patent right, induced him to join forces. Mr. Pettit established the Genasco Silk Company at Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, which after his death in 1908 was sold to Courtaulds, Ltd., an English firm of silk and cotton manufacturers. Dr. Ernst received a share of the proceeds of this sale and was sent to England to learn the latest methods of rayon production. In 1911 the Viscose Company of America was opened at Marcus Hook, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Dr. Ernst became head chemist and then general manager and had virtual control of the company's policies. He was responsible for the carrying on of researches and soon outstripped the English mother company. In 1921 he became presi-



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Charles A. Townes



Charles A. Ernst, Jr.

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

dent of the American Viscose Corporation, but in 1925 resigned, sold out his interest in the company and retired to his Ridley Park home.

Quite aside from his work in the rayon industry, Dr. Ernst participated helpfully in the civic and social affairs of his district, particularly in his home community of Ridley Park. In 1927 he became president of the Ridley Park Civic Association, a position which he held for several years. In 1928 he was slated for the Republican nomination as Congressman from the Eighth Pennsylvania District, comprising Chester and Delaware counties. As a leading Republican, he was at one time closely associated with Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania. His death was an occasion of wide and sincere sorrow. His contribution to the life of his times was a truly significant one, rich in its value to his contemporaries, and he will long be remembered affectionately in every circle in which he was known.

Dr. Charles A. Ernst married, at Winona, Winona County, Minnesota, July 4, 1904, Eleanor E. von Rohr. (von Rohr—American Line—III.) Children: 1. Louise, married Arthur Glass, of Montclair, New Jersey; a graduate of West Point; children: i. Arthur Glass, Jr. ii. Rose Mary Glass. 2. Elizabeth, married Dr. Russell Fosbinder; they reside in Bernardsville, New Jersey. 3. Helen Agnes, married Dr. Paul Jahnke, a professor at the University of Nebraska, at Lincoln, Nebraska. 4. Charlotte, married Gordon Jess, of Wallingford, Pennsylvania; children: i. Winifred Ernst Jess. ii. Barbara Ernst Jess. 5. Charles A., Jr., married Jacqueline Walker, and they make their home at Villanova, Pennsylvania. Jacqueline Walker is the daughter of Mabelle McMullin and H. Leslie (Walker) Walker. Her mother is now Mrs. W. Kemble Yarrow, of Rosemont, Pennsylvania.

(*Ibid.*)

(The von Rohr Line)

I. Henning von Rohr, 1287.

("Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Adeligen Häuser Deutscher Uradel, 1904," p. 716.)

II. Alhard von Rohr, son of Henning von Rohr, born in 1304, died in 1339.

(*Ibid.*)

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Klaus von Rohr, son of Alhard von Rohr, was a pawnee or mortgagee of Perleberg, in Brandenburg, Prussia, from 1367 to 1374.

(*Ibid.*, p. 724.)

IV. Berüd von Rohr, son of Klaus von Rohr, was a Squire of Neuenhaus, in Hanover, Prussia, from 1391 to 1448.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Hans von Rohr, son of Berüd von Rohr, was a resident of Schrepkow in 1485-87. He married a Miss von Glöbitz.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Klaus von Rohr, son of Hans and ——— (von Glöbitz) von Rohr, married, in 1495, Elisabeth von Arensberg.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Kersten von Rohr, son of Klaus and Elisabeth (von Arensberg) von Rohr, was a councillor and captain of Mecklenburg. He married (first) Anna von Peccatel; (second) Barbara von Barfuss.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Georg von Rohr, son of Kersten von Rohr, was born in 1508 and died December 8, 1596. He lived in Ragow and Ögeln and was District Governor of Lebus, in Brandenburg, Prussia. He married Hippolyta von der Groeben, who died September 2, 1592.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Kersten von Rohr, son of Georg and Hippolyta (von der Groeben) von Rohr, was born in 1559 and died in 1624. He lived in Ragow, Ögeln, Kruschow and Nacro, and was District Governor of Lebus, in Brandenburg, Prussia. He married (first) Eva von Holtzendorf; (second) Sophia von Holtzendorf.

(*Ibid.*)

X. Ehrentreich von Rohr, son of Kersten and Eva (von Holtzendorf) von Rohr, was lord of Ragow and Ögeln. He married Katharina Maria von Rohr, of the house of Leddin.

(*Ibid.*)

GLAUBITZ (VON GLOBITZ)

Arms—Azure, turned dexter-wise, a carp argent finned gules.

Crest—The carp argent on three ostrich feathers, azure, argent and azure.

(J. Siebmacher: "Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch," Band III, Abteil 2, plate 186.)

VON DER GRÖBEN (VON DER GROEBEN)

Arms—Per pale argent and azure, on the first, issuant from the partition line an eagle's foot gules with talons or; on the second a lance in pale argent.

Crest—A broad-brimmed hunting hat with cord pendulous and intertwined laterally, the crown, sides and brim quartered gules and argent.

Mantling—Sinister, gules and argent; dexter, azure and argent.

(J. Siebmacher: "Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch," Band IV, Abteil 5, p. 35, plate 20.)

VON ARENSBERG

Arms—Per pale argent and azure, on the first a cross sable; on the second an eagle argent.

Crest—From a count's crown a lion issuant gules, tail forked, holding in his paw a rose in bloom proper on a stem vert with two leaves.

Mantling—Azure and argent, sable and or.

(J. Siebmacher: "Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch," Band III, Abteil 1, pp. 158-159, plate 110.)

DOCKUM (VON DOCKUM)

Arms—Sable, three roses argent.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

WALDOW (VON WALDOW)

Arms—Gules, an arrow-head argent bendwise.

Crest—A pyramidal hat sable surmounted by a sphere or supporting seven distinct plumes sable.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

VON DER MARWITZ

Arms—Azure, a trunk of a tree, eradicated or the top in pale.

Crest—A woman issuant, habited or, holding above her head a crown of leaves between two wings conjoined azure.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

BEYER (VON BEYER)

Arms—Or, a dexter arm in armor proper, the hand natural holding a sword argent, enwrapped with a serpent vert; the field chape-ploye; dexter, gules a lion argent contourné holding a sword of the same; sinister, azure a griffin or, holding a sword argent. Helmet crowned.

Crest—The lion and the griffin issuant and affrontée.

Mantling—Argent and azure.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

HOLTZENDORFF (VON HOLTZENDORF)

Arms—Quarterly, sable and argent, over all a fess gules.

Crest—A peacock's tail proper, between two proboscides coupée, per fesse alternately argent and sable.

Mantling—Argent, sable, gules.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

SCHALL

Arms—Azure, two chevrons lozengy gules and argent.

Crest—Two wings each bearing the arms of the shield.

Mantling—Azure, gules and argent.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

SCHALL
Symbolic:
The shield is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The chevrons represent the eagle talons of a rook and were often given to ambassadors and eminent statesmen as a reward for the protection (as under a roof) they gave their king and country. The manner in which the chevrons are composed represents lozenges; they are the symbol of exact honesty and constancy. The wings of the crest symbolize the rise in the world by meritorious deeds. The chevrons upon the wings symbolize the same as those in the arms.

HOLTZENBÖRFF (von HOLTZENBÖRFF)
Symbolic:
The shield is black and silver; in heraldry this denotes a good reputation. The issue represents the belt worn over the armor by officials of rank at certain important court functions. The peacock's tail of the crest symbolizes power, greatness and authority. The elephants' trunks symbolize strength, command with intelligence.

BEYER (von BEYER)
Symbolic:
The shield is gold; in heraldry this denotes nobility, wealth and authority. The jewel is the topaz. The arm in armor holding a sword represents the brave and daring warrior. The serpent, in ancient times, was always a symbol of life and death. The shield is sub-divided; the second part is red; in heraldry this denotes boldness, daring, blood and fire—a burning desire to spill one's blood for God and country. The jewel is the ruby. The lion represents strength, courage and generosity and symbolizes these qualities in the armsbearer. The third part of the arms is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The griffin represents strength, courage and generosity, power and authority. The sword which are held by the lion and griffin symbolize bravery. The crown of the crest symbolizes the royal attainment given the "crown" in time of great need. The lion and griffin of the crest symbolize the same as those in the arms.

von der MARWITZ
Symbolic:
The shield is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The tree symbolizes the thriving, flourishing condition of the family, which by practice of the descendants is maintained from generation to generation. The woman of worthy deeds or the descendant is maintained from generation to generation. The woman of the crest is the symbol of youthful dreams, tenderness, ardent and devout sincerity, deep feeling. The woman in an armorial design symbolizes that the bearer owes all he is and possesses to the love and tenderness of a pure and virtuous maiden. The wings symbolize the rise in the world by meritorious deeds of the armsbearer. The crown of leaves means victory.

WALDOW (von WALDOW)
Symbolic:
The shield is red; in heraldry this denotes boldness, daring, blood and fire, a burning desire to spill one's blood for God and country. The jewel is the ruby. The arm in armor holding a sword represents the brave and daring warrior. The serpent, in ancient times, was always a symbol of life and death. The shield is sub-divided; the second part is red; in heraldry this denotes boldness, daring, blood and fire—a burning desire to spill one's blood for God and country. The jewel is the ruby. The lion represents strength, courage and generosity and symbolizes these qualities in the armsbearer. The third part of the arms is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The griffin represents strength, courage and generosity, power and authority. The sword which are held by the lion and griffin symbolize bravery. The crown of the crest symbolizes the royal attainment given the "crown" in time of great need. The lion and griffin of the crest symbolize the same as those in the arms.

DOCKUM (von DOCKUM)
Symbolic:
The shield is black; in heraldry this denotes prudence and honesty. The jewel is the diamond. The roses are the emblem of knightly and honor.

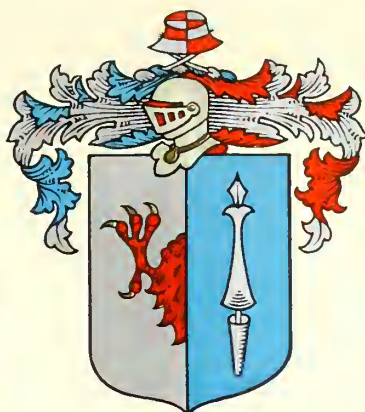
Von ARNENBERG
Symbolic:
The shield is divided into two parts; the first is silver, denoting purity, justice and peace. The jewel is the pearl. The second part is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The cross represents one of the armsbearers as a crusader, who with thousands of other Christian warriors traveled to the Holy Land to battle the Turks and Saracens for the sake of Christianity. The eagle represents strength, wisdom, and authority and symbolizes these qualities in the armsbearer. The crest is that belonging to the rank of a count. The lion represents strength, courage and generosity and symbolizes these qualities in the bearer. The rose symbolizes knightly and honor.

von der GRÖBEN (von der GRÖBEN)
Symbolic:
The shield is divided into two parts; the first part is silver; the second part is blue; in heraldry this denotes purity, justice and peace. The jewel is the pearl. The eagle's foot represents strength. The eagle in the second part of the shield symbolizes strength, authority and wisdom. The hat of the crest symbolizes that the armsbearer held large estates and was a great huntsman.

GLAUBITZ (von GLOBITZ)
Symbolic:
The shield is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The carp symbolizes discretion, silence, watchfulness and health. The ear of the crest symbolizes the same as that in the arms. The ostrich feathers indicate the idea of bending but not breaking. "No force can alter his decision, the same as the feather, which cannot be shaken into disorder by the wind."



Glaubitz
(von Glöbitz)



vander Groben
(von der Groeben)



von Arensburg



Dockum
(von Dockum)



Waldow
(von Waldow)



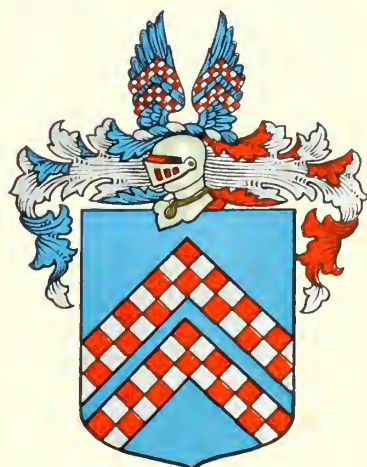
vonder Marwitz



Holtzendorff
(von Holtzendorf)



Meyer
(von Beyer)



Schall

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XI. Christian Ewald von Rohr, son of Ehrentreich and Katharina Maria (von Rohr) von Rohr, died in, or before, 1697. He was lord of Wilmersdorf, Prussia, and captain of the Electorate of Brandenburg, Prussia. He married Anna Katharina von Litzcwitz.

(*Ibid.*)

XII. Hans Friedrich von Rohr, son of Christian Ewald and Anna Katharina (von Litzcwitz) von Rohr, was born in 1679 and died in 1735. He married Anna Katharina von Dockum.

(*Ibid.*)

XIII. Philipp Ludwig Ewald (1) von Rohr, son of Hans Friedrich and Anna Katharina (von Dockum) von Rohr, was born in 1711. He married, in 1738, Katharina Charlotte von Waldow.

(*Ibid.*)

XIV. Philipp Ludwig Ewald (2) von Rohr, son of Philipp Ludwig Ewald (1) and Katharina Charlotte (von Waldow) von Rohr, died March 10, 1782. He married Henriette Luise von der Marwitz, who died in November, 1806. Children: 1. Philipp Heinrich Karl, of whom further. 2. Arnel Friedrich Leopold, born at Tempelburg, Pomerania, Prussia, September 28, 1772, died at Teplitz, Bohemia, August 4, 1850; married Amalie Hass.

(*Ibid.*, p. 725.)

XV. Philipp Heinrich Karl von Rohr, son of Philipp Ludwig Ewald (2) and Henriette Luise (von der Marwitz) von Rohr, was born at Tempelburg, Pomerania, Prussia, in 1771, and died in Berlin, October 21, 1845. He was assessor of the supreme court of judicature at Warschau Hofrat in Berlin.

Philipp Heinrich Karl von Rohr married, December 2, 1796, Christiane Luise Henriette von Beyer, who died December 27, 1841. Children: 1. Georg Karl Heinrich Friedrich, of whom further. 2. Georg Philipp Karl Julius, born at Warsaw, Poland, November 27, 1801, died at Halle-on-the-Saale, Saxony, Prussia, November 13, 1879; married, April 20, 1833, Erdmuthe Karoline Marie Sally Pietzker. 3. Johann Ludwig Adolf August, born June 24, 1803, died

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

February 1, 1848; married, in 1832, Hulda von Ostwien. 4. Johann Philipp August Eugen, born April 3, 1806, died December 14, 1854; married Ernestine von Besser. 5. Henriette, born July 21, 1810; married Karl Willmann.

(*Ibid.*, p. 725; Vol. XXI, p. 751.)

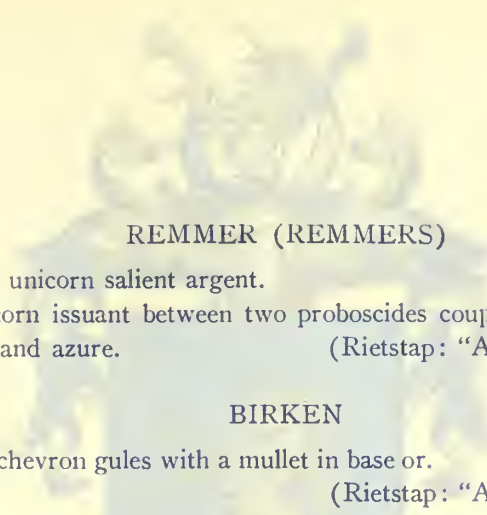
(The Family in America)

I. *Georg Karl Heinrich Friedrich von Rohr*, son of Philipp Heinrich Karl and Christiane Luise Henriette (von Beyer) von Rohr, was born at Billerbeck, Westphalia, Germany, September 28, 1797, and died at Bergholtz, Niagara County, New York, May 15, 1874. At the age of eight he was a cadet at Stolpe, in Pomerania, Prussia. In 1811 he went to the military academy at Berlin, and was promoted lieutenant of the Garde-Grenadier-Regiment "Kaiser Alexander." With this regiment he was at Paris for three months, and often had the opportunity to be near the prominent confederates who were there, as in Berlin he was already the personal page of Princess Wilhelm. Until his thirty-second year he was interested in nothing in particular. However, his religious sense had been aroused a few times while attending religious services at the military academy, but later was forgotten over worldly affairs. It was not until his first marriage and the early death of his wife that he turned desperately to religion.

At this time a union of the two branches of the Lutheran Church was being enforced by the civil authorities in Prussia and other parts of Germany, and those who failed to conform with the new rules were persecuted. Among these was Georg Karl Heinrich Friedrich von Rohr who, at the end of September, 1836, seceded from the State Church. His troubles were further increased by the tragic death of his first son and the difficulties incurred by the christening of his second son. The child was christened by a secret meeting held at night, but the military court heard of it and threatened with a lawsuit. On April 1, 1837, his income had been stopped and he could not find a new position. One fine followed another, and he was threatened with telling who baptized the child or paying thirty taler. His furniture was seized, and for every religious service held in his house he had to pay five taler. On top of this, in March, 1838, the baptized child died



Lynne von Roff



REMMER (REMMERS)

Arms—Azure, a unicorn salient argent.

Crest—The unicorn issuant between two proboscides coupée per fesse alternately argent and azure. (Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

BIRKEN

Arms—Sable, a chevron gules with a mullet in base or.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

HARTWIG

Arms—Party per fesse, argent and sable, a heart gules on the sable, sprouting from it two elongated leaves or, on the argent. Helmet crowned.

Crest—Three peacocks' plumes proper, between two leaves or.

Mantling—Or and sable. (Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Symbolic:

REMMER (REMMERS)

The shield is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The unicorn implies strength of body and symbolizes virtue of mind, as it shuns sin like poison. The unicorn of the crest symbolizes the same as that of the arms. The elephants' trunks symbolize strength.

Symbolic:

BIRKEN

The shield is black; in heraldry this denotes prudence and honesty. The jewel is the diamond. The chevron represents the gable rafters of a roof and was often given to ambassadors and eminent statesmen as a reward for the protection (as under a roof) they gave their king and country. The mullet represents fame, brilliancy and happy conditions which are maintained from one generation to another.

Symbolic:

HARTWIG

The shield is silver and black; in heraldry this denotes self-denial. The ancients used to hang the figure of a heart with a chain or lace from the neck, upon the breast of a man, signifying thereby a man of sincerity and such a one as speaketh the truth from the heart, free from all guile. Leaves do not occur often in armory, but when they do, they are emblematic of protection and shelter, the same as the leaves protect the fruits from the wind and rain. The peacock feather symbolizes power, greatness and authority, a man of great consequence and influence. The leaves of the crest symbolize the same as those in the arms.

REMMER (REMMERS)

Arms—Azure, a unicorn salient argent.
Crest—The unicorn issuant between two propoideas couped per fesse alternately.
Motto—Argent and azure.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

BIRKEN

Arms—Sable, a chevron gules with a mallet in base or.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

HARTWIG

Arms—Party per fesse, argent and sable, a heart gules on the sable, springing from it two elongated leaves or, on the argent. Helmet crowned.
Crest—Three peacocks' plumes proper, between two leaves or.
Motto—Or and sable.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

REMMER (REMMERS)

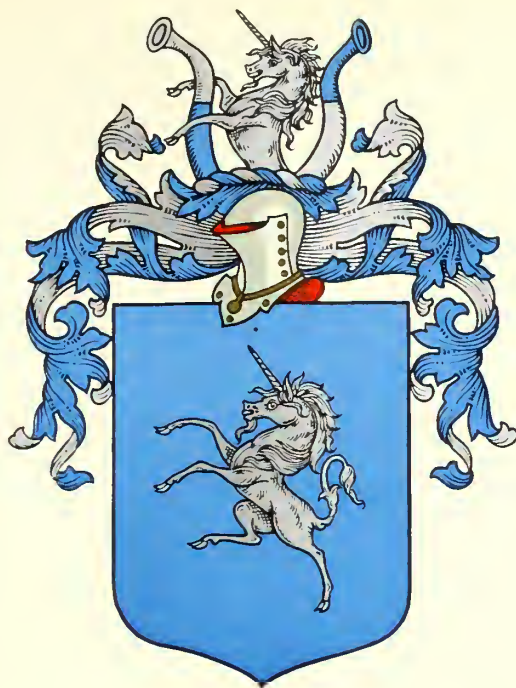
Synthetic:
The shield is blue; in heraldry this denotes truth, loyalty and devotion. The jewel is the sapphire. The unicorn implies strength of body and symbolizes virtue of mind, as it shuns sin like poison. The unicorn of the crest symbolizes the same as that of the arms. The elephants' trunks symbolize strength.

BIRKEN

Synthetic:
The shield is black; in heraldry this denotes prudence and honesty. The jewel is the diamond. The chevron represents the gable rafters of a roof and was often given to ambassadors and eminent statesmen as a reward for the protection (as under a roof) they gave their king and country. The mallet represents fame, plenty and happy conditions which are maintained from one generation to another.

HARTWIG

Synthetic:
The shield is silver and black; in heraldry this denotes self-denial. The ancients used to hang the figure of a heart with a chain or lace from the neck upon the breast of a man, signifying thereby a man of sincerity and such a one as speaketh the truth from the heart, free from all guile. Leaves do not occur often in armor, but when they do, they are emblematic of protection and shelter, the same as the leaves protect the fruits from the wind and rain. The peacock feather symbolizes power, greatness and authority, a man of great consequence and influence. The leaves of the crest symbolize the same as those in the arms.



Remmer
(Remmers)



Birken



Hartwig

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

after a long illness, and the parents became sick. His second wife died, and he was left alone with his daughter Julie (Julchen).

The sorrow of the Lutheran congregations in Silesia and Pomerania grew as practically all priests were imprisoned or banished. Pastor Grabau would have been imprisoned except that he was abducted by Georg Karl Heinrich Friedrich von Rohr. The latter then bought horses and a carriage, with which he went from Silesia to Pomerania, to an old friend who was living at Seehof. Pastor Grabau was with him and they were received with open arms in Seehof, but due to differences in doctrine they could not stay there. They continued on to Berlin, to his brother-in-law, Mr. Willmann, a clerk in the war office. Here von Rohr was arrested and taken to the city jail, where he was kept for one year. Upon his release from prison, with a group of other Lutherans, he decided to emigrate to America. In 1838 he accompanied a party of Silesian pastors to Bremerhaven, then to Hamburg, where he found two young merchants who were willing to transport the company *via* Hull and Liverpool to New York.

Upon their arrival in New York, the majority decided to go to Buffalo, New York, and found there a Lutheran church and school. Only a few stayed in New York. In Buffalo the first accommodation for the immigrants were storehouses. However, about forty families went with von Rohr to Wisconsin, at that time an almost unknown territory, in order to found a settlement near Milwaukee. Others found work near the Genesee Channel at Portage, Wisconsin. Von Rohr and his companions went deep into the wilderness, sixteen miles northwest of Milwaukee, and there they erected a few log huts in November, 1839. Thus they founded a new community, now called Freistadt, Ozaukee County, Wisconsin. In 1840 von Rohr was summoned by Pastor Grabau to help in the school at Buffalo and to prepare himself to be a preacher. He wanted to stay at Freistadt, but he sold the land he had bought there and went to Buffalo. For four years he taught school and studied theology, and then was called to be pastor of the Lutheran group in Humberstone, Welland County, Ontario, Canada. He accepted this offer and remained there until 1846, when he was called to be pastor at Bergholtz, Niagara County, New York. There he served for many years until his death.

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Georg Karl Heinrich Friedrich von Rohr married (first), in Germany, early in 1829, a Miss Willmann, who died later that year in childbirth; (second), at Magdeburg, Germany, June 5, 1834, Juliane Eleonore Mangold, who died at Magdeburg, September 8, 1837, daughter of a Berlin physician; (third), at Buffalo, New York, in 1840, Margarethe Lützel, who was born at Magdeburg, Germany, November 18, 1808, and died at Winona, Winona County, Minnesota, March 17, 1876. Child of the first marriage: 1. Max, born in 1829, died young. Children of the second marriage: 2. Max (again), born October 10, 1836, died in March, 1838. 3. Julchen, born in 1837; married a Mr. Mueller. Children of the third marriage: 4. Philipp Andreas Nathanael, born at Buffalo, New York, February 13, 1843, died at Winona, Minnesota, in December, 1908; married Emma Schaal. He was president of the Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin from 1889 to 1908. 5. Maria (twin), born in 1847; married Wilhelm Grabau, son of Pastor Grabau, who became president of Dr. Martin Luther College, at Buffalo, New York. They were the parents of Dr. Amadeus William Grabau, palæontologist, who was born January 9, 1870, and married, October 6, 1901, Mary Antin, author, born in 1881, daughter of Israel and Esther (Weltman) Antin. 6. Elise (twin), born in 1847; removed to Winona, Minnesota. 7. Johannes David Martin, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 751. Philip von Rohr Sauer in "Wisconsin Magazine of History," March, 1935, pp. 247-68. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Johannes David Martin von Rohr, son of Georg Karl Heinrich Friedrich and Margarethe (Lützel) von Rohr, was born at Bergholtz, Niagara County, New York, April 1, 1850. He was a pharmacist at Winona, Winona County, Minnesota. He married, at Winona, August 19, 1871, Lucy Schall, of Winona. Children: 1. Arthur, born July 29, 1872. 2. Eleanor E., of whom further. 3. Lucy, born January 21, 1808. 4. Karl, born March 1, 1882. 5. Hans, born January 26, 1884. 6. Olga, born February 11, 1886. 7. Ida, born June 29, 1888. 8. Herbert, born January 9, 1897.

(*Ibid.*)



John von Rohr

ERNST AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Eleanor E. von Rohr, daughter of Johannes David Martin and Lucy (Schall) von Rohr, was born at Winona, Winona County, Minnesota, December 8, 1876. She married Dr. Charles A. Ernst. (Ernst V.)

(Ibid.)

Book Note

American Issues, Volume I, The Social Record (1034+xviii pages), and Volume II, The Literary Record (893+xvi pages), royal octavo, edited by Willard Thorp, Princeton University, Merle Curti, Columbia University, and Carlos Baker, Princeton University; J. B. Lippincott Company, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York; 1941; \$3.00 per volume.

This impressive work is described by the publishers as "an anthology with a new plan." Before one reaches the new plan, he is confronted with his predilections regarding anthologies and their uses. The mature reader delights in comparative choices, in meeting old friends and in making new ones; the teacher welcomes another medium with which to accomplish what Browning calls

"Rather the opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendor may awake
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without;"

while the student is only too likely to feel that here is the final mystic key to unlock the doors to the vaults of liberal culture and well-rounded knowledge. So much for anthologies in general. This one carries a "Foreword" that gives the impression of having been, to the compilers, actually a foreword, a fore-statement or blue print of what they planned to produce, not a preface written as a defence after a faulty work had been completed. They state:

No anthology hitherto published has made an adequate critical distinction between selections whose bearing and interest are primarily social, and selections which can stand on their own merits as literature. On the other hand, none of the previous anthologies is so designed as to enable the student, with a minimum of inconvenience, to study the literature of this country against the magnificent panorama of its history. The present anthology tries to answer both these requirements.

In the creative aspect of the volumes (the introduction of the characters from whose writings or speeches selections have been

BOOK NOTE

made) the editors have been in particularly happy vein. This extremely important part of their work reflects the authority which they brought to their task. To sample, concerning Thoreau:

Finally, the judgments of two writers whose pronouncements carried weight at that time, Lowell and Stevenson, fixed the popular impression of Thoreau as Emerson's man and a "skulker" who avoided life instead of facing it robustly. Now we can see clearly that Thoreau's attack on fundamental problems was deep and that his conclusions are continuously useful. Europeans like Tolstoi and Ghandi and the leaders of the Socialist movement in England, all of whom have acknowledged their debt to him, were able to perceive his unique qualities sooner than his countrymen did.

And the breadth of viewpoint and analysis of this, regarding Longfellow:

During his lifetime a comfortable income and an international popularity, which made him even more famous than Tennyson, insulated Longfellow from what little adverse criticism of his poetry entered his study. Since his death the acid of time has eaten away at the 650 pages of his collected verse until there is little which we can honestly place beside the best of Emerson and Thoreau and of his most impertinent critic, Poe. But the modern critic's task is by no means done when he has selected that best which remains and has analyzed the defects of the rest. Longfellow's popularity is a phenomenon of our culture, and of mid-nineteenth century culture in general, and must be accounted for.

In the opinion of this commentator, the editors have shown rash courage and a full measure of confidence in making their volumes as up-to-date as the daily paper, with their final items in Volume I dated 1937 and 1940, and the closing selections of Volume II bearing 1940 and 1941 imprints. J. C. Dana, whose name librarians recall in much the character of a guiding star or patron saint, was an early advocate of a "waiting period" before adding certain types of writings to library shelves, this waiting period resulting in a perspective permitting surer judgment and avoiding the mixture of time's classic bequests and those present contributions which may be of only ephemeral value. If this is sound procedure in any sort of book collecting, it ought to be equally sound in anthological compilation, and it may well be that the present work would stand longer and give

BOOK NOTE

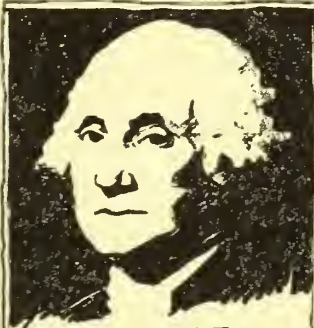
way to its successor with greater honor if it had attempted less in the way of timeliness.

Some idea of the appeal of the volumes in content, design, and manufacture may be gained from the fact that the first two persons who visited this desk picked them up idly, delved into them with interest, and left with the request that sets be ordered for them. If this is a criterion, the Lippincott presses should hum merrily when the first printing reaches the market. No better addition to a personal or institutional library has come to recent notice.

W. S. D.

ODDITIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE FIRST WOMAN ASSISTANT
ARMY SURGEON,
DR. MARY E. WALKER,
WHO SERVED AS CONTRACT
SURGEON IN 1864 AND 1865,
HAD TO BE AUTHORIZED BY
CONGRESS TO WEAR MEN'S
CLOTHES!



**FATHER OF
HIS COUNTRY**

GEORGE WASHINGTON
WAS FIRST CALLED THIS IN A
POEM WRITTEN IN 1775 BY
PHYLLIS WHEATLEY,
A NEGRESS.



R.O. CER4-

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NAT'L COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF U.S.



YANKEE WAS ORIGINALLY A
DUTCH WORD MEANING TO SNARL
OR **WRANGLE**. THE DUTCH
AND ENGLISH INHABITANTS
OF NEW NETHERLANDS AND
NEW ENGLAND **DISLIKED**
EACH OTHER, AND "YANKEE" WAS
THE NAME BY WHICH THE
DUTCH CALLED THE ENGLISH.



